

**BENEFICIARY DEPENDENCE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN
WORKING FOR WATER PROGRAMME: A MULTI-SITE
CASE STUDY OF FOUR PROJECTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE**

by

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis/dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

South Africa's natural environment is internationally recognised for its biodiversity, and therefore deep concern exists regarding the significant impact of invasive alien species (IAS) on that biodiversity. To combat the spread of IAS in South Africa, the national Working for Water (WfW) Programme was established in 1995. In addition to the clearing of IAS, the programme has also been designed to provide employment and empowerment to the marginalised sectors of South African society. With regard to the latter, WfW forms part of South Africa's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), and can be defined as a workfare programme, since it provides paid employment, rather than welfare payment. Following a contractor development approach, it also intends to create independent entrepreneurial contractors who, ideally, should 'exit' WfW, by being absorbed in the broader labour market. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that, since the establishment of WfW, many of its intended beneficiaries have become highly dependent on such employment, and therefore do not wish to "exit" the programme. Also, mounting concern regarding beneficiary dependence on Public Works Programmes in general, has spurred numerous academic debates on welfare dependence, as well as attempts to explain variability in dependence on government support. This thesis reports on a multi-site case study of beneficiary dependence on four WfW projects, which was undertaken in four CapeNature reserves in the Western Cape province of South Africa. Five broad research questions were formulated, which relate to the extent of beneficiaries' dependence on the projects concerned, as well the sociological factors that may contribute to such a phenomenon. The data collected for this study were analysed with reference to various theories of state dependence. The beneficiaries were found to have become highly dependent, mostly in a financial sense, on the WfW projects studied, but also in regard to expectations of remaining in the WfW Programme in future. Such dependence is largely due to WfW having become engrained in beneficiaries' social structure to such an extent, that it affects both their choices and their actions. Fearing a return to the conditions of farm labour, or the inability to escape the culture of poverty and/or marginalisation they experienced before joining WfW, seems to have resulted in the "unanticipated consequence" of workers being reluctant to exit from the programme, on which they have become dependent for their income and social standing. In the light of these findings, the thesis also briefly reflects upon South Africa's EPWPs, with the conclusion of the case study offering at least a partial solution to improving the WfW Programme as an EPWP.

OPSOMMING

Suid-Afrika se natuurlike omgewing word internasionaal erken vir sy biodiversiteit, en om hierdie rede bestaan daar goot bekommernis oor die beduidende uitwerking van uitheemse indringerspesies (UIS) op hierdie biodiversiteit. Om die verspreiding van UIS in Suid-Afrika te bekamp, is die Nasionale Werk vir Water (*WfW*) Program in 1995 gestig. Benewens die verwydering van UIS, is die program ook ingestel op werkverskaffing en bemagtiging van die gemarginaliseerde sektore van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing. Met betrekking tot laasgenoemde vorm *WfW* deel van die Suid-Afrikaanse Uitgebreide Openbare Werke Program (UOWP), en kan gedefineër word as 'n werkswelsynsprogram, met die klem op die verskaffing van werk teen betaling, eerder as bloot net 'n welsynsbetaling. *WfW* volg 'n kontrakteur-ontwikkelingsbenadering, waarvolgens kontrakteurs ontwikkel word, wat, ideaal gesien, die program as entrepreneurs kan verlaat en as sodanig in die breër arbeidsmark geabsorbeer kan word. Nietemin, in die praktyk wil dit tans egter voorkom asof die veronderstelde begunstigdes van *WfW* eerder hoogs afhanklik geraak het van die werk en dit derhalwe nooit wil verlaat nie. Die stygende kommer rakende begunstigde afhanklikheid van Openbare Werke Programme oor die algemeen, het reeds oorsprong verleen aan menige akademiese debatte oor welsynsafhanklikheid, sowel as pogings om verskille in omvang van afhanklikheid van regeringsondersteuning te verduidelik. Die tesis rapporteer oor 'n veel-ligging gevallestudie oor begunstigde afhanklikheid van vier *WfW*-projekte, wat geleë is in vier CapeNature reservate in die Wes-Kaapprovinsie van Suid-Afrika. Vyf breë navorsingsvrae is ontwerp, wat verband hou met die omvang van afhanklikheid van hierdie spesifieke projekte, sowel as die sosiologiese faktore wat tot die ontwikkeling van hierdie verskynsel sou kon bydra. Data is ontleed met verwysing na verskeie teorieë van staatsafhanklikheid. Daar is bevind dat begunstigdes hoogs afhanklik geraak het, hoofsaaklik in 'n finansiële sin, van die bestudeerde *WfW*-projekte, maar ook verwagtinge het om in die toekoms deel te bly van die *WfW*-Program. Hierdie afhanklikheid spruit voort daaruit dat die begunstigdes se sosiale struktuur tot so 'n mate met *WfW* verweef geword het, dat dit 'n uitwerking het op die werkers se keuses, asook hul optrede. 'n Vrees om terug te keer na die omstandighede van plaaswerk, of die onvermoë om te ontvlug van die kultuur van armoede en/of marginalisering wat hulle ervaar het voor deelname aan *WfW*, het skynbaar die "onbedoelde gevolg" gehad dat werkers onwillig is om te tree uit die program waarvan hulle afhanklik geraak het vir hul inkomste en sosiale stand. In die lig van hierdie bevindinge reflekteer hierdie tesis ook kortliks oor Suid-Afrika se UOWP, met die gevolgtrekking van die gevallestudie wat ten minste 'n gedeeltelike oplossing bied ter verbetering van die *WfW*-Program, as 'n UOWP.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFDC	Aid for Families with Dependent Children
AVM	alien vegetation management
CARA	Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act
CASE	Community Agency for Social Equity
CCT	conditional cash transfer
CDA	contractor development approach
CSG	Child Support Grant
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
DPW	Department of Public Works
EGS	Employment Guarantee Scheme
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GDS	Growth and Development Summit
GN	Government Notice
HH	Hottentots Holland
IAS	Invasive alien species
ID	Identification Document
JRY	Jawahar Yonjana
KPA	Key performance areas
PES	Payment for Ecosystem Services
PWP	Public Works Programme
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSE	Riviersonderend
WEP	Work Experience Programme
WfW	Working for Water

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

THE RESEARCH FIELD within which this thesis is located – invasive alien species (IAS) management and employment creation - is vast, and lends itself to many interesting and important research angles. However, considering the relatively limited scope of a Master's thesis, the researcher had to delimit particular research questions as clearly as possible and decided to do so in collaboration with Working for Water (WfW) Management. This chapter contextualises this refinement of ideas, and presents the research problem formulation, as well as the objectives of the research. It concludes with a broad outline of the thesis, as well as with an inventory of the main topics that are discussed in each chapter.

1.2 Development of a research focus

The conservation of vulnerable ecosystems within South Africa has long been of particular interest to the researcher. Creating employment through the clearance of IAS offers the potential for conducting fascinating research, since it combines scientific knowledge about IAS and the eradication thereof, with poverty alleviation, which is a fundamental challenge in South Africa.

WfW's dual objective, namely the combating of the spread of IAS, and the alleviation of poverty in the form of an Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), surely seems challenging. The degree to which WfW projects succeed in balancing these two (sometimes opposing) objectives is a pertinent research question. However, this thesis does not consider WfW's ability to combat the spread of IAS, but rather its social objective of contributing to community development and poverty alleviation, the latter especially challenging in the wake of a world-wide recession. In addition, South Africa's most recently measured level of unemployment reached approximately 25.2% of the general population by March 2010 (StatsSA, 2010:vi). To address its rising levels of unemployment, the South Africa's government has followed international examples by expanding its Public Works Programmes (PWP), which are currently formally known as the Expanded Public Works Programme

(EPWP). This expanded PWP formally started with a first phase (2004-2009), and recently commenced with a second one in April 2009 (Republic of South Africa, 2009).

PWPs represent attempts by governments to assist the poor sectors of society within an open, deregulated market economy, with the provision of what is referred to in the literature as a form of “social safety net” (*cf.* Betcherman, Olivas & Dar, 2004). However, the precondition of such programmes is that the participatory beneficiaries must perform physical labour in order to earn an income, as opposed to receiving it without having to work for it, in the form of, for example, government social grants. Accordingly, one goal of South Africa’s EPWP is to create employment for poor, unemployed South Africans. However, it seems that important questions need to be asked with regard to those particular PWPs operating in South Africa. During his opening speech at the Department of Public Works Lekgotla, Minister Geoff Doidge quoted a statement by President Jacob Zuma (made during his closing of the Extended Cabinet Lekgotla) as follows:

What are we doing to fix the problems we have, what is to be done, how, by whom, within what time period and using what measures? How do we know we are making progress and by how much? If we are not making progress, how are we going to change things? We have as government taken stock of how far we have come over the past 15 years since our liberation. There are areas where we are honest with ourselves in admitting our failure. In places where either policy did not work, we have acknowledged and have noted the need for change.

(Republic of South Africa, 2010:2)

Many scholars (see, for example, McCord, 2004a and 2004b; Jackson, 2010; Subbarao, 2003 and Vodopivec, 1998) contributing to debates in the fields of welfare and workfare have referred to the temporary nature of PWPs. This short-term nature is due to such programmes being implemented by governments in order to assist the poor and uneducated to enter the open labour market, and to become financially independent of government support by leaving or exiting this employment provided for employment within the open labour market.

Despite such efforts to secure PWP participants’ financial independence from government, anecdotal evidence, gleaned from many case studies which were reviewed as part of this thesis (see Chapter Three), seems to cast doubt on the effectiveness of such programmes from a poverty alleviation and sustainable employment creation perspective. This has given rise to questions, such as whether PWPs merely provide a form of social insurance to their beneficiaries, whether such programmes actually assist their beneficiaries to become

independent by entering the labour market, or whether alternative sustainable employment opportunities exist for such beneficiaries to exit to. The available evidence (which will be discussed) indicates beneficiaries' reluctance to leave (or exit) such programmes, and raises questions about whether they perceive the employment provided by the programmes as temporary, or rather as an alternative to searching proactively for non-governmental employment.

The review of these studies, discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, greatly contributed to the refinement of the research problem and objectives of this thesis, especially since dependence on the state is sometimes portrayed in the relevant literature (such as in Fraser and Gordon, 1994; Freeman, 1998 and Greg, Duncan, Hill & Hoffman, 1988) as posing a problem to society. As a need was identified for more social science research on IAS and the WfW Programme in particular, WfW was selected as the focus of the study. This focus also resulted, in part, from the researcher's keen interest in both the fields of conservation and poverty alleviation. Frequent consultations with WfW Management narrowed the research problem down even further, in response to WfW Management's need to determine why particular WfW projects seem to encourage dependence on the state, rather than the empowerment - in relation to their finding alternative employment in the labour market - of the beneficiaries concerned.

In summary, a close reading of the relevant literature concerning welfare and workfare debates, as well as issues of state dependence and PWPs, all inspired the researcher to investigate how the WfW Programme can improve the lives of beneficiaries by providing them with temporary employment. Considering the relatively limited number of studies that have considered WfW from a sociological perspective, this thesis is aimed to be relevant to both the programme and to wider, academic debates on PWPs and employment creation. Moreover, to date, no study has attempted to investigate why the beneficiaries of a particular WfW project may become financially dependent on that project, nor could any studies be found that identified dimensions of beneficiary dependence on the WfW Programme. Furthermore, preliminary fieldwork by the researcher into WfW projects in the Western Cape made it clear that the role played by WfW's work- and social structure can reinforce beneficiaries' dependence on, and/or reluctance to exit such programmes, which requires analysis. The issue of WfW's work structure, in particular whether the employment provided should be permanent or temporary (which is a highly contested terrain currently) is of particular relevance at the time of writing, as the policies governing labour conditions under

the EPWP, including WfW, are currently being redrafted and ratified, involving, among others, reconsidering the length of time which beneficiaries are allowed to participate on such programmes (WfW Management, pers. comm. 11 Aug. 2010).

1.2.1 Research objectives

According to WfW Management and previous social research conducted on WfW, beneficiary dependence on the state has been well-established as a consequence of WfW projects, and therefore the researcher commenced his study by considering the relevant literature on the phenomenon. This literature mainly consisted of theoretical perspectives on welfare dependence, as it is commonly argued by many academics that various forms of workfare, of which WfW is one example, provide an alternative means for poor people to enter the labour market, as opposed to becoming dependent on the state for financial handouts.

In terms of explaining how beneficiaries of state welfare support become state dependent, a review of the literature identified different dimensions of the construct “dependency”, together with models and hypotheses that needed to be considered. These include *cultural models of dependence*, the *rational choice* and *expectancy models*, the *heterogeneity* and *time dependence hypotheses*, and the concept of *negative duration dependence*.

1.2.2 Research questions

This thesis is aimed at describing the nature and extent of WfW beneficiaries’ dependence on the programme, as well as at exploring which sociological factors might affect such dependence. The following research questions, which pertain to different dimensions of the construct “dependency”, are investigated:

- 1) What are the beneficiaries’ work histories, and how did they enter the WfW Programme?
- 2) How much time have the beneficiaries spent on WfW projects?
- 3) Do the beneficiaries have access to alternative financial resources?
- 4) What are the beneficiaries’ expectations of long-term WfW employment?
- 5) What are the beneficiaries’ perceptions of their own employability outside the WfW programme?

1.3 An overview of the research methodology employed

The thesis considers beneficiary dependence specifically in terms of four WfW projects, each located within a different CapeNature reserve and catchment areas in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. CapeNature is a public institution, and responsible for the conservation of biodiversity in the Western Cape (CapeNature, 2008). One of the institution's mandates includes alien vegetation management (AVM) to combat the spread of IAS by means of labour-intensive methods that create employment opportunities. In order to fulfil this mandate, CapeNature has, for a number of years, selected specific WfW projects within CapeNature reserve and catchment areas for the implementation of IAS-clearing programmes (CapeNature, 2008).

The study reported in this thesis employed a stratified systematic sampling technique for randomly drawing a sample of beneficiaries from lists that were obtained from the managers of the four WfW projects selected for the study. The sampled beneficiaries were personally interviewed in accordance with a semi-structured interview schedule. Personal, unstructured interviews were also conducted with the four project managers involved in the study. This data mostly pertained to the history of the various projects studied, as well as some personal views of the managers with regard to their beneficiaries. Such data were mostly used within the findings chapter to provide a background of the projects studied. The data collection period lasted 3 months, from August to October 2009.

1.4 Chapter outline

The introduction of Public Works Programmes (PWP) in the 19th century was shaped by extensive welfare and workfare debates of the 19th and 20th centuries. The next chapter is therefore devoted to the history of welfare and workfare programmes from an international perspective. An introductory description of the “welfare state”, as prevalent at that time, shows how academic critique contributed to the introduction of alternative workfare programmes in the course of the 20th century. Chapter Two also reveals the association of sociopathology with dependence on the state, which is also reflected in South Africa's EPWP, and consequently, WfW policies, aimed as they are at establishing the independence of entrepreneurs, or at assisting the participatory beneficiaries to become self-reliant. Chapter Two concludes with the discussion of models and hypotheses that may contribute to an

understanding of the notion of state dependence. Various dimensions of this construct were employed in formulating the research questions (see above) and interpreting the data in Chapter Five.

Chapter Three focuses on the establishment of PWPs internationally, as well as in the form of South Africa's EPWP, with the focus on the formation of WfW as an EPWP. The chapter provides an overview of the problems and challenges associated with the eradication of IAS, and the establishment of the WfW Programme as a response to these. Chapter Three then proceeds to outline WfW's employment creation mandates, and its contractor development approach (CDA), focusing on the origins of the latter, as well as current contestations over its results. The chapter also considers the findings of existing research on WfW, which are deemed relevant to the thesis. Such studies highlight various social tendencies, such as the stigmatisation of PWP beneficiaries, as well as the debates which have raged over various aspects of the PWPs. The chapter concludes with a general discussion of past research on various other PWPs, with a focus on their findings with regard to similar social issues similar to the ones identified in research on WfW.

