

HARNESSING PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMMES' POTENTIAL:

AN INTERVENTION BRIEF FOCUSING ON
YOUTH INCLUSION IN SOUTH AFRICA'S
COMMUNITY WORK PROGRAMME

POLICY BRIEF

Youth continue to be worst affected by social and economic issues such as unemployment, substance abuse and violence (ILO, 2021; United Nations, 2011). South African youth are no exception to this claim, experiencing the world's highest rate of unemployment as well as some of the highest rates of homicide and gender-based violence (Clifford, 2020; Rebello, 2021). These challenges have gained increased recognition from stakeholders, such as the South African government, with the Presidential Youth Employment Initiative representing one of many recent initiatives.

This intervention brief aims to contribute to conversations around how to better address the challenges faced by South African youth. It builds on research conducted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), which focused on how public employment programmes, specifically the Community Work Programme (CWP), may contribute to youth social and economic inclusion, which may further assist in reducing the vulnerability of South African youth.

This brief highlights how some youth have negative perceptions of the CWP, which primarily stem from the nature of the activities carried out by the CWP and a lack of accurate knowledge about the programme. Examples from four CWP sites highlight how youth-oriented activities may attract greater interest in the programme among youth. It also highlights how youth have benefitted and can continue to benefit from the programme.

Introduction and background

One of the most pressing socio-economic problems of the South African economy has consistently been high youth unemployment. Factors that contribute to high youth unemployment include issues around the education system, limited information on work opportunities, a lack of job opportunities, limited connections to other workers, limited financial resources and limited access to places where job opportunities exist (De Lannoy et al., 2018).

Unemployment in South Africa is hard to address due to its systemic nature, where the economy is unable to provide employment for the total number of unemployed adults and youth (Cloete, 2016). South Africa entered the COVID-19 pandemic with the official unemployment rate at 27,6% in the first quarter of 2019. This was estimated to have increased to 35,3% in the fourth quarter of 2021 (Statistics South Africa, 2022). Furthermore, the country's expanded unemployment rate, which included people who had given up looking for work, was estimated at 46,2%.¹ De Lannoy and colleagues (2018) attribute rising South African youth unemployment to a lack of cohesive integration between the available evidence on the drivers of youth unemployment, on one hand, and policies that get implemented to address this problem, on the other.²

One of the most pressing socio-economic problems of the South African economy has consistently been high youth unemployment

Unemployment has a significant negative impact on the lives of young people and their communities. From a psychological perspective, unemployed people are likely to experience substantial stress and other related mental health difficulties. Unemployment is also linked to crime and violence amongst young people (Cramer, 2011; Simpson, 2018). However, when young people are employed, they feel worthy, secure and connected within their family and community, and are also better able to cope with life's stressors. It is against this backdrop that evidence-based, community-level interventions are required to ensure that employment through productive work can be achieved, especially for the youth.

According to Philip (2013), a focus on regular work would provide a level of predictability, structure and social inclusion. Consequently, there has been a growing need for a multi-pronged government policy response to address the problem of unemployment in the South African economy. Since 2004, one aspect

1 It should be noted as a concern that the national response rate for the QLFS declined from an average of 76,9%, in Q2:2020, to a low of 44,6% in Q4: 2021. This decline may affect the accuracy of the QLFS Q4:2021 statistics.
2 South Africa's definition of youth includes all people, within the country, between the ages of 15 and 34.

of this response included a large-scale public employment programme, called the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP), which has provided short-term, temporary 'work opportunities' for the unemployed poor. In 2009, the government implemented a second public employment programme, the Community Work Programme (CWP), under the aegis of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2019). The primary goal of the CWP is to provide 'an employment safety net' to eligible people of working age (over 18), who are enrolled into the programme with a guarantee of two days of regular work a week (amounting to 100 days of annual employment). The CWP was found to enable participants to contribute to the development of assets and services in poor communities, improving the quality of life of people in those areas by offering work experience, enhancing dignity and promoting socio-economic inclusion.