Chapter Four outlines the methodology employed in the research reported in this thesis. A description of the way in which the interview schedule was constructed, which highlights consultations conducted with WfW and CapeNature Managers, is followed by a summary of the structure and content of the interview schedule. The chapter then outlines the sampling method employed, in terms of which particular challenges are identified. Next follows a description of the interview process and analysis of the resultant data, whereafter the researcher considers the potential sources of error and limitations relevant to this study. The last two sections of this methodology chapter are devoted to ethical considerations of relevance to the study, and the way in which the research and this thesis aim to stimulate development of appropriate policy, and to feed key lessons back into the WfW Programme.

Chapter Five, which discusses the findings of the study, commences with a description of background data pertaining to the WfW projects selected for the study, and the sampled respondents. The results of the analysis of the interview responses are then presented, interpreted and discussed in relation to the research questions as outlined in section 1.2 above. Chapter Five reveals the relevance of the literature reviewed in the second and third chapters of this to an interpretation of the findings of this study. The chapter then concludes the thesis with policy recommendations relevant to the WfW Programme, and suggestions for important research topics to consider for the future.

CHAPTER TWO: FROM WELFARE TO WORKFARE

2.1 Introduction

BEFORE THE INCEPTION of workfare programmes in the course of the 20th century, many states provided for the poor by means of welfare programmes, which gave rise to the concept of the “welfare state”. Such a state can be described as one which takes responsibility for the well-being of its citizens (Scott & Marshall, 2005), particularly the poor sectors of society, by providing them with welfare benefits that one may associate with a form of a “social security system” (Scott & Marshall, 2005:698). Often, the concept of a welfare state is associated with the notion of a government which simply provides money to the poor, without their active participation in any form of labour or service in return.

In the late 20th century, many states changed their focus from providing welfare support to providing employment for the poor. This notion of workfare implies that the poor have to earn their income, which would arguably assist in reducing the dependence of the poor on the state (Attas & De-Shalit, 2004). However, rather than reducing such dependence, states now seem to face the challenge of beneficiary dependence on workfare programmes.

This second chapter of the thesis provides a global overview of the history of welfare programmes, which is often referred to as operating within welfare regimes. The literature which is reviewed in this chapter includes scholarly work relating to welfare regimes, and critiques thereof (e.g., Mendes, 2009; Ritzer, 2007). The international shift toward workfare programmes, along with the rationale underlying such a shift and the consequent creation of a culture of dependence, are also discussed (Attas & De-Shalit, 2004; Dean, 2007; Heinemann, 2008; Mann, 2008). Other scholars (e.g., Dostal, 2008; Goldberg, 2001) describe the shift from welfare to workfare regimes in terms of the emergence of neoliberalist forces, which (in part) gave rise to the conversion of welfare programmes to workfare programmes in countries such as the United States. According to authors such as Jackson (2010), Radice (2008) and Saxonberg and Sirovátka (2009), neoliberalist thinking accounts for states’ realisation of the importance of providing social protection mechanisms for the poor within a newly open and deregulated market economy.

As this thesis is aimed at describing the nature and extent of WfW beneficiaries' dependence on the WfW Programme, as well as exploring factors that may contribute to the development of such dependence, the researcher draws on the theories of social structure of Bernardi, González and Requena (2007), Kondrat (2002) and Turner (2006), in order to explain why and how people become dependent on state welfare. The cultural models of Bane and Ellwood (1994), Contini and Negri (2006) and Lewis (1963) are applied to explain notions of dependence that emerge from the culture of poverty. Bernardi *et al.*'s (2007) understanding of the role played by the individual in becoming dependent on the state is also explored. This role is further discussed in relation to the writings of Contini and Negri (2006) and Dahl and Lorentzen (2003), among others.

2.2 From welfare to workfare

2.2.1 Neoliberalist tendencies

The shift from a welfare to a workfare mindset can be understood in terms of neoliberalist tendencies prevailing during the 19th and 20th centuries. Jackson (2010) explains that many neoliberalist debates in these centuries favoured incorporating social security systems for the unemployed into state policies. Initial attempts were made by neoliberalists in the 19th century to improve upon the systems of capitalism and liberalism. In essence, they viewed the state's role in the economy as an undermining of individual liberty, and as running counter to the achievement of social justice and equality. Within such emerging neoliberalist strains of thought arose a leaning towards an economic system that would "enable individuals to formulate their own individual life-plans on a rational basis" (Jackson, 2010:138).

However, as Jackson (2010) notes, many 20th century neoliberalists also agreed on the need for state assistance of the poor, which would assist them to cope within an increasingly open market and deregulated state policies. For example, neoliberalist writer Lippmann outlined a proposal in *The Good Society*, which included a call for the implementation of some form of social insurance within the ambit of public policy. Such advocacy of social insurance also supported the use of PWPs to reduce unemployment:

[...] almost all of the neo-liberals argued that a rough distributive pattern should be imposed by the state in the form of a floor constraint on income levels and the redistribution of very large concentrations of wealth; the corollary was that these neo-liberal pioneers did not believe that a properly functioning free market would itself provide every member of the community with an acceptable standard of living

(Lippmann, 1810 as cited in Jackson, 2010:145)

Neoliberalism, in more contemporary terms, is based on the provision of some form of targeted welfare benefit as a safety net for the poor (*cf.* Saxonberg & Sirovátka, 2009), as well as on a strong belief in the regulatory capacity of the market, and in the need to restrict the state's scope of action (*cf.* Radice, 2008). However, there was also increasing opposition to the principle of the "welfare state", as many states began introducing such social security systems as social grants (Jackson, 2010).

2.2.2 Welfare-related debates

The legislation which was passed during the "Poor Laws Era" (Dean, 2007:574) of the 1800s and 1900s in Europe enforced a paternalistic ideology on states, in terms of which the rich and powerful were obliged to take responsibility for the poor and dispossessed. According to Dean (2007), such a welfare ethic largely stemmed from a notion of paternalism encouraged by middle-class philanthropists. This notion originated in the pastoral traditions of the preceding era, during which the upper classes were held responsible for the well-being of the lower, or so-called "less fortunate" classes.

In the 20th century, the welfare state ideology, which manifested itself even more evidently during the period of post-war reform in order to support the increasing vulnerable sectors of society, was criticised by some academics for being too expensive for the middle classes to sustain (Mann, 2008; writing about Titmuss' work on welfare)¹. In the context of opposing class structures, the obligation expressed by certain governments to provide welfare to the poor led to negative perceptions of the lower classes (Mann, 2008). The poor were increasingly viewed as dependent on the state, and ultimately dependent on the working middle classes for financial support. In such a context, Heinemann (2008) notes that concern

¹The critique against the welfare state is prominent in Titmuss' work on the welfare state (*cf.* Abel-Smith & Titmuss, 1987), which is aimed at showing that, stereotypically, the welfare state ignored the benefits which accrued to all social classes as a result of welfare.

regarding the potentially self-destructive nature of the welfare state dates back to the 1930s, at which time President Franklin D. Roosevelt sounded a warning in this regard.

According to Himmelfarb (1995, as cited in Dean, 2007), by the end of the 20th century, some theorists argued that the ideology underlying the welfare state served only to demoralise the poor, while eroding citizens a sense of responsibility. At this stage in Europe, poverty-related discourse focused on the idea that the welfare state was creating a dependency culture, which eroded the ability of the poor to become self-reliant as far as their productive labour was concerned (Dean, 2007:576). In a similar vein, Jackson (2010:147) referred to the concern among 20th century neoliberal writers regarding the potential impact of “welfare dependency”, in the light of what they viewed as a continuously overgenerous unemployment benefit system.

Scholars such as Dean (2007) argued on the basis of what they perceived to be an increasingly individualistic developed world, characterised by a heightened focus on self-identity and self-realisation. Others based their critique of the social welfare system on the grounds that those who depended on cash benefits from the state subscribed to exactly the same values and aspirations as did the rest of mainstream society (*cf.* Ritzer, 2007). In response to such criticism, as well as to the above-mentioned neoliberal tendencies, the social welfare ethic gave way to a new ethic of workfare programmes.

In more contemporary terms, Mendes (2009) discusses the Australian welfare state and the policies adopted by the country’s Liberal National Coalition government, especially under the leadership of John Howard in 2007. He notes that welfare programmes may produce poverty instead of relieving it, by undermining a sense of individual responsibility and, consequently, rendering dependence on welfare “profitable” for the poor (Mendes, 2009:105). Neoliberals such as Lawrence Mead believe that states should incorporate a sense of “new paternalism” in their policies, in terms of which duties and obligations towards the poor should be financially rewarded.

Dostal (2008) explains that academic debate on workfare has revolved around the consequences of abolishing in the 1990s, the largest federal welfare benefit programme in the United States, namely the Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The abolition of the programme occurred in the wake of growing interest in creating an alternative Work Experience Programme (WEP). As Dostal explains, most analysts hold that the concept of workfare implies the provision of benefits in return for work. The change in the 1990s from

the ideology of welfare to workfare is also discussed by Goldberg (2001), who writes about New York City's Work Experience Programme (WEP), which replaced the preceding AFDC.

In summary, the global shift in state policy from welfare to workfare is associated in part with changes that took place during the 19th and 20th centuries, in particular the emergence of neoliberalist tendencies toward a deregulation of the market, a criticism of the emerging welfare state, and the notion that, "social policy benefits or relief should be made conditional on the performance of labour" (Goldberg, 2001:581). Such changes, arguably, represented a complete departure from the earlier "Poor Laws Era" in Europe, which replaced slavery and forced labour with the implementation of the welfare state.

2.2.3 Workfare-related debates

According to Kim and Zurlo (2007), the emergence of workfare programmes was driven, at least in part, by the rationale that such programmes would reduce the beneficiaries' dependence on welfare, and ultimately on the state, for support. Besley and Coate (1992) explain that, during the 19th century, conservatives in the Western countries argued that an increase in expenditure on social programmes resulted in a dependency on the state for support. In order to overcome such a problem, the notion that the poor should come to view "poor relief" as less attractive than being employed was underpinned by the 1834 Poor Law Commissioners' proposal to place all poor in the workhouse.

Although states today still provide social welfare, most governments seem to share an interest in having an economically active citizenry, which is in accordance with their "desire to enforce the responsibilities of the poor to sustain themselves" (Roche 1992, as cited in Dean, 2007:577). As explained by Morris and Williamson (1987), such a view contributes to the social construction of dependence as an undesirable state. Furthermore, the emergence of workfare reflects the increasingly widespread norm that one's income should be the result of one's labour, and that it is more desirable to have individuals effectively socialised "to engage in behaviours that can prevent or ameliorate their own dependency" (14).

According to Attas and De-Shalit (2004), the notion of workfare is also based on an argument in favour of self-reliance, from which it follows that, being provided with employment opportunities rather than with financial handouts, should encourage greater self-reliance, the building of self-esteem, and enhanced self-efficiency. Such psychological terms are related to, among others, motivational and cognitive theories which conceptualise self-efficiency in terms of an actor's motivations, expectancies and perceptions of self-control

(Gecas, 1989). The notion of improving self-efficiency through workfare is not, however, uncontested. For example, in their study of the unemployed in Australia, Marston and McDonald (2008) concluded that self-efficacy was not developed by gaining paid employment. They argue that, although workfare programmes offer training, such programmes do not reinforce a sense of self-efficacy.

Finally, there is a tendency to view workfare as less isolating than welfare, based on the argument that the former would enable individuals to conduct social interactions and networks in a working environment (Goldberg, 2001). Similarly, Kim and Zurlo (2007) note that workfare is advocated on the grounds that it helps to prevent social exclusion. As will be revealed and explained in Chapter Three of this thesis, these arguments on the social interaction and networking opportunities provided by workfare have particular relevance to the WfW Programme, which encourages beneficiaries to work within teams.

2.2.4 The shift to a workfare regime in South Africa

According to Philips' (2004) consideration of international literature on the shift from welfare to workfare regimes, most countries, including South Africa, have experienced three different workfare regimes, namely an agrarian, corporatist and redistributive regime. The first regime involved attempts by the state to protect its agrarian society by means of boosting agricultural productivity and safeguarding family relations. Whereas the corporatist regime entailed access to welfare support depending on access to employment, the redistributive regime involved the government's tackling of poverty by means of cash transfers or social grants. Furthermore, Philips shows that, similar to many other countries, South Africa transformed from an agrarian regime to a redistributive regime in response to rising levels of unemployment.

The depression experienced by the South African economy in the 1920s reinforced the need for a redistributive regime, as PWPs were developed to create employment opportunities for whites (McCord, 2004a). In the mid-20th century, South Africa also experienced a decline in its agrarian economy, and an increase in landlessness and poverty in both its rural and urban areas, which compelled the government to introduce a range of social assistance programmes in the 1940s. In the wake of South Africa's transition to a democracy in 1994, welfare support to the poor – in the form of social income grants – was expanded, while simultaneously workfare programmes – in the form of PWPs – were formally re-

introduced, with the latter undoubtedly influenced by the emerging international workfare regime.

2.3 The construction of dependence as a social pathology

As mentioned above, throughout the course of the welfare regime, many states and their citizens viewed dependence in a negative light. States' attempts to minimise such dependence included, for example, public housing schemes, such as the Family Self-Sufficient Programme, which were implemented in the United States during the 1990s (Freeman, 1998). As with workfare programmes, such schemes aimed to prevent dependence on the government for support, by placing a limit on the length of time one may reside in a publicly owned house. In this way, as Freeman (1998) shows that dependency on the government was cast in a negative light, and viewed as an undesirable, or even sociopathological, state.

One definition of dependency, offered by Scott and Marshall (2005:146), is “the state of being subordinated to someone or something”. Quite often, dependence is characterised as antonymous to self-reliance (Scott & Marshall, 2005). According to Fraser and Gordon (1994:309), dependence can be described as an “incomplete state in life”, which is normal in a child, but abnormal in an adult. According to Nathan (as cited in Fraser & Gordon), policy experts all agree that dependency is detrimental to a society and that it demoralises people, but above all, that it isolates and stigmatises welfare recipients in a way that accentuates their position as part of an underclass.

For Fraser and Gordon (1994), dependence is an ideological term, which carries strong emotive and visual associations and charge. Furthermore, they maintain that the verb “to depend”, in its abstract form, has different registers which span sociolegal, economic, psychological, and political realms. The economic meaning of this verb refers to dependence on an institution for subsistence. The meaning of the verb in the sociolegal register refers to a lack of a legal or public identity, which is explained by Fraser and Gordon with the example of the status of a married woman. Politically, the verb refers to “subjection to an external ruling power” (Fraser & Gordon, 1994:312), while the psychological translation of the noun “dependence” refers to an individual characteristic trait, “like lack of will power or excessive emotional neediness” (Fraser & Gordon, 1994:312).

According to Fraser and Gordon (1994), the preindustrial use of the term “dependence” referred to the above-mentioned state of being subordinated to someone or something, as defined by Scott and Marshall (2005). Furthermore, a “dependent” was viewed as someone who depended physically on another for support, and who was, therefore, classified as a servant, in contrast to someone who was viewed as independent, who owned property, and for whom it was possible to make a living without having to perform physical labour. In these terms, a dependent was someone who made a living by working for someone else.

Proceeding to the industrial use of the term “dependence”, Fraser and Gordon (1994) note a societal powerful anxiety emerging in relation to the term, which began to refer to an individual characteristic, and which resulted in the birth of its “psychological register” (Fraser & Gordon, 1994:315). Such redefinition of the term “dependence” partly stemmed from Radical Protestantism, which considered independence as reflective of positive individual traits, with dependence used to label an individual negatively on the basis of his or her individual traits.

Anxiety regarding the growing dependence of people on relief or aid which they receive from the government seems to have its roots in the American welfare regime, which prevailed from 1890 to 1945. Welfare programmes, funded by general tax revenue, created the perception among citizens that the beneficiaries of such programmes were “getting something for nothing” (Fraser & Gordon, 1994:321). Moreover, the argument that being on welfare tends to increase beneficiary dependence, stems from the concern that the welfare system tends to create a “welfare culture”, which supposedly creates a sense of dependence, as well as discouraging self-sufficiency among beneficiaries (Greg *et al.*, 1988). Such a “welfare culture”, it is argued, changes not only the attitudes of beneficiaries, but that of their children as well. As a result, generations of people can become stigmatised on such grounds. By the time of the post-World War II era, when state dependents were characterised as recipients of aid, negative connotations of the term had become fixed (Fraser & Gordon, 1994).

2.4 Understanding dependence through theoretical frameworks

To understand and explore the nature and extent of the dependence of WfW beneficiaries, this thesis takes social structure, through the consideration of an actor's social environment, as its theoretical foundation. In the remainder of this section, two sets of frameworks of social structure are considered, namely the cultural and relational frameworks on the one hand, and the individualistic framework on the other.

2.4.1 An actor in relation to his/her social environment

Edin and Lein's (1997) study regarding the survival strategies of welfare mothers living in the United States, shows how mothers subsisting on welfare feel stigmatised by friends and community members. The authors argue that the surveyed mothers did not freely choose their own survival strategies, but that their choices in this regard were constrained by the cities in which they lived, which may be regarded as their social environment. Taking such an argument further theoretically, Bernardi *et al.* (2007) consider social structure in terms of a cultural perspective. Such a perspective emphasises those cultural beliefs, norms and values which direct and regulate social action, such as the culture of stigmatisation within which the mothers in Edin and Lein's study have to live.

Within sociology, social structure is often understood as a set of cultural models which contours actors' expectations and behaviours (Bernardi *et al.*, 2007). In contrast, a relational framework of social structure views the elements that constitute social structure as social relations, and focuses on the combining force of social relations, as they connect individuals and/or communities. Expanding on the relational framework in terms of exploring and understanding the social structure, is the distributive or positional perspective (Bernardi *et al.*, 2007:164). The best way in which to explain such a variation of the relational vision of social structure is through the writings of Lin (2001:33, as cited in Bernardi *et al.*, 2007:164), who defines social structure as:

- 1) A set of social units that possess differential amounts of one or more types of valued resources and that (2) are hierarchically related relative to authority (control and access to resources), (3) share certain rules and procedures in the use of the resources, and (4) are entrusted to occupants (agents) who act on these rules and procedures.

Within the wide range of literature on state dependence, one theoretical framework which can broadly be categorised within the cultural or relational framework of social structure is referred to as *cultural models of dependency* (cf. Freeman, 1998 and Contini & Negri, 2006). These view an actor as socialised, and governed by social norms, rules and obligations. In terms of such models, therefore, the social structure within which an actor exists can contribute to that actor becoming dependent.

Cultural explanations of dependence are associated with cultural factors or traits, external to an actor, which influence his/her behaviour (Freeman, 1998). Such explanations indicate that an actor's immediate social environment, which may, for example, be characterised by a lack of employment opportunities, can force him/her to learn to cope in a particular way. In other words, cultural models view behaviour as learned within the context of, and therefore moulded by, an actor's social environment. In terms of the issue of dependence, such models explain that dependence on the government for support may be a learned way of coping with a lack of employment opportunities. Such an understanding of the source of dependence is considered in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Contini and Negri (2006:4) explain that, in the context of welfare, a sequence of learned dependence or helplessness behaviours eventually create what is referred to as a culture of poverty. Again, the social environment plays a key role in this process. By repeatedly being exposed to stigmatisation, and/or such social constructions as "you are a welfare recipient and do not contribute to this economy", an actor may feel trapped in a sense of helplessness, which will, inevitably, immerses him/her in a culture of poverty. According to Lewis (1963), those who define themselves - or who are defined - as part of such a culture, experience strong feelings of marginalisation, alienation from the broader community and dependence. In addition, a sense of powerlessness, inferiority and personal unworthiness is likely to emerge.

According to Bane and Ellwood (1994), cultural models for predicting state dependence emphasise values, orientations and expectations of actors. Furthermore, the authors maintain that cultural models may predict, for example, that a group living in a geographically isolated and socially excluded area will develop adverse values, as a result of their circumstances. Applied to the concept of dependence, cultural models predict that dependence may arise when disadvantaged and unsuccessful people live together while making little contact with the broader society in which they live.

In addition to such a spatial component, receiving state welfare also involves an intergenerational component, according to which whole families with “distorted” values accept welfare as part of their lives and pass such values onto the generations that follow. In this regard, Duncan, Hill, and Hoffman (1988:469) refer to an “intergenerational transmission of welfare dependence” to explain why children who live in welfare-recipient households may be more likely to view themselves be recipients of welfare when they grow up. Accordingly, childhood experiences associated with growing up in welfare-recipient households may influence later adult behaviour in such a way as to create a cycle or culture of welfare dependence. Accordingly, Duncan *et al.* (1988:470) ask the question: “To what extent does welfare reduce recipient motivation to work or to marry, encourage recipients to have children, impair their attitudes, or otherwise trap them into dependence?”

2.4.2 An actor’s own choices, decisions and actions

Bernardi *et al.* (2007:167) ask: “To what an extent does the [social] structure condition and determine the actions of individuals?” To answer the question, an appeal is made to individualism, based on the principle that “individual actors are the atoms, and structure takes its form and existence from their aggregation” (Bernardi *et al.*, 2007:167). Such an individualistic paradigm emphasises an actor’s role in maintaining the existing social structure (Homans, 1967, as cited in Bernardi *et al.*, 2007).

As explained by Bernardi *et al.*, individualism defines the unit of analysis in social structures as the individual actor, who chooses his/her course of actions intentionally, from all available options and choices. “The influence of the structure is manifest both in what the actor can do [i.e., his available options] and in what he wants to do as his preferences have been formed in a specific social context” (Bernardi *et al.*, 2007:169). Taking such a general introduction to individualism as the point of departure, leads one to another framework for the exploration of dependence - one which focuses on an actor’s own choices and subsequent decisions and actions. Bane and Ellwood (1994) provide an overview of such a *rational choice model*.

2.4.2.1 *The rational choice model and heterogeneity hypothesis*

The rational choice model maintains that an actor examines available options he/she faces, evaluates them, and selects the option which brings him/her the greatest sense of satisfaction. Applied to welfare dependence, opting for long-term welfare reciprocity results from a chain of rational choices, exercised by an individual in the light of available (particularly economic) options. In contrast to cultural models, which emphasise social capital, the rational choice model emphasises the role played by human capital, such as skills and capabilities (Coleman, 1988). However, the model may be critiqued on the grounds that such options may be absent, or at least severely limited in particular social environments, as well as by a social structure (belief systems, rules, norms or cultures). For example, a beneficiary of WfW may not have received any formal education, which limits his/her lifestyle choices. The same beneficiary may also expect, as a cultural norm, the government to provide him/her with employment. In such a case, it would be naive to assume that the beneficiary concerned can choose freely from a range of options.

According to Dahl and Lorentzen (2003), the rational choice model views an actor maximises his/her own utility. The most important aspects which must therefore be taken into account in any attempt to understand dependence are the options which actors face, the opportunities they are afforded, and the economic incentives with which they are provided. Dahl and Lorentzen (2003) identify variables such as income, education or work experience as key to understanding dependence in terms of the model. Accordingly, beneficiaries who are “endowed with few socio-economic resources are more likely to remain on social assistance for a long time and less likely to move to work” (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2003:521). Such a phenomenon is also often referred to as the *heterogeneity hypothesis*, which postulates that beneficiaries with fewer resources, including financial means at their disposal, are more inclined to remain recipients of government assistance, compared to those beneficiaries who have more resources at their disposal (Contini & Negri, 2006).

With specific reference to the WfW Programme, the heterogeneity hypothesis suggests that a beneficiary with fewer “resources”, such as sources of income alternative to WfW, or financial contributions from family members at his/her disposal, would be much more likely to be dependent on WfW for employment and less inclined to consider leaving the programme, than would a beneficiary who is less financially dependent on WfW, because he/she has a variety of options and resources which inform his/her actions.

2.4.2.2 *The expectancy model*

Various other models also highlight individualism in the choices which an actor believes he/she faces, and therefore accord the actor centre stage in terms of their explanation of dependence. For example, the *expectancy model* emphasises an individual's sense of control over a particular circumstance, as well as over the likelihood that the outcome will be a desirable one. According to Atkinson (1964, as cited in Bane & Ellwood, 1994:75), "[P]eople will act in a certain way only if they have an expectancy that the action is likely to move them toward a desired result". By implication, the expectancy model postulates that dependence results from actors losing a sense of control over their lives, which renders them sceptical of the possibility of getting off welfare. Furthermore, when an actor defines his/her situation as overwhelming, he/she loses the ability to try to gain control over his/her circumstances by making use of available opportunities. For this reason, understanding a person's past becomes crucial to understanding the chain of events which eventually causes him/her to live on, or off, welfare. According to Dahl and Lorentzen (2003), the expectancy model emphasises the biography of the actor, and allocates a central role to such variables as competence, sense of control, self-esteem and self-efficacy in attempts to predict beneficiary dependence.

2.4.2.3 *The time dependence hypothesis and negative duration dependence*

Finally, another line of thought which aims to explain the concept of dependence in terms of individualism, considers how much time an individual has already spent on welfare. The *time dependence hypothesis* predicts that the amount of time which a beneficiary spends on welfare influences his/her attitudes and subsequent behaviour (Dahl & Lorentzen, 2003). Consequently, the longer the person is on welfare, the more likely it is that he/she will tend to lose his/her sense of self-efficacy, morale, motivation and/or skills with regard to earning an income or even searching for employment. The *negative duration dependence*, in contrast, posits that the longer an individual has spent on welfare, the more difficult it is for him/her to exit welfare (Contini & Negri, 2006). In the context of this thesis, the length of time which beneficiaries have already benefitted from the WfW Programme is an important consideration in understanding their capacity to exit the programme.

2.5 Conclusion

Chapter Two provided an overview of the change in states' focus from the provision of welfare to workfare programmes, as considered in scholarly debate. Such debates make it clear that a view of welfare dependence as a social pathology, denigrated by economically active citizens, has developed historically. Such a negative perception, which is also evident with regard to South Africa's EPWP and WfW, is expanded upon in the next chapter. In their policies, throughout the 20th century in particular, states have increasingly subscribed to the belief that an individual must work for his/her income, which has resulted in the current provision of workfare programmes. Furthermore, workfare has been advocated as a response to the kind of state dependence that arguably resulted from the welfare system.

Chapter Two also provided a brief overview of theoretical frameworks which are deemed useful in understanding WfW beneficiary dependence, and a distinction was drawn between those that focus on the social environment, and those that emphasise the individualistic, or actor level. Taking both such perspectives into account leads one to the conclusion that WfW beneficiaries would be influenced by their social environment, as well as by their own rational choices, decisions, and actions. The findings of this study will, therefore, be interpreted in terms of such broad theoretical frameworks, to determine not only to what extent, but also why, beneficiaries tend to become dependent on the WfW Programme. The theoretical frameworks considered will also be used to inform strategies that may be considered by WfW in its attempts at dealing with dependence-related challenges in a constructive way.

CHAPTER THREE: WORKING FOR WATER AS AN EXPANDED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME



Figure 3.1: A WfW team clearing invasive alien species in Franschoek in the Western Cape.

3.1 Introduction

IN A 1993 SOUTH AFRICAN household survey, the respondents were asked: “What in your opinion could government do to most help this household improve its living conditions?” The answer was straightforward: create employment (Haddad & Adato, 2001). In its attempt to counter widespread poverty among marginalised groups in South Africa, the newly elected ANC government in 1994 implemented a Public Works Programme (PWP), referred to as Working for Water (WfW), in order to address the spread of invasive alien species (IAS) in South Africa while, at the same time, attempting to alleviating poverty by providing employment opportunities for the unemployed. A particular challenge currently faced by the programme, however, is that many beneficiaries have become highly dependent on the employment and work structure provided by the programme (CASE, 2007). Such a situation is in striking contrast to the intended outcome of the programme, which is to create independent entrepreneurs, who could exit the programme by entering the labour market.

This chapter first provides an overview of South Africa’s Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), within the ambit of which WfW falls. The work of scholars that is relevant to EPWP is considered, including that of Haddad and Adato (2001), McCord (2004a, 2004b), Philips (2004), Seekings (2006), and Vodopivec (2004). The overview is followed by a discussion of the way in which WfW relates to PWPs in general, including an introduction to the inception of PWPs globally, and in South Africa in particular. In this introduction, some viewpoints regarding South Africa’s PWPs and the country’s context of poverty

emerge. The chapter then proceeds with a consideration of concerns for the environment, which were expressed by experts in the field of environmental studies, and which led to the implementation of a dedicated programme in an attempt to solve the problem that IAS pose for South Africa. In this regard, the work of scholars such as Hulme (2009), Joubert (2009), Turpie, Marais and Blignaut (2008), and Van Wilgen, Richardson, Le Maitre, Marais and Magadlela (2001), is considered.

Chapter Three further contextualises this thesis by describing WfW's social objectives and its CDA, primarily on the basis of the research conducted by Corbett (1999) and De Satgé, Urquhart, Manaka and Moahloli (2003). Lastly, the findings of previously conducted case studies pertaining to the effectiveness of PWPs, as well as some general perceptions (based on authors' empirical evidence) of the successes attained by such programmes, are reviewed. The studies considered include those of Gaiha (2005), McCord (2003, 2004a), Subbarao (1997), and Vodopivec (2004). The review of these studies introduces some of the dependency-related challenges which WfW, as well as other PWPs, currently face.

3.2 WfW as a Public Works Programme

Since WfW is a South African PWP, it is necessary to consider the background to the establishment and objectives of such a programme. In South Africa, PWPs were in part established during the 1990s to provide relief to the poor, and to build the capacity of marginalised communities, thereby stimulating economic development. In 1994, the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) again referred to PWPs as a response to the need to create employment and to provide social upliftment of the poor (Seekings, 2006). Initially, the PWPs were allocated a budget of R350 million per annum, with which 130 000 employment opportunities were created between 1998 and 2004 (Philips, 2004).

South Africa's PWPs are officially defined by the Department of Public Works (DPW) as "[P]roviding poverty and income relief through temporary work for the unemployed to carry out socially useful activities" (Republic of South Africa, 2009). According to the DPW, PWPs are implemented in the infrastructure, economic, social and environmental sectors of South Africa. Vodopivec (2004) notes that PWPs, in general, are temporary measures, which are developed in response to economic and natural shocks, as a means of providing low-wage employment opportunities for the participants in such programmes. Accordingly, PWPs in South Africa may be classified as "temporary public works" (McCord, 2004a:8). PWPs are

therefore aimed at generating temporary employment in response to temporary distortions of the labour market.