Examples of work done by CWP participants include cleaning community environments, home-based care of the elderly and sick people, minor infrastructure work, and social projects such as working in schools as school assistants by providing administrative support to teachers and assisting learners with school homework. Research has indicated that the CWP has a potentially significant positive impact on promoting social cohesion and cultivating relationships among stakeholders in communities, which contributes to preventing or mitigating incidents of violence and recidivism (Langa et al., 2016). Some CWP participants have targeted crime and violence-prevention initiatives, with some ex-offenders playing a role in implementing such initiatives through public awareness campaigns that relay their experiences to vulnerable youths, and that explore and challenge pervasive attitudes surrounding masculinity and gender expectations. The link between youth economic exclusion and violence has been well established in numerous studies (Berkman, 2007; Simpson, 2018), but nothing much is known about youth economic inclusion and how inclusion could impact on reducing youth violence and promoting employment with specific focus on the CWP.

Research study about youth inclusion in the CWP

The policy brief is based on research conducted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), which aimed to identify factors that enabled and limited youth participation in the programme. Interviews were conducted in three South African townships in the Gauteng province – Alexandra (also known as 'Alex'), Kagiso, and Diepsloot – and the Drakenstein Local Municipality in the Western Cape province. These townships were chosen because they already had significant CWP initiatives in place that were oriented towards the youth. In addition, the CSVR has existing networks in the Gauteng townships which made it easier to build trust and to access diverse local participants. Compared to the first three communities, the fourth community constitutes a mainly 'coloured' population and operates in quite a different political context to that in Gauteng. This difference allowed the study to assess whether the dynamics of implementing the CWP were consistent across contextual variations.

Key findings of the study

Low youth participation

The findings draw from the total sample of 96 participants across the four research sites, with an age range of between 22 and 35 years old, except for three CWP site managers, five CWP coordinators and four community leaders, who were between the ages of 37 and 57.

The table (below) outlines the total number and percentage of young males and females at the CWP sites under this study. It highlights how young people do participate in the CWP, but there are vast differences in terms of gender, as more young females participate than males.

Community Site	Young Males	Young Females	Youth % per site
Alexandra	97 10%	320 32%	42%
Kagiso	129 9%	476 31%	40%
Diepsloot	80 10%	235 28%	38%
Drakenstein	50 8%	118 19%	27%

This is the pattern in almost all the CWP sites. However, these gender dynamics are different when compared to public employment programmes worldwide. Lieuw-Kie-Song et al. (2010) found that men are often overrepresented in public employment programmes compared to women. It seems that greater participation of women in South Africa stems from the nature of the programme, where street cleaning was the main activity, while the participation of young men was low, which is a point that the policy brief discusses later in the recommendations section.

Negative and positive views about CWP amongst the youth

Interviewing young people in and outside the CWP provided some insight into their participation or non-participation in the programme. Other young people interviewed in this study had negative attitudes towards the CWP:

Yeah, I won't join because I think that this is the project of grannies and old people. We need a project for young people. (Diepsloot, non-CWP youth)

I feel that project is for losers. Young people that join that project means that they have given up on life or stopped dreaming. (Alex, non-CWP participant)

You know here in Kagiso [we] say CWP stand for Clena Wena Popeye (Clean you a fool) or some call it Children Without Parents. I won't join because you then become a laughing stock of everyone. (Kagiso, non-CWP youth)

However, young people in the CWP who used to have negative views of the programme said their opinions had changed once youth-orientated projects such as arts, sports and others were included in the CWP.

People have a wrong perception about CWP. We have many things that are happening in the CWP which can attract young people. I will not lie that I also had a wrong view about CWP before I joined. (Alex, CWP youth)

We need to change this mentality amongst the youth that CWP is a cleaning project. CWP can empower the youth. (Alex, CWP youth)

Despite all the negative attitudes, it is evident that young people may be recruited to participate in the CWP if appropriate youth-orientated projects are developed, which is one of the key recommendations in this policy brief.

The CWP and violence prevention

There was agreement among the participants interviewed that the CWP had the potential to contribute to the prevention of crime and violence through various organised initiatives.

We need to encourage them when we do our home-based care ... encourage women to report cases to the police and make sure that the police help victims rather than to withdraw cases. (Alex, CWP manager)

The community had a once off march throughout the community against gangsterism and GBV one day on a Saturday. The police, the mayor of Drakenstein, the ward councillors and NGOs, the police forum and neighbourhood watches were involved in organising this one-day march against violence. Youth victims of violence, parents of the perpetrators, general community members were all involved in the march. It was advertised and broadcasted on the radio. Since then, the community had not heard of any rival gangs. Gangsterism and violence decreased – maybe because the parents might have also spoken to their children about this issue. (Drakenstein, CWP supervisor)

You know here in Kagiso [we] say CWP stand for Clena Wena Popeye (Clean you a fool) or some call it Children Without Parents. I won't join because you then become a laughing stock of everyone. (Kagiso, non-CWP youth)

Other studies in Orange Farm and Ivory Park have reported on similar preventative anti-violence initiatives initiated by CWP participants (Bruce, 2015; Langa et al., 2016). Generally, these initiatives include

working with Community Policing Forums, police, youth at risk (especially young men who are using substances) and public campaigns against different forms of violence, including gender-based violence and crime in communities. All these initiatives are organised by CWP participants in communities.

The CWP and youth economic inclusion

It was also mentioned that the programme facilitated youth inclusion through creation of job opportunities where other participants were able to exit the project and find better opportunities.

I'm able to buy groceries and do qualifications with the little money I get from CWP. I did a security certificate. There are also people who have gotten jobs after CWP.
(Diepsloot, CWP participant)

The money I receive helps me to go and market and look for piece job. It helps with transport money.
(Diepsloot, CWP participant)

CWP participants acknowledged that although the payment was not sufficient to meet all their financial needs, the money helped them to address some of their basic needs. Becoming employed was a turning point for several of the young people interviewed in this study. There was a sense that their dignity had been restored through employment in the CWP. This policy brief makes recommendations on how exit strategies may be facilitated through CWP by exposing participants to specific experiences and skills.

CWP policy recommendations for the youth

This policy brief demonstrates that young people do in fact participate in the CWP but more still needs to be done to ensure youth participation is based on the following recommendations:

CWP must explicitly strive to recruit youth

It is important to note that the CWP in South Africa was not specifically developed as a *youth* employment programme. This is different to, for example, the Kenya

Youth Employment and Opportunities Programme (KYEOP), which was specifically developed to address young people's employment needs (Mutuku, 2014). Similarly, the Young Rural Entrepreneurs Programme in Colombia and the Projóvenes II programme in El Salvador were developed mainly for the youth (Bozzoli, Brück, & Wald, 2013). Despite the CWP not having been developed specifically for the youth in South Africa, the young people interviewed in this study reported that things have shifted over the last few years concerning their inclusion within the CWP. Many asserted that they had held negative attitudes prior to joining the CWP, but these attitudes changed after they had joined. It appears that since its inception, the CWP has consistently been negatively associated with older people. As a result, young people did not want to be associated with the CWP, but it is recommended that attempts are made to recruit young people within the CWP. To make the CWP more appealing to the youth, it is important that they are involved in the design and implementation of CWP-related projects. This links well with the National Youth Policy 2030 which aims to increase youth participation in public programmes to above 50%. The policy clearly states that young people must be mobilised to help their communities while earning income and gaining work experience.

Voices of young people must be factored in the development of CWP activities

The current CWP Implementation Policy reiterates that the inception process must involve consultation with key stakeholders in the CWP site through the formation of a Local Reference Committee (LRC). We call for greater representation of youth in the LRC to ensure that the voices of young people are included in the decision-making process about how the CWP is implemented and promoted within their own communities. Factoring the views of young people in the development of CWP activities may assist in dealing with the negative stigma associated with it and link up with other government initiatives geared towards addressing the needs of the youth. For example, the CWP is one of the key programmes identified by the Presidential Youth Service Programme (PYSP) to promote work opportunities for young people who are keen to give back to their communities in the social and care sector.