PWPs may also be defined as workfare programmes, the aim of which is to provide paid employment, rather than welfare payments. Such programmes are implemented by governments for a variety of reasons, including the transfer of benefits to the poor and/or the building of infrastructure (Haddad & Adato, 2001). McCord (2004a) explains that PWP employment can be categorised into different types, according to their physical (small- to large-scale) or temporal (short- to long-term) scale, and include temporary public works (with the latter providing employment at a certain critical time of labour market disturbance, as was noted earlier). One example of the provision of large-scale public sector employment is the PWP developed in the 20th century in response to South Africa's "poor white" problem, which was implemented in response to the rising levels of unemployment among whites during the 1920s' depression (McCord, 2004a:8), and which will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.3 below.

PWPs are a means of providing social protection to their beneficiaries, as well as to their households. Social protection can be defined as "public measures to provide income security for individuals" (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001:529). By providing such social protection, PWPs can assist marginalised sectors of society in accessing basic services, in avoiding social exclusion, and/or in countering financial shocks. Such a social protection framework is based upon the assumption that it is mainly the poor who are exposed to income-related shocks, and that it is they who have the least amount of resources available for dealing with such shocks (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001). This renders the poor vulnerable, and justifies the need for the social protection PWPs offer.

3.2.1 PWPs in a global perspective

The launch of South Africa's PWPs in the 1990s was informed by international example. As indicated by McCord (2004a)², many developed countries adopted PWP initiatives during the depression years of the 1930s. Bernstein (1994) writes that the most extensive PWPs during these years were implemented in the United States, when the US government became increasingly keen to avoid dependence on state support. The concern, which was discussed in Chapter Two, was that social transfers to the poor would render them incapable of building their own livelihoods and of exiting such programmes (Ellis, Devereux & White, 2009). During the 1930s and 1940s, PWPs were also introduced in other countries, including Britain, Sweden, Finland and Canada. As noted by Ellis *et al.* (2009), the 1960s and 1970s, saw the emergence of social protection in the form of food subsidies. During the 1980s, the importance of social protection of the poor as a way of assisting vulnerable citizens diminished. This change was largely driven by the liberalisation of markets, in response to which social protection of the poor generally began serving the function of a safety net.

An example of a PWP established outside of South Africa, is that of the *Trabajar* Programme, which was implemented in 1996 in Argentina, in response to increased levels of unemployment. The programme was aimed at providing temporary employment for the poor (Subbarao, 2003). Similarly, a Slovenian PWP was launched in the 1990s, in the hope of encouraging the poor to be proactive in finding work for themselves in Slovene (Vodopivec, 1998). Such PWPs also aimed to provide moral support to beneficiaries, and to accelerate the process of employment generation.

Two further examples of PWPs include India's nationwide *Jawahar Yojana* (JRY) and Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS), which were both designed to alleviate poverty by providing employment. According to Gaiha (2005), the EGS, which is based in the city of Maharashtra, has grown to be India's most important poverty alleviation programme. EGS offers temporary, labour-intensive employment to its beneficiaries, and is even described by Gaiha (2005:949) as "guaranteeing employment on demand". The only criterion for inclusion as a beneficiary of such programmes is the willingness to perform any unskilled manual work on a piece-rate basis. Such conditions imply that a beneficiary must be willing to travel long distances for a few days' temporary employment. As documented by Bernstein (1994),

²*Cf.* McCord (2004b) on the establishment of, and the challenges facing, South Africa's PWPs.

during the 1960s in particular, the range of influence of PWPs reached less developed countries, as international agencies began realising how extreme the levels of unemployment in such countries were.

Thus, PWPs are not a uniquely South African initiative, but should be viewed in relation to other poverty alleviation initiatives in the world. Furthermore, PWPs seem to rest on the assumption that employment guarantee programmes keep the poor from becoming dependent on state support. Such an assumption relates to the concept of neoliberalism, which is generally regarded as the belief in a self-regulatory market, and in the need to restrict the actions of the state (Radice, 2008). South Africa's neoliberalist tendencies are, perhaps, most clearly underwritten in the ANC's Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, introduced in 1996 by the then Finance Minister, Trevor Manuel. Nevertheless, PWPs were also envisioned during the 20th century (in particular) as social safety nets, or as an enabling mechanism for the poor, allowing them to cope in an economy subjected to increasing market reform (Saxonberg & Sirovátka, 2009). However, as the number of social safety nets (such as government social grants) increased in the 1900s to the point where states were generally referred to as "welfare states", neoliberals increasingly argued that welfare states might, inadvertently, be responsible for creating a condition of welfare dependence (Mendes, 2009). As a result, attempts were made by such "welfare states" to move toward integrating the poor into society, by incentivising them to search for employment. Such a development ultimately also saw the birth of PWPs, which stemmed from the work of neoliberals, such as Lippmann's essay, *The Good Society* (cf. Jackson, 2010).

McCord (2004a) explains that PWPs were envisaged as contributing to the absorption of the beneficiaries of such programmes into the broader labour market:

The employment to be offered under such a programme (referring to PWPs) was exempt from normal conditions of employment, and was implemented in the expectation that the private sector would subsequently absorb the experience and trained PWP output in line with the logic of Say's law, that supply creates its own demand.

(McCord, 2004a:10)

3.2.2 Recent changes in the nature of workfare programmes

The challenges associated with PWPs (which will become apparent as this chapter progresses) have played a role in changing its nature internationally. One such challenge is noted by Peck and Theodore (2010), who state that workfare, specifically in the United

States, seems to have provided employment for the poor, but not to have reduced the extent of poverty. The capacity of such programmes to tackle the underlying causes of poverty has also been questioned, as well as the expectations that such programmes may create in terms of future employment provision by the state.

Current discourse of a “new generation” of social workfare policy involves transforming PWPs into conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes, which may be regarded as a more progressive form of workfare, as it encompasses economic growth, human capital development and labour market flexibility. Current attempts to absorb the beneficiaries of such programmes into the labour market seem to be reshaping PWPs, through a focus on their ability to enable people to become self-employed. For example, Almeida and Galasso (2010) recorded that the follow-up programme on an Argentinean PWP called *Jefes* came about in the form of *Microemprendimientos Productivos*, which was aimed at promoting self-employment, as well as at encouraging beneficiaries of *Jefes* to exit the public works system. Such a shift in workfare policy reflects a recognition that beneficiaries are enabled to exit PWPs more as a result of their own motivation, preferences and entrepreneurial abilities, and less as a result of what a PWP offers in terms of training. Moreover, such changes also reflect a continuous uneasiness on the part of governments with people being dependent on them for support, and serve to reaffirm the negative connotation of state dependence discussed in Chapter Two.

3.2.3 The rise of South Africa’s contemporary EPWP

The history of PWPs in South Africa will now be considered. According to Bernstein (1994), the first PWP initiatives in the country were implemented to counter the depression following the end of World War I. In response to concerns about the growing levels of unemployment among lower-class white people, who were referred to as the poor whites, the government introduced PWPs to provide work opportunities for unskilled white labour during the 1920s and 1930s. The PWPs were primarily implemented within the agricultural sector, with the crucial role of the PWPs defined at the time as breaking the cycle of poverty and dependence in which lower-class white people were seemingly trapped (Bernstein (1994).

During the 1980s, however, levels of unemployment were highest among black people, who tended to be poorly educated, and lacking in provision of social services and employment opportunities (Bernstein (1994). In an attempt to counter this unemployment, the South African government in 1983 launched the Special Employment Creation Programme,

which consisted of labour-intensive rural projects, which were specifically aimed at assisting the rural unemployed. Other non-government initiated employment projects, of which little were documented, included the Relief Development Programme (which was aimed at providing rural drought support), and the Valley Trust Labour-Based PWP in the then Natal Province.

PWP remuneration is typically set at a low level in order to attract only the unemployed poor to such programmes (Vodopivec, 2004). By doing so, governments try to prevent PWPs from replacing low-wage local employment, and to encourage the participants in such programmes to look for work outside the programme. However, McCord (2004a) points out that the terms currently governing PWPs in South Africa emerged from prolonged negotiations among unions, the state and the private sector. The unions were opposed to beneficiaries being permanently employed on PWPs, as they argued that this would force the beneficiaries to accept reduced benefits and wages, in turn inflicting a “second-class” status on such employees, who would not be protected by labour market forces. As a result of the unions’ opposition to the permanent employment of the beneficiaries, the stakeholders concerned agreed upon paying the beneficiaries less than the minimum wage defined by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act No. 75 of 1997 (McCord (2004a). Ultimately, it was therefore decided that the employment offered would be short-term and training would be provided to the beneficiaries, in return for their receiving below-minimum wages. In order to ensure the short-term nature of the employment, PWP policy stated that beneficiaries may not be employed on such programmes for longer than 24 months within a five-year cycle. This restriction will be explored further in section 3.6.2.1.

At the Growth and Development Summit (GDS) in June 2003, the large-scale expansion of labour-intensive methods by PWPs was discussed in South Africa (Philips, 2004). Those stakeholders attending the Summit agreed that such expansion would “[...] provide poverty and income relief through temporary work for the unemployed to carry out socially useful activities”, and that it would “[...] be designed to equip participants with a modicum of training and work experience, which should enhance their ability to earn a living in the future” (Philips, 2004:6). A key concern among stakeholders present at the GDS was that existing permanent employment should not be displaced, and that the expansion of labour-intensive methods must take place in response to a real demand for the services which the programmes provide.

Consequently, in April 2004, the EPWP was officially launched (Republic of South Africa, 2010). In terms of the EPWP, PWP were viewed by the South African government as the preferred option among available responses to the rising levels of unemployment that were witnessed at the time (McCord, 2004a). In his capacity as South Africa's previous head of state, President Mbeki described the EPWP as aiming to "[...] draw significant numbers of the unemployed into productive work, and that these workers gain skills while they work, and thus take an important step to get out of the pool of those who are marginalised" (Republic of South Africa, 2009).

Following on Phase One of the EPWP (Republic of South Africa, 2010), Phase Two was officially launched in April 2009. The study reported in this thesis concerns the operation of WfW within the second phase of the EPWP initiative, along with the policies directing this phase.

3.2.4 A note on South Africa's historical employment context and its EPWPs

In order to understand the policy guidelines pertaining to EPWPs in South Africa, specifically the restriction of length of employment to two years in a project cycle of five years, it is important to consider the role played by EPWPs against the background of unemployment in the South African context.

McCord (2004a, 2004b) asks whether EPWPs are geared toward stimulating economic growth, or toward providing social protection to the beneficiaries participating in the programmes, or both. She notes that, underlying the rationale of EPWPs is a view of South Africa's unemployment situation as being transitional. Such a view is clear when seen in the context of the policies of the DPW, which reflects a tacit assumption that economic growth would generate sufficient demand for labour to absorb EPWP participants who have exited such programmes (McCord, 2004a). However, as noted by McCord, South Africa has experienced long-term structural or chronic mass unemployment, rather than a temporary market distortion. Other scholars also agree that within the South African context, poverty is chronic in nature (Aliber, 2003), here defined as poverty that is transmitted across generations and lasts for an extended period of time. Aliber (2003:481) distinguishes between different categories of the chronically poor, including the rural poor, female-headed households, retrenched farm labour and the "street homeless", all brought about, at least in part, by South Africa's history of colonialism and apartheid. If one takes this state of affairs into account, EPWPs may be redefined as merely another form of social grant (welfare relief)

which provides beneficiaries with a form of social protection, somewhat akin to an “insurance function” (McCord, 2004a:27), for which they have to “work”.

McCord (2004a) writes that poverty, specifically in South Africa, is a consequence of (among many other factors) a decline in primary sector activities and a change in labour demand. Borat and Hidge (1999, as cited in McCord, 2004a) argue that, in terms of the South African economy, such changes have taken place since the 1990s and early 2000s, resulting in a decreased demand for unskilled labour. Accordingly, one might argue that the rate of economic growth has been insufficient to absorb the unemployed into the changed labour market. For this reason, EPWPs are considered necessary for increasing its beneficiaries’ skills and, therefore, their likelihood of being absorbed into the labour market after exiting an EPWP. However, as has been pointed out by McCord (2004a), although EPWPs may in this way serve to increase their beneficiaries’ chances of being absorbed within the broader labour market, unemployment in South Africa is still chronic, rather than transitional, in nature. Thus, EPWPs with its focus on providing temporary assistance to beneficiaries within a transitional economy, is perhaps unsatisfactory and may need to be provided over a longer period to make a real difference within South Africa’s historical, chronic poverty context.

Another way of understanding South Africa’s chronic poverty is by considering specific geographical areas in South Africa. Du Toit (2004) provides a sketch of rural poverty, as experienced in the town of Ceres in the Western Cape, which reveals similarities with the areas selected for the study reported in this thesis. Du Toit (2004) uses key words such as “marginality”, “farm paternalism” and “dependence” to describe the specific nature of South African poverty within specific rural areas such as Ceres in the Western Cape. Marginality and farm paternalism relate to the context of farm work, seasonal labour and racial distinctions that has historically characterised, and continues to characterise the lives of the rural poor within this specific region of the Western Cape. With regard to dependency, Du Toit notes that many farm labourers in the Ceres area had been evicted from farms after the apartheid regime, which left them with limited or no access to financial means, and rendered them increasingly dependent on the employment provided in the formal agricultural sector. However, farm work tends to be remunerated at low levels, and its seasonal nature has furthermore contributed to the poverty which is experienced among such rural communities. Du Toit’s case study of farm workers Ceres provides a valuable reference point for the present study, as many of the beneficiaries who were interviewed also engage in seasonal

agricultural farm work in the Western Cape, and are arguably subject to chronic poverty, which ensued from the same historical context.

Within such a poverty-stricken country as South Africa, which has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world (Klasen & Woolard, 2008), WfW can be viewed as a much-needed intervention. Unemployment rates in South Africa are the highest in the rural areas, where these rates are also the highest in the developing world. As stated by Klasen and Woolard (2008), the South African unemployed have basic access to social safety nets in the form of government grants and community networks, consisting of family members and/or friends. However, Klasen and Woolard further argue that such safety nets indirectly act as a barrier to economic empowerment and contribute to poverty, by facilitating an increase average household size among the poor. With specific reference to this study, the reliance of the poor on community networks as social safety nets also implies that WfW is, in effect, supporting a wider network of people than merely the beneficiary who works directly for the programme. WfW, therefore, has the potential to financially assist many households in South Africa's poorest rural areas. The need for a programme such as WfW is therefore strong, provided that areas in South Africa with the highest ecosystem goods (such as threatened natural resources) tend to join those areas with extreme poverty (Blignaut *et al.*, 2009). The next section considers the extent of invasive alien species (IAS) in South Africa, which render the WfW Programme important both for poverty alleviation, but also to conserve needed water resources.

3.3 The challenge of invasive alien species in South Africa



Figures 3.2a and 3.2b: River banks covered with IAS in the Riviersonderend Mountain Catchment Area in the Western Cape

The National Environment Management Biodiversity Act No. 10 of 2004 defines alien species as:

An indigenous species translocated or intended to be translocated to a place outside its natural distribution range in nature, but not an indigenous species that has extended its natural distribution range by natural means of migration or dispersal without human intervention

(Republic of South Africa, 2004:12)

The second key concept, “invasion”, refers to a species that has established itself and spread outside of its natural distribution range (Republic of South Africa, 2004:16). IAS refer both to the spread of animals and plants, but for the focus of this thesis, the term mostly refers to the spread of plants. Figures 3.2a and 3.2b above illustrate such a spread along a dry riverbed in the Riviersonderend Mountains in the Western Cape. More than 160 IAS in South Africa are estimated to be serious invaders (Turpie, 2004), examples of which include the Australian wattle, the Gum, Pine and Hakea trees, and also numerous weeds such as the Triffid weed. Several cacti species including the *Opuntia* and *Atriplex* species, which occur in the Karoo, are also classified as IAS.

South Africa’s natural environment is internationally recognised for its biodiversity, and hence the concern regarding the impact and spread of IAS tends to revolve around its detrimental effects on this biodiversity (Van Wilgen *et al.*, 2001). Much scientific research has been published on the biological, ecological and/or management aspects of IAS in South

Africa³. However, a comparatively small amount of research has considered the impact that such species have on people and/or the possibilities that they create in respect of employment generation.

The introduction of IAS is commonly associated with global travel and, therefore, with globalisation, as explained by Joubert (2009). Such introduction was not always intentional, as Hulme (2009) explains. Following the paths of colonialisation, immigration resulted, either intentionally or accidentally, in the importation of numerous animal and/or plant species into regions where no natural enemies existed to control their spread. Commercial forestry is one of the primary causes of the spread of IAS, as a result of poor weed control, and the transportation of invader seeds by forestry machinery (Marais, Van Wilgen & Stevens, 2004). According to Van Wilgen *et al.* (2002), IAS such as Pine, Black Wattle and Rooikrans were introduced in South Africa for their commercial value as timber, firewood, and tanbark, as well as for dune reclamation and ornamental shade. Certain invasive tree species were also introduced into the arid regions of South Africa to provide shade in regions which were typically without large trees (Milton, 2009).

A widely-held, although sometimes contested (*cf.* Milton, 2009), belief among natural scientists involved in IAS research, is that IAS use more fresh water than indigenous vegetation does. Consequently, it is argued that IAS not only negatively impact on South Africa's biodiversity, but also on the country's water supply⁴. Furthermore, as noted by Richardson and Van Wilgen (2004), IAS burn more easily than indigenous plant species do, thus increasing fuel loads and the intensity and frequency of fires (Le Maitre, David, Richardson & Chapman, 2004). Richardson and Van Wilgen further note that IAS transform ecosystems by adding additional resources to the ground, which may ultimately contribute either to the stabilisation of sand or, alternatively, to erosion. Such transformation, according to these researchers, in turn impairs and disrupts agricultural productivity, resulting in the government having to spend billions of rands on IAS eradication schemes.

³See, for example, Görgens & Van Wilgen (2004); Macdonald (2004); Marais *et al.*(2004); Nel, Richardson, Rouget, Mgidi, Mdzeke, Le Maitre, Van Wilgen, Schonegevel, Henderson & Naser (2004); Richardson & Van Wilgen (2004); Richardson & Van Wilgen (2004); Turpie (2004); Van Wilgen (2004) and Van Wilgen *et al.* (2004).

⁴See Le Maitre, Versfeld and Chapman (2000) on this issue.

3.3.1 Providing employment by means of the eradication of IAS

Although IAS poses a serious threat to South Africa's natural resources, it may at the same time provide a means of poverty alleviation and economic growth. Payment for Ecosystem Services (PES) is an approach that envisions those who provide environmental services being compensated for doing so (cf. Pagiola, Arcenas & Platais, 2005 on this approach). Furthermore, those who receive such services should be held responsible for paying for them. Such an approach is primarily advocated to improve the efficiency of natural resource management, but also, as Turpie, Marais and Blignaut (2008) point out, to achieve set conservation goals and to sustain the health of ecosystems. WfW provides an ecosystem-related service by eradicating IAS, and thereby facilitating the delivery of fresh water, while providing marginalised people with employment and training.

In terms of the capacity of ecosystems to generate numerous services, one can view the environment as a market for stimulating economic development and addressing poverty (Blignaut *et al.*, 2009). Blignaut and his colleagues (2009) explain, in relation to such an analogy, that areas in South Africa with the highest concentration of "ecosystem goods" (from a conservational perspective)⁵, and therefore, strongest potential for service provision (e.g., IAS-clearing operations), tend to adjoin areas characterised by high levels of poverty. The eradication of IAS is therefore aimed at increasing the water supply to the areas currently worst affected by both growth of IAS and in poverty, which will contribute to the conservation of the ecosystem as a whole, as well as provide employment opportunities to the marginalised poor (Blignaut *et al.*, 2009).

⁵The term "ecosystem goods" can be understood as referring to South Africa's threatened natural environment, animal species and/or fresh water supply, among others, all of which require protection from exploitation.

3.4 The launch of an invasive aliens species clearance programme



Figure 3.3: Regrowth of natural vegetation.

Figure 3.3a: A burned-out plantation in the Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve, showing the regrowth of natural vegetation.

Figure 3.4b: A rehabilitated wetland near Villiersdorp, with succulent grassland.

The eradication of IAS in South Africa gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s (Van Wilgen *et al.*, 2002). The dire impact of IAS on South Africa's water supply was recognised in 1945 by one of the country's pioneers in forest hydrology, Professor C.L. Wicht, who identified IAS as "one of the greatest, if not the greatest, threats to Cape Vegetation" (as cited in Van Wilgen *et al.*, 2002:10). A similar study, which was undertaken in 1992 on South Africa's fynbos biome and the spread of IAS therein, helped motivate funding by the then Department of Environmental Affairs of a research project aimed at determining the precise effects of IAS on water supplies in the country. As Van Wilgen *et al.* (2002) explain, the scientific results of this study affirmed the need to eradicate IAS in order to save water. The results were publicly announced after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, at a time of high hopes for poverty alleviation.

On 2 June 1995, the scientists involved in the above-mentioned study presented their findings to the then national Minister of Water Affairs, Professor Kadar Asmal, and the provincial minister responsible for conservation in the Western Cape (Van Wilgen *et al.*, 2002). In response to their presentation, which outlined the effects of IAS on the country's water supplies, Professor Kadar Asmal initiated the national WfW Programme to target the eradication of IAS, while also providing employment opportunities for the poor.

The WfW Programme is a multidepartmental initiative, which involves various government departments, operating under the auspices of the now Department of Water

Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) (Turpie, Marais & Blignaut, 2008). WfW's dual goal of simultaneously addressing IAS and uplifting the poor seems ambitious. However, Turpie and his colleagues (2008) note that the programme is well-funded, as it receives an annual budget of more than R400 million from the government, as well as funds from South Africa's National Treasury. As claimed in WfW's 2003 Annual Report (2003:4), the programme had, in total up to that point, employed 21 754 people, who had completed a total of 2 986 972 person-days of employment and training. In addition to providing employment and training to its beneficiaries, by 2003 WfW had cleared 266 497 hectares of IAS in South Africa.

3.5 WfW's social performance areas

In order to meet the criteria of a PWP, WfW's key performance areas (KPAs) include the promotion of human and social capital (among others) (WfW Management, pers. comm., 9 Feb. 2009).

The term "human capital" is defined by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID, 2001) as the skills and knowledge which enable a person to attain success in his/her career. The indicators of such success include, among others, education, social networks, personal knowledge-building history, self-perception of the ownership of such knowledge, and awareness of one's own rights. Becker (1993, as cited in Dean, 2007), who refers to human capital in terms of individual skills, states that it is the civic duty of all individuals not to become a burden on the welfare state, but to enhance his or her human capital. According to WfW Management (pers. comm., 9 Feb. 2009), WfW provides training and employee wellness programmes to fulfil this mandate of improving human capital.

The promotion of social capital is one of WfW's KPAs. Such social capital consists of those social resources which people use in order to fulfil their lifestyle objectives (DFID, 2001). Such resources include social networks and connections, group memberships, and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchange. Dovey and Onyx (2001:152) define social capital in the workplace as consisting of relationships, norms and trust, which "enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives". According to WfW Management (pers. comm., 9 Feb. 2009), WfW promotes social capital by organising particular internal structures, such as advisory committees, as well as by celebrating such commemorative occasions as World Aids Day and Weedbuster Week. By promoting social

capital in this way, WfW is viewed as operating from a community-based perspective (*cf.* Binns, Illgner & Nel, 2001; Magadlela & Mdzeke, 2004).

The emphasis which is placed on the promotion of social capital has strong theoretical underpinnings. Etzioni (1988, as cited in Dovey & Onyx, 2001) states that social capital, which he defines as the possession of strong communal relations, motivates an individual to move beyond his or her self-interests toward communal goals. WfW therefore seems to draw on such principles of social capital to promote trust, cooperation, networking and values among their beneficiaries. In line with such thinking, teamwork should play a valuable role in efforts to promote social capital. The next section therefore considers this teamwork approach within WfW's contractor development approach (CDA).

3.6 WfW's contractor development approach



Figure 3.4: A WfW contractor team in Franschhoek⁶

As WfW follows a contractor development approach (CDA) in its clearance operations, it is central to this thesis. Therefore, this section will describe the nature, history and rationale underlying such an approach⁷.

The CDA involves a task-based system. According to this system, the beneficiaries are compensated at the completion of an IAS-clearance site task. In accordance with such legislation, IAS clearing has, since 2000, been performed by contractor teams⁸, each of which consists of 12 team workers: 11 general employees and one contractor. A contractor is assigned to assemble a small business, for which he/she then recruits employees. The contractor's employees may consist either of general clearers only, or of a combination of such clearers and employees who fulfil more specialised roles, such as foreman, chain-saw operator, brush-cutter, herbicide applicator, and/or health and safety officer. Once a team has been assembled, contractors tender on a competitive basis for an IAS site to be cleared. Once the clearance of a particular site has been completed, the contractor is responsible for remunerating the employees who formed part of his/her team.

Furthermore, all WfW projects are allocated a project manager, who is responsible both for managing the project and for integrating natural resource management and employment creation within a particular project (WfW Management, pers. comm., 13 Apr. 2010). Within

⁶At the time the photograph was taken, the team had no contract, but arrived each day at the project office in Franschhoek, dressed in their full working clothes, for no apparent reason than to wait for another contract. Not all of the 12 team members were present.

⁷This section draws extensively on Sadan's (2005) analysis of a WfW programme conducted in the Tsitsikamma region in the Eastern Cape.

⁸This information regarding the contractor teams was gathered by means of interviews which were conducted with the project managers of the WfW projects studied.

CapeNature WfW projects, specifically, the Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve WfW Project Manager confirmed that a person in his position has no authority over the selection of employees, but needs to be informed of who is selected, in order to keep record of such employees for administrative purposes (Davids, pers. comm., 6 Apr. 2010). Beneficiaries are, therefore, for all intents and purposes, employed by the contractors, who act as team leaders responsible for their team members.

Preceding the adoption of the CDA, WfW projects were managed according to a different, wage-based system. The initial notions underpinning the CDA were partly shaped and influenced by research which was conducted in 1999 to determine the most appropriate IAS-clearing contracting models for the WfW Programme. According to De Satgé *et al.* (2003), the research showed that, in terms of the wage-based system, WfW set itself contradictory priorities by attempting to maximise the provision of social benefits to communities, while simultaneously attempting to develop successful entrepreneurs. As noted by those researchers (Satgé *et al.*, 2003), their study also highlighted how the development of entrepreneurs could be coupled with investing resources in a contractor's business, rather than investing in, or distributing resources among, individual workers.

3.6.1 The rationale of the CDA

WfW seems to promote the empowerment of local communities, both economically and socially, by means of the establishment of micro-enterprises (WfW Management, pers. comm., 20 Mar. 2009). One goal of the CDA is, therefore, to create contractor teams, which are managed by independent contractors who should, ideally, have the capacity to take on IAS-clearing work independently on a contractual basis (De Satgé *et al.*, 2003).

According to Sadan (2005), the rationale underlying the CDA is that those individuals who have been employed on WfW can set up their own small business within an existing project. In this way, individual contractors can assemble their own teams and tender for IAS-clearing jobs. This strategy is aimed, by WfW, at empowering communities to become "small business units", which are trained by WfW to become sustainable microenterprises in the future (WfW Management, pers. comm., 20 Mar. 2009). Contractors are also supported to become fully independent of WfW once they have exited the programme, while the CDA encourages general employees to become contractors themselves, and to strive to attain independence of the programme, in the knowledge that they can support themselves once

they leave the programme. The aim of creating such aspirations is an important aspect to consider in terms of this study, especially if these aspirations are not met.

According to Corbett (1999:9), a trained and motivated workforce facilitates a contractor's work, and an "[e]stablished contractor or entrepreneur is likely to become a source of employment opportunities in the area" in which he/she operates. This progress, in turn, should encourage a community⁹ to become actively involved in WfW, and to form business units from locally available resources. Community participation is, therefore, also viewed as a means of redistributing economic wealth and resources to the whole community. As an illustration, Corbett (1999:26) refers to empowerment within and through community decision-making and ownership:

The intervention of the Working for Water programme should be perceived as a valuable enabling factor for future projects and general work opportunities in a poor community. The capacity of the emerging contractors will have been established through the assessment exercises and the emerging contractor grading. In other words, it is a contribution to increasing the human capital of the community.

The notion of encouraging a team or even a community to become small business units, in order to increase access to human capital and facilitate sustainable enterprise development, seems feasible. For example, according to McCord (2004a), the implementation of a PWP in Malawi has indicated that microenterprises may, indeed, be stimulated by group financing, savings and credit. However, this stimulation cannot be achieved by a PWP wage transfer alone. Consequently, the offering of mutual support by co-workers at times of economic stress, or even the creation of informal savings clubs, may indirectly contribute to the promotion of social capital, by serving to organise workers into working groups.

3.6.1.1 The exit strategy

In January 2002, a Ministerial Determination placed the WfW Programme's exit strategy in the limelight (De Satgé *et al.*, 2003). This Determination was outlined in terms of Section 50 of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act No. 75 of 1997, which deals with working conditions applying to the Special Public Works Programme. Furthermore, a Code of Good

⁹The notion of an established 'community' is common within the literature on WfW. However, the researcher is aware of the importance of not making generalisations about, or reifying individual beneficiaries as belonging to 'a community'.

Practice for Employment and Conditions of Work for Special Public Works Programmes was published as a Government Notice R64 in *Government Gazette* 23045 of 25 January 2002 (Republic of South Africa, 2002a:4), in terms of which WfW has to exit those beneficiaries who have participated in the project for more than two years in a project cycle of five years (a point also referred to in section 3.2.3 above). Current disputes within government structures such as the DPW, also among WfW officials and project managers¹⁰ regarding the exit strategy, have arguably all contributed to necessitated a revision of the policy at the time of writing.

3.7 WfW's approach to work on private land

One way for beneficiaries to become independent of WfW is to be absorbed within the open labour market. Creating a market for IAS-clearance operations which involves private landowners in the eradication of IAS on their property presents such an opportunity. The Draft Alien and Invasive Species Regulations (Republic of South Africa, 2009:20) state that “a competent authority may require a landowner to prepare a plan for the monitoring, control and eradication of invasive species occurring on their land”. Furthermore, in conjunction with the Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act (CARA) No. 43 of 1983 (Republic of South Africa, 1983), government authorities may, in future, hold landowners accountable for IAS on their land. During a workshop¹¹ which was held in 2009 to discuss WfW's approach to work on private land, the rationale for such regulations was explained by WfW Management, namely to urge private landowners to manage IAS growing on their property. Such a requirement should create an opportunity for WfW contractors to tender for IAS-clearing projects on private land, and which are therefore not sponsored by the government. During the above-mentioned workshop, discussions were held on whether private landowners would have to apply to WfW for assistance in the clearing IAS from their land, with WfW held responsible for the labour costs of at least the initial clearance of IAS on private land.

¹⁰ Source: fieldwork.