CWP Youth-orientated projects

It was clear from the key findings that young people involved in the CWP also had negative views prior to joining the programme, but these views shifted when activities catering for youth were developed. While many CWP sites rely on conventional projects such as street cleaning and food gardening, some have taken the initiative to find spaces for the youth, particularly in programmes related to the arts, sports and educational support. These programmes have proven particularly relevant because they provide avenues for the expression of youth identity, social engagement and community development. These programmes have not, however, been developed at scale, nor are they common across the country where the CWP is implemented. All the CWP sites need to be guided and supported to develop youth-orientated projects as a strategy to recruit young people into their ranks. Currently, the CWP budget does not make provision for the support of all emerging youth-orientated projects, with priority given to work tools such as spades – which simply perpetuates the image of the CWP as a cleaning project. As part of addressing youth unemployment, it is important that creative ways are found to upscale youth-orientated programmes and that a significant percentage of the budget is allocated to these programmes. In this way, the CWP will realise its full potential to recruit young people in larger numbers.

Public campaigns to raise awareness about the CWP amongst the youth

It is also important to share publicly information explaining that the CWP is open to any unemployed young person over the age of 18. Negative perceptions of the CWP should be addressed through improved communication campaigns and greater publicity about the innovations of CWP youth projects. The study found that many young people were keen to join once clear information was presented to them. Social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Twitter and Instagram should also be used to give information about the CWP. Making full use of technology could also help the CWP to attract more young people. Many CWP participants who were not working during lockdown felt they could have conducted some of their youth activities (e.g., dancing, singing and acting)

via online platforms, if the programme had been flexible enough to make use of technology and be more youth oriented. It is therefore important that these technological services are considered with respect to how the CWP could operate differently. However, the issues of expensive data and access to reliable internet connectivity must be taken into consideration when such initiatives are implemented. LRC members must also assist in these public campaigns to raise awareness about the CWP among the youth. Online job platforms such as SAYouth.mobi or yes4youth.mobi, facilitated by non-governmental organisations such as Harambee Youth Employment Accelerator, must be popularised amongst young CWP participants in their search for job opportunities beyond the CWP.

Training and skills development in the CWP

It is important that training skills are provided within the CWP and that, as part of an exit strategy, young people are placed in positions that build relevant work experience. Such training programmes and work placements must be coordinated with other government departments as stated in the CWP implementation policy and the National Youth Policy 2030. For example, across the four research sites discussed in this policy brief, CWP participants were working in schools as teachers' assistants. Young people were happy to work in this capacity because the work changed the negative image of the CWP as a cleaning project. They also felt their jobs as teachers' assistants gave them the opportunity to play a positive role in their communities. Despite only being paid to work twice a week, these CWP school assistants were working five days a week, and many were proud of this, seeing it as a sign of their commitment to uplifting their communities. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic and its negative impact on schooling, the national government has recommended the recruitment of more teachers' assistants. It is important to note that the CWP teacher assistant project was already operating prior to the pandemic but many youth were not considered because they did not meet some of the selection criteria, despite being interested in pursuing careers in teaching if support programmes to achieve this were provided by the Department of Education.

In addition, partnerships with the private sector and non-governmental organisations must be fostered so that relevant and targeted skills are offered as part of the CWP's exit strategy. CWP participants asserted that employment exit strategies and skills are provided to enable them to become employable beyond the CWP. Some participants have managed to exit the programme and go into formal employment, but this represents very few individuals. It was reported during the study that many CWP participants have remained in the programme since its inception in 2009 due to lack of available job opportunities. It is important that the CWP is linked to government agencies such as the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) and the Department of Small Business Enterprises, which provide grants for young entrepreneurs to start up their own businesses and cooperatives. During this process of starting their own businesses and cooperatives, the CWP participants should continue to receive their monthly payments until a formal assessment is made that their businesses are able to function independently and that they are ready to exit the programme. Mentorship and coaching sessions should be provided regularly with links to business and marketing opportunities being created through various government departments. All these services must be contextually relevant and young people's skills and experience in informal trade must be recognised and cultivated (De Lannoy, Langa, & Brooks, 2021).

Regular skills audits must be conducted so that appropriate technical and vocational training skills are offered to young people in the CWP

Regular skills audits must be conducted so that appropriate technical and vocational training skills are offered to young people in the CWP. Such job-specific skills trainings must be linked to internships and apprenticeships as part of Youth Employment Service, which is part of a business-led partnership with government to assist young people to gain work experience. For the CWP, such opportunities may provide participants with the opportunity to finally exit the CWP through gaining meaningful entry-level work experience.