¹¹ As part of a multi-stakeholder assessment of incentives and barriers to invasive plant management in the Western Cape, undertaken by Urgenson, Prozesky and Esler (2009a, 2009b), a workshop was held in April 2009 in Cape Town to discuss WfW's approach to managing IAS on private land. Concepts important to the conceptualisation of the current thesis, such as the practical meaning of the term “exit strategy” and what the term “contractor” actually refers to, were flagged at the time. An overarching concern, which was also raised by the participants in the workshop, was whether WfW beneficiaries and contractors were becoming dependent on WfW for employment.

Although these opportunities seem an attractive means for WfW beneficiaries to exit WfW as “entrepreneurs”, various stakeholders at the above-mentioned workshop warned against uncritically assuming that such an opportunity would, in fact, materialise. During the workshop, some conservation professionals and WfW Managers expressed their concerns regarding WfW’s proposed strategy for working with the landowners, particularly regarding its potential for fostering the independence of WfW contractors from WfW. Their arguments were based on the fact that, even though private landowners might be compelled to use WfW’s contractor teams, WfW would still need to mandate contracts for its beneficiaries within a closed-contract system, which at least partially undermines the likelihood of the creation of independent entrepreneurs in terms of such a system.

However, the potential that such a new approach holds for WfW beneficiaries may be worth considering, as many of the respondents in this study also recognised the potential landowners offer in terms of creating future opportunities for sustainable IAS-clearance employment. The responses on this matter will be analysed in more detail in Chapter Five of this thesis.

3.8 A review of research on the WfW Programme

Numerous studies have focused on the effectiveness of WfW projects across South Africa. This section of the thesis provides a brief overview of the most relevant findings of these studies, to serve as background information on WfW and on the underlining challenges which the programme faces with regard to beneficiary dependence in particular. For the most part, the review focuses on the following studies and reports:

- a study conducted by the Community Agency for Social Equity (CASE) (2007), henceforth referred to as the CASE study, which measured the socioeconomic impact of WfW on beneficiary households;
- a study conducted by Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd. (2004), henceforth referred to as the Research Surveys study, with the objective of exploring WfW's exit strategy; and
- a study commissioned by WfW and carried out by Goldin (2003), which was aimed at evaluating WfW's exit strategy.

3.8.1 The training provided by WfW

WfW's training offered to its beneficiaries consists of courses on business and those that impart general employment skills, such as chain-saw operation or herbicide application. In addition, courses are provided on health and safety and to raise HIV/AIDS awareness. The CASE study (2007:47) confirms that more than 30% of respondents reported having gained skills while they were on the WfW Programme, which they could use in other employment (such as paramedici, especially since they receive first aid training courses). Similarly, the Research Surveys study (2004) found that at least some respondents considered the training they had received as beneficial, as it enabled them to master those skills which they needed for performing specific tasks related to their WfW work.

However, according to the CASE study, some beneficiaries complained that they could not apply for employment outside the confines of WfW, even with the training which they had received on the programme. Whether the training offered on the programme is appropriate in the sense of enabling the beneficiaries to become independent is, therefore, debatable. In accordance with the contention that such training is, indeed, inappropriate, Buch and Dixon's (2008) recent assessment of four WfW projects in the Western Cape found that the training provided tended to be too advanced when considering the low levels of literacy among the programme's beneficiaries. Consequently, a need for acquiring additional skills seems to exist among at least some of the programme's beneficiaries. Such was also the

researcher's preliminary finding concerning a WfW project conducted in Franschoek¹², the beneficiaries of which expressed the desire to be trained in skills other than those they were being trained in at the time of the study.

It also seems that the beneficiaries in some WfW projects were not even awarded training certificates, while some in others projects received no training at all (CASE, 2007:45). According to Goldin (2003), training appears not to have made a significant impact on the beneficiaries' level of confidence regarding their ability to earn an income once they had exited WfW. For example, of the 60% of respondents in Goldin's study who had received training, 71% stated that they believed that such training would not impact favourably on their chances of earning an income outside WfW in future, while only 29% believed that it would. Such findings indicate that, although the WfW training provided seems to assist many beneficiaries in conducting their WfW work, its value in terms of enabling beneficiaries to conduct work other than WfW-related tasks, is open to question.

3.8.2 The sense of security provided by WfW

The fact that WfW beneficiaries work in contractor teams, as opposed to alone, may provide them with a sense of security. According to the CASE study, some employees expressed a preference for working in a team, as opposed to working alone. Furthermore, with regard to contractors in particular, De Satgé *et al.* (2003) found that some of them seemed incapable of operating independently from WfW, in the sense that they needed the support provided by the teams. Such dependence on mutual support seems to have broader implications, with Goldin (2003) stating that employees desire to exit WfW as part of a team, rather than individually. The way in which the beneficiaries of the WfW Programme view themselves as part of a team should be taken into consideration in any attempts (including this study) to understand WfW's CDA, or to develop it further.

The emotional support which derives from working in a team may also contribute to WfW being perceived by its beneficiaries as a safety net. According to the Research Surveys study (2004:13), "people are reluctant to leave the security of the WfW Programme and find the prospects of seeking employment beyond the confines of the WfW Programme daunting". In this study, some beneficiaries are reported as feeling so secure within the ambit of WfW that they would recommend such work to their friends and family, whereas the future prospect of

¹²The main aim of the visit to a WfW project in Franschoek during March 2009, was to conduct a preliminary assessment of methodological considerations that may be of relevance to the study.

having to search for other work engendered feelings of insecurity. According to the researchers, “this discrepancy can be observed in contractors’ perceptions of their current role versus their perceptions of the future, in that they are confident about the former and tentative about the latter” (Research Surveys [Pty] Ltd., 2004:42). Furthermore, according to the study, the majority (68%) of the respondents preferred to remain with the WfW Programme, and more than half (55%) affirmed that they would never choose to leave the programme voluntarily. In the case of rural WfW projects (not all projects are rural), the percentage of beneficiaries reporting the latter rose to 70%, with 75% of beneficiaries in the Free State, and 87% in the Limpopo province stating that they would never choose to leave the programme voluntarily (Research Surveys [Pty] Ltd., 2004:43).

On the basis of these figures, one may argue that the creation of strong social relationships and group solidarity within a teamwork structure may, inadvertently, stimulate a culture of dependence, as was discussed in Chapter Two.

3.8.3 Potential for future employment outside WfW

Although previous research shows that a sizeable percentage of WfW beneficiaries – 39% in Goldin’s (2003) study - are confident in their ability to find alternative employment, almost the same percentage of beneficiaries – 36% in the case of the Research Surveys study (2004) - had no knowledge of other employment opportunities for them outside WfW. The beneficiaries of the programme also expressed difficulty in obtaining work, and a lack of knowledge of how to apply for other work (CASE, 2007).

Most of the reports reviewed here question whether WfW can provide beneficiaries with sustainable future employment outside of that provided by government. On this point, the Research Surveys report (2004:60) states:

WfW needs to carefully consider the role that it plays in developing workers and contractors once they exit the programme. The current situation is one in which contractors are almost wholly dependent on WfW to both secure and manage contracts and it does not seem that WfW is the appropriate forum for creating entrepreneurs. Similarly, most of the exited workers in the study have been unable to secure employment since leaving the programme.

On the basis of Goldin’s (2003) findings, it is also argued that there are no real employment opportunities for ex-WfW beneficiaries, who remain financially vulnerable and severely at risk after participating in the WfW Programme. The findings of the Research Surveys study

support such an argument, by indicating that contractors and their workers felt that there were insufficient IAS-clearing opportunities outside of WfW to generate the levels of employment necessary for the beneficiaries to become independent of the programme. Such findings lead one to question the viability of WfW's exit strategy, since most of the contractors who were interviewed as part of the Research Surveys study were sourcing employment contracts directly from the WfW Programme, with 85% of the respondents having secured no contracts from other clients outside of WfW (2004:38).

Doubt is further cast on the notion that WfW beneficiaries will find employment after participating in WfW, by the finding of the Research Surveys study that "77% of ex-workers were unemployed before joining the Programme, and 73% of them are still unemployed since exiting the Programme" (2004:49). Most respondents in the study reported having left WfW only because they had to, with 45% of the respondents having left the programme when their contracts came to an end, and 23% when they were dismissed by the contractor concerned.

In summary, previous research – in particular the Research Surveys study (2004) - shows that, although some of the beneficiaries of the WfW Programme consider it likely that they would be able to secure other employment, most do not. Indeed, in reality many beneficiaries do not find other employment after having participated in the WfW Programme.

3.8.4 Expectations of becoming contractors

A key finding of previous research on the WfW Programme is that most beneficiaries have high expectations of becoming contractors. More than two-thirds (68%) of the respondents in the Research Surveys study (2004:46) expected to fulfil this expectation within the following year. Such aspirations are, however, unlikely to be fulfilled in the light of Goldin's findings that job mobility is, in fact, uncommon within WfW, as indicated by the fact that only 16% of the beneficiaries she studied had been promoted to the position of contractor in the programme (2003:26).

The relevance of these findings to this thesis may be summarised as follows. Firstly, beneficiaries' high expectations of job mobility within the programme are not only unrealistic, but may serve to increase their dependence on WfW for employment. Secondly, the exit strategy of the WfW Programme results in the beneficiaries sometimes harbouring unrealistic expectations of future employment within the programme. One might therefore argue that this, in turn, renders them sceptical or confused about how long they will remain

with the programme, or anxious about the possible implications of the time limitations that have been set.

3.8.5 Instability of employment and payment

In addition to the issues discussed above, the erratic nature of employment and its remuneration provided by the WfW Programme also appear to be of concern to many of the beneficiaries. For example, Buch and Dixon (2008) note that some beneficiaries of the programme complain about the fact that it cannot guarantee them regular payment and consistent employment. Such a concern is reflected in the following response of a WfW beneficiary interviewed for the CASE study: “I think my life would be better if there was not a Working for Water, because maybe I can get a better job that pays regularly” (2007:74). In the same study, beneficiary was quoted as saying, “It’s better not, but it would be much better if they [the project leaders] said, ‘Work every month, and you get paid every month. Now you work, then sometime[s] you don’t work and, by the time you get paid, you’re too hungry to appreciate it” (CASE, 2007:73). The irregularity of employment and remuneration may be viewed as an inherent shortcoming of WfW projects, since the clearing of IAS, which is dependant on factors such as the weather and government funding, is not a predictable source of income.

3.8.6 Conclusion

The findings reviewed in this section of the thesis highlight some important considerations. Firstly, a large number of WfW beneficiaries would prefer the programme to provide them with more stability in terms of employment and remuneration. The research findings also point to the importance of the context of poverty, within which many beneficiaries find themselves, in understanding the implications of the erratic nature, and therefore limited sustainability, of IAS clearing as a source of income, and of the beneficiaries' inability to find alternative employment. Perhaps more importantly, the findings show how WfW influences beneficiaries' confidence levels and, above all, ambitions. As such, WfW may be understood as an institution which actively shapes its beneficiaries' lives and the choices which they face. The dependence of WfW beneficiaries on the programme is, therefore, entwined with factors of both a social and individual nature, which were expanded upon theoretically in Chapter Two.

3.9 The effectiveness of other Public Works Programmes other than WfW

The challenges faced by WfW, in particular with regard to beneficiary dependence, are not unique to the programme. Studies regarding the effectiveness of PWPs in other countries provide a wide range of perspective on this issue. For example, Fretwell *et al.* (1999) provide evidence suggesting the positive impact of PWPs, which they refer to as "active labour programmes", on selected target groups. However, as they note, the effectiveness of such programmes varies across countries, as can be observed in the writings of Betcherman, Olivas and Dar (2004), Dar, Amit and Tzannatos (1999), and Vodopivec (2004). The latter author reviews evidence provided by many studies on PWPs, on the basis of which he concludes that PWPs are generally progressive programmes, especially with regard to the training which they provide. In particular, he highlights the ability of PWPs to reduce unemployment levels, at least to some extent.

In order to locate such arguments within the South African context, this section of the thesis largely draws on McCord's (2004a) assessment of two South African EPWPs, namely the *Gundo Lashu* programme in the Limpopo province, and the *Zimbambele* programme in KwaZulu-Natal. Both programmes were initiated in 2000. The former programme's beneficiaries were recruited on the basis of EPWP objectives, most noticeably the prohibition against employment exceeding 24 months. The latter, in contrast, was directly implemented

by the Provincial Department of Transport, providing beneficiaries with permanent, guaranteed employment.

3.9.1 Alternative employment opportunities

EPWPs may have negative, long-term consequences for their beneficiaries. For example, McCord (2004a:42) reports that 81% of the *Gundo Lashu* and 72% of the *Zimbambele* beneficiaries relinquished a search for alternative employment opportunities in order to secure employment with a PWP. A similar finding from Gaiha's (2005) assessment of the effectiveness of the EGS (which was referred to earlier in this chapter) indicates that the programme discouraged some of its participants from searching for other employment in neighbouring villages. These findings indicate that EPWPs may undermine the beneficiaries' chances to search for employment outside of that provided by government, and that programmes such as WfW may result in ex-EPWP employees returning to the pool of unemployed labour.

The difficulties that ex-EPWP beneficiaries experience when competing in the open labour market may be due to a real lack of employment opportunities, as well to as the perceived lack thereof, as was indicated by previous research on WfW. Subbarao (1997) states that some ex-EPWP participants identify poor labour market performance as a reason for the limited number of employment opportunities which are available in that market. Such poor performance raises doubts as to whether training actually enables EPWP beneficiaries to exit such programmes and to be absorbed in the labour market. McCord (2003:63) challenges such an assertion, based on the fact that 95% of those respondents who were formerly employed by the *Gundo Lashu* and *Zimbambele* programmes reported that they did benefit in the broader labour market from the training which they had received. However, it is unclear whether the appropriateness of the training that is offered is at issue, or the extent to which beneficiaries are actually able to draw maximum benefit from that training, which may be limited by their lack of understanding of and/or participation in training sessions.

3.9.2 Provision and sustainability of employment

Beneficiaries participating in the short-term *Gundo Lashu* programme were asked whether they believed the programme reduced their household's level of poverty. McCord (2004a:60) reports that one-third of the respondents were confident that the programme actually did so, but the same proportion described the income received as a wage shock, and not as a

sustainable increase. As the income which is generated on a short-term basis is used by beneficiaries for consumption purposes, it cannot result in sustainable accumulation of financial capital for its beneficiaries (McCord 2004a). Such an argument is also consistent with Devereux's (2001) finding that the poor use their income firstly to satisfy their basic consumption needs. Such findings highlight the challenge which is faced by many EPWPs, including WfW, which lack the capacity to provide their beneficiaries with sustainably remunerated employment. Notwithstanding, no commonly accepted definition of the term 'sustainable job creation' seems to exist (McCord, 2003). It follows, therefore, that most EPWPs have, as their stated aim, the assurance of a sustainable future income for beneficiaries exiting the programme, even though the meaning of such a phrase is, in fact, unclear or even rhetorical.

3.9.3 The provision of security

In accordance with the findings from WfW studies which were presented earlier in this chapter, McCord's study (2004a) indicates that many beneficiaries of EPWPs seem to prefer to remain with such programmes, which they view as providing them with stability and security. Most respondents who participated in McCord's study (2004a) preferred the financial stability associated with receiving a wage to dealing with the uncertainty associated with having to exit the programme at some stage. For instance, the respondents in the *Zimbabwe* EPWP valued highly the regular wages and employment with which they were provided as beneficiaries of the programme. On these grounds, McCord (2004a) further argues that it is such a stabilisation effect that transfers long-term benefits to the beneficiaries, and which contributes to sustained poverty reduction. This is supported by findings from a study of India's EGS, which suggest that the "stabilisation" of beneficiaries (in terms of which they are provided with a sense of financial security) strongly contributes to sustained poverty reduction, since it reduces the impact of fluctuations in income as related to income shocks (Devereux, 2002).

3.9.4 Stigmatisation

Finally, another unintended consequence of many PWP may be social stigmatisation. An important finding of Vodopivec's (1998) assessment of the effectiveness of a Slovenian PWP (in terms of whether it increases the participants' chances of finding employment outside the programme) is that stigmatisation was reported by the beneficiaries as worsening their chances of finding alternative employment. Stigmatisation was particularly prevalent in the

case of those ex-PWP beneficiaries who did not succeed in finding alternative employment. As was discussed in Chapter Two, dependence was found to often result in stigmatisation, which illustrates the existence of social stigma, as well as its potential for contributing to perceptions of inferiority among the beneficiaries concerned.

3.10 Conclusion

Chapter Three set out to provide a historical overview of WfW within the broader context of EPWPs in South Africa. Perceptions regarding the effectiveness of WfW, as well as of other PWPs, reveal some shortcomings of the programme, particularly in relation to the high levels of unemployment and resultant poverty experienced in South Africa. McCord's studies reflect the fact that unemployment in South Africa is chronic, rather than transitional. Such a situation problematises the mandates assigned to South African EPWPs, including WfW, to assist communities in overcoming the challenge of chronic unemployment.

Chapter Three also reviewed results relevant to this thesis, that have emanated from studies conducted on both WfW and other EPWPs, in order to unveil some of the dependence-related challenges faced by such programmes. As was indicated in Chapter Two, the researcher considers the beneficiaries' social environment (such as the communities and areas in which they live) and their social structure (including the norms they ascribe to and beliefs they hold), as well as their individual choices to explain their dependence. In terms of this premise, the findings of these studies highlight the following aspects of the research undertaken for this thesis:

Firstly, the beneficiaries of EPWPs, including those of WfW, should be viewed as functioning within social contexts which profoundly influence their lives. Such social contexts encompass such factors as the availability of employment opportunities outside EPWPs, as well as the context of poverty and social stigma associated with being employed in such programmes. The beneficiaries may subscribe to the view that it is normatively acceptable to receive financial support from the government without actively earning it through work. Such receipt of unearned benefits, as cultural models of dependence state, is likely to influence their lives and behaviours profoundly. A consideration of such contextual factors should contribute to a sociological understanding of some of the challenges related to dependence which EPWP beneficiaries face.

At the same time, beneficiaries should be viewed as having agency, in the sense of being to assess the choices which are available to them (although these are sometimes very limited), to make their own decisions, and to take action based upon such decisions. Such decision-making pertains to, for example, applying the training they receive while on the programme to search for alternative employment. Understanding how beneficiaries view themselves within the EPWPs, and - from their own perspective - their willingness and/or capacity to exit such programmes, as well as how they intend to utilise the training they receive are, therefore, important research questions for this thesis that have emerged from the literature review.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

AS A MULTISITE CASE STUDY, the empirical research conducted for this thesis considers the extent of, and reasons for, beneficiaries' dependence on the employment provided by three WfW projects in the Western Cape. The data were collected after the termination, in 2009, of the first phase of South Africa's EPWP, which was implemented in 2004 (Republic of South Africa, 2010). Based on the literature review, and specifically a close reading of material regarding state welfare dependence, the following five research questions were developed to measure and explore the construct of beneficiary dependence on the particular WfW projects selected:

- 1) What is the beneficiaries' work history and how did they enter the WfW Programme?
- 2) How much time have beneficiaries spent on WfW projects?
- 3) Do beneficiaries have alternative financial resources?
- 4) What are beneficiaries' expectations of long-term WfW employment?
- 5) What are beneficiaries' perceptions of their own employability outside the WfW Programme?

The research questions were operationalised into open-ended and closed-ended items contained in an interview schedule, the construction of which will be discussed first in this chapter. Thereafter, an overview will be presented of the sampling, data gathering and analysis methods employed in the research, and the methodological limitations and constraints, as well as the ethical concerns, pertaining to the research. In doing so, the chapter highlights the researcher's own personal growth during the course of the research process, necessitated by him having to cope with the particular methodological and ethical challenges posed by the research.

4.1 Conceptualisation and operationalisation

4.1.1 The process of constructing the interview schedule

One aim of this thesis is to provide WfW Management with data which would assist them in developing an understanding of the dependence of beneficiaries on particular projects. For this reason, the interview schedule was constructed by means of ongoing interactions with WfW and CapeNature Management, who commented on the interview schedule drafts. An initial meeting with CapeNature WfW project managers in June 2009, also provided an opportunity to flag important considerations with regard to data collection methods in general. In consultation with the project managers, the researcher, for example, decided against collecting data through focus groups interviews, in favour of conducting individual, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with each respondent. The project managers, in particular, based their recommendations in this regard on the fact that personal interviews, conducted individually with each beneficiary, would provide more data than focus group interviews would, as the respondents would be more willing to express themselves openly in individual interviews. In addition, the difficulty of focus group interviewing when the home language of most of the beneficiaries differed from that of the researcher (a point that will be discussed in greater detail below), was also raised.

Other meetings which were held with CapeNature WfW project managers in July 2009, also served to highlight other considerations concerning the content of the interview schedule. Such considerations included the fact that many WfW beneficiaries of the selected projects are absorbed on a seasonal basis, as casual labour, within the agricultural industry, particularly by deciduous fruit farms. Moreover, the meaning the concept “employment” takes within the life-world of beneficiaries, had to be captured in the items. For example, some project managers raised the point that many beneficiaries are self-employed within the informal sector, by selling wood or straightening/erecting fences around neighbours’ yards.

The WfW Managers pointed out that the language used in the interview schedule had to be simplified to accommodate the respondents’ low literacy levels¹³. As a result, particular research questions, such as how much time was spent on the programme, had to be operationalised into items that would be clearly understood by all the respondents concerned. Care was taken in the formulation of items which may have elicited potentially demeaning answers. For example, rather than asking whether respondents had been employed prior to

¹³More than a quarter (27%) of the respondents interviewed for the WfW Exit Strategy Research Report (Research Surveys [Pty] Ltd., 2004) had completed only some primary school education.

joining the WfW Programme, they were asked whether they did “something in that time to earn an income”.

During June and July, 2009, two informal consultations with irrespectively WfW and CapeNature Management further assisted with predetermining a set of response options for closed-ended items that would be as exhaustive as possible (e.g., where the respondents might have heard about WfW in their area). However, the researcher made the final decision in this regard, based upon the most appropriate level of measurement for a particular variable. In addition to consultations, internal research reports of WfW and CapeNature, the Sustainable Livelihood Guidance Sheet (DFID, 2001), and the World Bank’s (2009) Social Capital Implementing Framework were also drawn upon by the researcher in the construction of the interview schedule. On the basis this literature, two variables, namely “time spent on the programme” and “alternative financial resources” (both of which can be considered as indicators of WfW beneficiary dependence), were included in the interview schedule. Some items included in the data collection instrument of the CASE study (2007) informed the inclusion, formulation and response categories of some of the key questions in the interview schedule. However, the organisation of the interview schedule into subsections and the wording of the specific items were carefully considered to allow for a less structured exploration of beneficiaries’ dependence on the selected WfW projects. For this reason, many more of the items are open-ended than has been the case in previous research on WfW beneficiaries.

The interview schedule was originally constructed in English, and then translated into Afrikaans - the language in which the majority (56%) of the interviews were conducted. As it transpired that many beneficiaries have isiXhosa as their home language, an attempt was made to translate the schedule directly into this language, but it proved very difficult to retain the original meaning of particular questions in the translation. Instead, the English version of the schedule was used by an isiXhosa-speaking fieldworker to conduct the interviews in isiXhosa-speaking respondents’ first language (see section 4.4 below on potential sources of error and limitations). According to Babbie and Mouton (2007), attaining equivalence of meaning in translation tends to be problematic, as it involves intercultural transfer of meaning. This issue is of specific relevance to the verbal translation, during an interview, of the English schedule into the isiXhosa home language of some of the respondents. In an attempt to address the issue, the fieldworker was required, after each face-to-face interview,

to debrief the researcher about any potential problems encountered with regard to equivalence of meaning.

In July 2009, the interview schedule was pre-tested by interviewing a contract team worker, who was selected at random from the Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve WfW Project¹⁴. The interview was arranged beforehand with the project manager. Such pre-testing of the interview schedule was useful in informing the most effective arrangement of sub-sections and items, as well as helping to improve the correspondence between the style of language used in the interview schedule with that used by the respondents. Probably the most important lesson learnt was that the language had to be simplified even more to accommodate the respondents' low literacy levels. Such simplification was accomplished by explaining some questions by means of an illustrative (though non-leading) scenario.

4.1.2 The structure of the interview schedule¹⁵

4.1.2.1 Demographic information on the respondents

The first section of the interview schedule commences with a set of items which were designed to collect sociodemographic background data, which were deemed relevant to the study (see Appendix A, section A). These data would allow the researcher to determine the demographic areas from which the selected WfW projects drew their beneficiaries, as well as to establish possible sociodemographic reasons for their dependence. In addition, such items would fulfil the important function of establishing rapport between the interviewer and the respondent.

The second section of the interview schedule considers five research questions, listed above in the introduction to this chapter, which were developed to measure and explore the extent of beneficiary dependence on the selected WfW projects. The choice and operationalisation of each of these questions, in the form of interview schedule items, will now be discussed.

¹⁴ More interviews were scheduled for the pre-test, however unfortunately only one interview was possible due to logistical and time considerations, as well as the beneficiaries' work arrangements, of that particular day.

¹⁵ The interview schedule is attached as Appendix A of the thesis.

4.1.2.2 Respondents' work history and entrance into the programme

Items collecting data on the beneficiaries' employment history and entrance into the WfW Programme were intended to provide background information on where the respondents had worked before joining WfW, and to explore how and why they joined the programme (see Appendix A, section B). The items relevant to this research question would also provide data on the income-generating activities and/or the livelihood strategies with which the beneficiaries had been engaged prior to WfW. Such data would be compared with the income generated from their current employment within WfW. A subsequent question asks why the beneficiaries, particularly those who earned a higher income before starting to work for WfW, decided to join the programme.

4.1.2.3 Time spent on the WfW Programme

At the time of data collection for this study, the EPWP code of good practice stated that a beneficiary may not be employed on the WfW Programme for longer than "a maximum of 24 months in a cycle of five years" (WfW, 2004:1). However, according to the Community Conservation Manager for the Overberg, some beneficiaries do not exit after the allocated period of time (Henn, pers. comm., 12 May 2009). It may therefore be argued that any time period spent on the WfW Programme exceeding 24 months indicates a beneficiary's reluctance to exit the programme, as well as, indirectly, the extent of a beneficiary's dependence on WfW employment. The research question pertaining to the time spent on WfW is, therefore, an indicator that measures the degree of dependence on the programme, which is based on the assumption that the longer a beneficiary has been employed on WfW, the more dependent he/she is likely to have become on the programme. Such an assertion is supported by Contini and Negri's (2006) finding that dependence on welfare is associated with the amount of time which a person spends on welfare. Furthermore, the negative duration dependence hypothesis, which was explained in Chapter Two, stipulates that the longer an individual remains on welfare support, the more it will tend to influence his/her tendency to accept welfare without considering alternative sources of income.

4.1.2.4 Alternative financial resources

Two arguments underlie the inclusion of this research question, which is operationalised by a set of indicators measuring the degree of financial dependence of the beneficiaries of WfW on the employment the programme provides. The first argument relates to the heterogeneity hypothesis, which was discussed in Chapter Two and which, when applied to the research

topic at hand, leads one to expect that a beneficiary who engages in alternative paid employment during periods devoid of IAS-clearing contracts (slack-times), is less dependent on WfW employment than a beneficiary who has no recourse to other, interim employment. This issue is particularly relevant to CapeNature WfW projects, as these projects are not always able to provide beneficiaries with a continuous stream of IAS contracts. As a result, many project managers encourage beneficiaries to engage in alternative, casual employment during times when no contracts are available, so that they can earn a regular income. As the thesis is also aimed at exploring possible explanations for the dependence of beneficiaries, an open-ended item was included in the interview schedule, in order to assess whether the beneficiaries themselves consider it important to be employed in-between contracts (see Appendix A, section C). Such an item would collect the data deemed necessary to explain why some beneficiaries do not search for alternative, interim employment, in order to gain a broader understanding of their dependence on WfW employment.

In addition to paid employment, the second argument underlying the inclusion of the specified set of indicators is that a beneficiary who has access to alternative financial resources, for instance from other household members, is less dependent on WfW employment than a beneficiary who lacks access to such resources, and who, therefore, relies solely on the income received from WfW. In order to measure access to alternative financial resources, household-level data were gathered on the number of income sources a beneficiary's household has, as well as whether the household pools such income (see Appendix A, section D). The respondents were also asked to explain whether the employed members of their households were employed on a casual or permanent basis. In this study, casual employment is defined as irregular employment, which lacks prescribed rules and routines. Permanent employment, in contrast, refers to a regular and systematic arrangement, including a fixed number of working hours, and with an expectation of ongoing employment.¹⁶ The respondents seemed to have no problem distinguishing between these two forms of employment.

In addition, data on the nature and extent of the respondents' own alternative financial resources were gathered, which would be compared with the income received from WfW. Therefore, a beneficiary who has more alternative financial resources than that which he/she

¹⁶The distinction between casual and permanent employment was made by considering Western Australia's Department of Commerce (2009) Fact Sheet on the differences between the two forms of employment.

receives as WfW income is viewed as being more independent, in a financial sense, of WfW than a beneficiary who lacks such resources.

4.1.2.5 Expectations of long-term WfW employment

Section E of the interview schedule explores the beneficiaries' expectations of staying within the programme. The decision to collect data on beneficiaries' expectations is based upon the potential of the WfW Programme, specifically its CDA, to create expectations of long-term employment. Although WfW projects within CapeNature reserves operate on the assumption that contractors will exit the projects to become independent entrepreneurs, it seems that beneficiaries are unaware of this expectation, and therefore view the position of contractor as a permanent, better remunerated and therefore socially desirable position within the WfW Programme. Such a view may be reinforced by the fact that most of the contracts still originate from within WfW (Research Surveys [Pty] Ltd., 2004), rather than from outside the organisation (e.g., from private landowners). Section E of the interview schedule, therefore, also assesses the beneficiaries' understanding of WfW's exit strategy. For this purpose, an item in the interview schedule asks respondents whether they have been informed regarding "exiting", or the "exit strategy" (see appendix A, section E). If the beneficiaries reported that they had indeed been informed of such a strategy, they were asked to elaborate on their understanding of the concept in more detail, and in their own words.

This item is followed by others exploring whether beneficiaries believe that their expectations of long-term WfW employment will be realised. For example, items were included on whether beneficiaries aspired to become contractors, followed by a question on whether they believed their aspiration would be realised in their foreseeable future. A respondent's belief in their likelihood of becoming a contractor is related to the rational choice model, which holds that an actor examines and evaluates the available options he/she faces, and eventually selects the option that brings the greatest sense of satisfaction.

4.1.2.6 Perceptions of employability outside of the WfW Programme

One dimension of the construct "dependence" stems from the expectancy model, which considers welfare dependence as from the result of an individual's lack of confidence in his/her ability to make a living in the absence of financial support, in the form of social grants, from the government. Applied to this study, the model implies that WfW beneficiaries' perceptions of whether they will be employable after exiting the WfW

Programme should assist in establishing the extent of their dependence on WfW employment. Items were, therefore, included in the interview schedule to assess the respondents' own perception of whether they had access to (in this regard, non-interim) employment opportunities alternative to that which is provided by WfW, and whether they believe they possess the appropriate skills needed to secure such work opportunities. These questions also relate to the heterogeneity hypothesis, which focuses on the role played by the access of WfW beneficiaries to alternative paid employment, as well as to financial resources in general.