Development of violence and crime prevention in the CWP

It was clear from this study that some CWP projects directly or indirectly engaged in violence prevention work. However, some projects could be significantly strengthened if guided by better knowledge about violence prevention strategies and exposure to additional learning opportunities. Specific workshops and training manuals for CWP participants need to be developed. Violence prevention should be pursued through an engagement with the youth that builds self-esteem and social skills, promotes healthy gender relationships and behaviour, and supports sustainable economic inclusion. The CWP sites need to provide youth-oriented training workshops that address gender-based violence, substance abuse, young men at risk, gangsterism, xenophobia and hate crime (especially against the LGBTBIQ+ community). It is important that these violence-prevention initiatives are monitored and evaluated regularly to assess their effectiveness. Building internal LME (Learning, Monitoring and Evaluation) capacity and developing participatory LME processes would also strengthen the capacity of these CWP programmes to learn from their experiences and more effectively share their knowledge. Partnerships with civil society organisations and research institutions must be formed to offer guidance and support to current CWP violence-prevention interventions.

Provision of mental health services to the youth

The participants (CWP and non-CWP) conceded that unemployment can affect one's emotional and mental well-being, resulting in mental health challenges such as anxiety and depression. Being employed was found to be a protective factor in improving a sense of self-esteem and confidence. This was supported with some participants noting their excessive drinking prior to joining the CWP was high and how this decreased substantially after joining the programme. Becoming employed was regarded as a turning point in reducing their level of stress, which was linked with their excessive drinking. It was asserted in the interviews that the provision of mental health services to the youth should be prioritised with psycho-social services

being made easily available in communities and being de-stigmatised as well. Youth structures should be formed especially within the Department of Health and Social Development to promote mental health programmes among young people.

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ABOUT THE CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) is a non-governmental organisation which envisions societies that are peaceful, equal and free from violence. CSVR aims to understand and prevent violence, heal its effects and build sustainable peace at the community, national and regional levels. We do this through collaboration with and learning from the lived and diverse experiences of communities affected by violence and conflict to inform innovative interventions, generate knowledge, shape public discourse, influence policy, hold states accountable and promote gender equality, social cohesion and active citizenship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This intervention brief emanates from a collaboration between the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR, South Africa) and the Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS, Kenya). This collaboration, funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), investigated the role of public-sector employment and livelihood support programmes in promoting socio-economic inclusion of youth and preventing violence.

This intervention brief was authored by Professor Malose Langa. Malose is a Senior Research Associate at CSVR as well as an Associate Professor and Senior Lecturer in the School of Community and Human Development, Department of Psychology, at the University of Witwatersrand. This brief developed from research focusing on youth inclusion in South Africa's Community Work Programme (CWP). Research was carried out in the Kagiso, Alexandra, and Diepsloot CWP sites in Gauteng, as well as the Drakenstein site in the Western Cape.

Malose would like to thank the many people and organisations who contributed to this research through interviews, focus groups, and through more unstructured interviews. This included CWP participants, CWP implementing agents, site management, CWP participants, community members, and community-based organisations. Recognition is also extended to Moeketsi Koahela, Charlotte Joja, and Gabriel Letsoala, for their assistance across the three Gauteng CWP research sites. Thanks are also offered to CSVR and CHRIPS staff who contributed to this research, with a specific thanks extended to Jamie-Lee Ranjit, who carried out research at the CWP Drakenstein site.

This work was carried out with the aid of a grant from the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada. The views expressed herein do not necessarily represent those of IDRC or its Board of Governors.

Recommended citation

Langa, M. (2022). *Harnessing public employment programmes' potential: An intervention brief focusing on youth inclusion in South Africa's Community Work Programme*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

CONTACT US

CSVR

33 Hoofd Street
Braampark Forum 5, 3rd Floor
Johannesburg, 2001
South Africa
Tel: +27 (11) 403 5650
Fax: +27 (11) 339 6785
Email: info@csvr.org.za
www.csvr.org.za



Canada



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