According to the Research Surveys (2004) report, many beneficiaries express strong concerns about what they perceive as the lack of effectiveness of WfW training, especially in the light of the negative impact that inappropriate or inadequate training may have on their ability to find alternative employment. Those items in the interview schedule which are intended to measure the perceptions of employability outside of the WfW Programme are therefore closely linked to WfW's training component, and were developed to gauge the respondents' assessment of whether the training they received while on the programme was sufficient and appropriate for increasing their employability outside of WfW, or whether they felt that they could only apply their acquired skills within WfW (therefore making them, by implication, only employable within WfW).

In summary, the interview schedule used in this study was constructed to provide data that would allow the researcher to answer five distinct research questions. Accordingly, the thesis aims not only to report on the nature and extent of beneficiaries' dependence on particular WfW projects, but also to explore the possible reasons for such dependence, in order to contribute to EPWP policy development in future.

4.2 Sampling method

Two selection procedures were employed in this study. First, four WfW projects, each located in a different CapeNature reserve or catchment area, were selected as study sites.

These included:

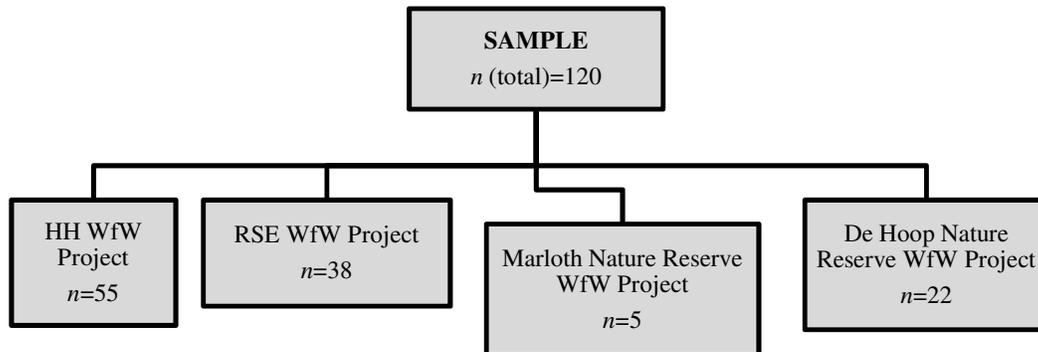
- Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve project, henceforth referred to as the HH WfW Project;
- Riviersonderend Mountain Catchment Area, henceforth referred to as the RSE WfW Project;
- Marloth Nature Reserve WfW Project; and
- De Hoop Nature Reserve WfW Project.

The WfW projects were sampled purposively from a data sheet of all CapeNature reserve and catchment areas in the Overberg District of the Western Cape. The selection was made in collaboration with WfW and CapeNature Management (during the two informal consultations as mentioned earlier in this chapter), and was informed by a need to represent different conservation areas in the Overberg District. The selection was also based on the degree of collaboration which could be expected between the researcher and a particular nature reserve's WfW project manager. CapeNature Management pointed out that some project managers were either absent at the time of the study, or too busy to provide the researcher with the necessary support.

Secondly, stratified systematic sampling was employed to select a sample of beneficiaries randomly from all those beneficiaries working on the selected projects at the time of data collection. For logistical reasons, beneficiaries working on private land at the time of the study were excluded from the study population, since the one contractor team that was working on private land during the data collection period was very difficult to reach. During the months of April to July 2009, a list of beneficiaries (containing the names of all of the contractor team employees and contractors) was obtained from the manager of each of the selected projects. The separate lists were then combined into an Excel datasheet to form a single sampling frame, in the form of a continuous list of beneficiaries. The beneficiary who was participated in the piloting of the draft interview schedule was removed from the sampling frame.

The sampling frame included some background information on each beneficiary, namely their Identification Document (ID) number, from which age could be calculated, home

language, sex, team, and project. This allowed the researcher to stratify the sampling frame, by organising it into homogeneous stratified subsets, according to these variables. A running-number column was added to the sampling frame, with the first beneficiary allocated the number one. The list included 241 beneficiaries, and as a sample size of approximately 100 to 150 was considered feasible and statistically adequate, a sampling interval of two was decided upon. The first element within such a sampling interval was chosen randomly, whereafter every second beneficiary on the list was included in the sample. Stratification ensured that appropriate numbers of beneficiaries were drawn from the different age, home language, sex, team, and project subsets. In total, 120 beneficiaries were sampled. Figure 4.1 below graphically presents a breakdown of sampled beneficiaries according to WfW project:



*Figure 4.1:
A breakdown of sampled beneficiaries*

During the process of data collection it was found that some beneficiary lists were subject to a degree of error, as almost a quarter of the beneficiaries whose names were initially listed by the project managers had left the project by the time the fieldwork commenced, or were absent from work at the time of the interviews. In all such cases, the beneficiary whose name was listed directly above the unavailable beneficiary was selected as a substitute. If that beneficiary was also unavailable, or was no longer part of the project, the beneficiary directly below the originally sampled beneficiary was selected as a substitute. In the case of one project, the beneficiary list proved so unreliable that it was deemed necessary, while in the field, to construct new lists of the available beneficiaries of a particular contractor team, and to draw a 50% stratified, systematic sample from the new list, following the exact same procedure as with the original sample.

4.3 Data collection



Figure 4.2: Fieldworker interviewing a respondent in isiXhosa

4.3.1 Obtaining “buy-in” from project managers and contractors

The collection of data for this thesis was preceded by the researcher briefing (by means of e-mail) the project managers of all four selected WfW projects regarding the study, its objectives, and the field visits which were planned. In addition, the researcher informed the managers about the sampling selection to ensure that they had sufficient time to make the appropriate arrangements prior to the field visits. Thereafter, the interview schedule was circulated via e-mail among all the project managers, as well as among WfW Management, for purposes of eliciting feedback, and familiarising the project managers with the content of the interview schedule. Throughout the fieldwork, project managers were also, as far as was reasonably possible, informed on the exact time when the interviews would be conducted. Moreover, written feedback on the progress made in terms of data collection was provided to WfW and CapeNature Management on numerous occasions during the study.

General “buy-in” from the project managers was necessary in order to gain access to the respondents. Moreover, the project managers had to consult with, and inform the contractors about the study, as the contractors had the final say on whether to grant the researcher permission to interview their employers. After a data collection time-frame had been constructed and e-mailed to the project managers for feedback, access was granted to each project, with the assistance of the project managers, who introduced the researcher to the contractors concerned. The contractors’ willingness to allow the researcher access to the respondents was further facilitated by informing them about the researcher’s need to adhere to the sample.

4.3.2 The interview process

As nine respondents exercised their right not to participate in the study, the realised sample consisted of 111 respondents, who were interviewed during the months of August to October 2009. As already mentioned in section 4.4.1 above, the researcher conducted most (56%) of the interviews in Afrikaans. However, as the overwhelming majority of the beneficiaries of the HH WfW Project (44%) are isiXhosa-speaking, an isiXhosa-speaking fieldworker was employed to conduct interviews with these respondents in their home language. The fieldworker used an English interview schedule, verbally translating each item into isiXhosa during the interviews, and translating and recording responses in English. In preparation for interviewing the isiXhosa-speaking respondents, the fieldworker was trained by the researcher in basic interviewing methods and skills, including familiarising him with the schedule, and training him in the exact recording of responses, probing for answers, and the accurate following of questions (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:253).

The help of the contractors was enlisted with regard to locating the sampled beneficiaries in their various communities, informing them regarding the study, and requesting them to participate in the study on a voluntary basis. Fortunately, most of the contractor teams whose members participated in the study did not have contracts to complete during the data collection period, which ensured easy access to the respondents, without having to interrupt their WfW work. On some occasions, though, the respondents had to be taken away for half a day from an IAS-invaded site they were clearing, for the purposes of being interviewed. The appropriate arrangements were made beforehand by the project managers concerned, with the consent of the contractors involved.

The interviews were conducted in various informal settlements and towns near the four nature reserves and one catchment area selected for the study. As far as possible, and in order to set the respondents at ease, the interviews were conducted at one central, neutral location, such as an office or a contractor's house, as opposed to interviewing each respondent in his/her own home.

At the start of an interview, the respondent was again introduced to the study, with care being taken to ensure that the respondents were informed of their right to decline or discontinue the interview at any time that they chose. Written informed consent was obtained for the study, in accordance with the guidelines of the Stellenbosch University's Ethics Subcommittee for the Human and Social Sciences (2010). However, the formulation of the informed consent form had to be simplified to accommodate the respondents' low literacy

levels. No incentives for participation in the study were provided, as it was felt that the awarding of such an incentive would create the impression that sampled beneficiaries were obliged to participate in the study. Such an eschewing of financial incentive is explained by Mouton (2001:245) as a way to respect the rights of “vulnerable groups”. In turn, the sample respondents of this study were considered as a vulnerable group, not only based upon their low educational status and poverty context (which will be explained), but also since the outcomes of the research may affect their employment on the programme directly. The duration of the interviews ranged from five minutes to one hour and twenty minutes, depending on each respondent’s willingness to elaborate in response to the open-ended questions posed. The majority of the interviews were completed in 45 minutes or less.

After completion of the interviews with the beneficiaries of a particular WfW project, the respective project managers were also interviewed by the researcher. These relatively unstructured interviews were aimed at gathering background data from the managers on the general profile of the workers involved in each project, as well as on the areas from which the beneficiaries were drawn. The interviews also helped gauge the managers’ opinions on the CDA, beneficiary dependence and the exit strategy employed by WfW. The interviews rounded off the fieldwork at each project by providing the project manager with the opportunity to express his/her views on the beneficiaries and on the contexts of their projects. Each manager provided written informed consent for his/her name to be linked to their responses. However, care was taken to report personal feelings in a confidential manner.

4.3.3 Data processing and analysis

Data capture commenced with the entering of the responses to the closed, pre-coded items into an SPSS [18] dataset. The process was followed by capture and, where appropriate, the categorisation and coding, of the responses to open-ended questions. Responses to the open-ended questions were analysed qualitatively, by asking what each revealed about the research problem at hand, as well as what it represented conceptually. Quantitative methods, in particular univariate data analysis (producing distributions, central tendencies and dispersions), were applied to the responses to closed-ended items. Lastly, some Afrikaans responses to open-ended questions, selected to illustrate the reporting of findings in the next chapter, were translated into English. As it proved extremely difficult to translate the colloquial, rural Western Cape Afrikaans into English, these quotes are accompanied by the

original Afrikaans text, included in brackets. Responses to open-ended questions that were provided in isiXhosa, were translated into English during the interviews by the fieldworker.

4.4 Potential sources of error and limitations

As is the case with many, if not all, empirical social research, this study is subject to several potential sources of error and limitations. An important limitation stemmed from the language barrier between the researcher and the isiXhosa-speaking respondents (who constituted almost half of the sample), which required employing an isiXhosa-speaking fieldworker to conduct the isiXhosa interviews. As mentioned above, the fieldworker had the difficult task of verbally translating the English interview schedule and translating and recorded responses in English during the interviews. Following the interviews, he remarked on the intricacies involved in translating some terms into isiXhosa, and that, in some cases, such translation resulted in him transmitting meanings of certain terms to the respondents which differed from the meanings of the terms in the English interview schedule (Jadezweni, pers. comm., 5 Aug. 2009).

In addition, the fieldworker recorded the isiXhosa responses in English, which entailed yet more translation and challenges with regard to attaining “equivalence of meaning” (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:238). According to Jadezweni, isiXhosa wording often cannot be directly translated into English, which requires certain adaptations to be made in the course of the translation, in order to accommodate the way in which isiXhosa-speaking people express themselves. To counter the potential for error posed by this situation, the researcher requested the fieldworker to debrief him daily on the interviews he conducted, which served to highlight some of the differences in meaning, which were taken into account during data analysis. However, it seemed that such differences did not, in any significant way, negatively affect the reliability of the data gathered.

In addition to this language-related limitation, a relatively high number of non-responses to some items posed a challenge. Many of the respondents were quiet and withdrawn during the interviews, which called for the use, by both interviewers, of potentially biasing prompts. It also seemed that some respondents simply agreed with any statement made by the interviewer, without considering it carefully, or (dis)agreed with the interviewer’s probe, rather than formulating a response in their own words.

During the interviews it became evident that some of the items were not phrased accurately enough to elicit detailed or meaningful responses describing the respondents' feelings and experiences. For example, when the respondents were asked what they enjoyed most about their work, some answered "because I just like it", or "because I like working". Such generalised responses, most often voiced by withdrawn respondents, did not reflect exactly *what* it was that the beneficiaries enjoyed about their work. Even though the interview schedule was simplified in response to feedback from the WfW project managers and a pre-test, some concepts still proved difficult to explain, and tended to confuse the respondents. For example, when they were prompted to explain whether they would prefer to exit WfW with their team, or on their own, it became clear that many of the respondents had never before heard of "exiting", and that even those who had some understanding of the notion found the question confusing. As a result, the reliability of many responses to this question is probably low.

Another limitation of the study pertains to the sampling procedure followed. First, it proved extremely difficult to obtain lists of names of project beneficiaries from the project managers. Secondly, one such list lacked data on the sex of respondents, which meant that stratification of the sampling frame in terms of sex had to be performed according to the categories "male", "female", and "unknown". Moreover, on some beneficiary lists the ID numbers were recorded inaccurately by the project managers concerned. As the numbers were used for calculating each beneficiary's age – to allow for the stratification of the sampling frame according to this variable – the incomplete data gathered again meant that the stratification on this variable was incomplete.

As this study collected data regarding beneficiaries' dependence on four CapeNature WfW projects in the Western Cape, selected by means of a non-probability sampling method, care should be taken not to generalise the findings of the study to WfW beneficiaries in general, i.e., beyond the purposively selected projects to those embedded within different social contexts and natural environments.

In summary, most of the potential sources of error could not have been foreseen during the design phase of the research, but their possible effects on the reliability and validity of the findings were taken into account in the analysis of the findings, as reported in Chapter Five.

4.5 Ethical considerations



Figure 4.3: The researcher's vehicle at a research site, symbolising his position as an outsider

During the fieldwork, the primary ethical concern was to ensure that the respondents' participation in the research would be voluntary. However, this proved challenging, as some contractors seemed (although they were asked not to do so) to have instructed their workers to participate in the study, as indicated by a few of the respondents' comments, such as: "I guess we have to do the interview". As a result, it seemed that many of the workers were under the impression that they were obliged to partake in the interviews as part of their job description. However, the researcher took care during the interviews to counter this perception by stressing the fact that the respondents should not feel obliged to participate in the study, and that they had the fullest right to discontinue the interview at any time, without any negative repercussions.

Despite the fact that respondents were informed on more than one occasion about the nature and purpose of the research, it emerged during fieldwork that the respondents harboured unrealistic expectations of what the study might mean to them. For example, when the objectives of the study were explained to the contractors, it became clear that some were under the impression that the researcher and/or fieldworker would be offering them contracts for which they could tender. Similarly, some respondents were under the impression that the researcher and/or fieldworker would assist them with difficulties they experienced with remuneration or government social grants. The issue was further complicated by the language barrier between the researcher, who was not fluent in isiXhosa, and the isiXhosa-speaking respondents. Even the isiXhosa-speaking fieldworker himself encountered a language barrier, as he spoke an isiXhosa dialect which was different to that which was used by the

respondents. According to the fieldworker, such a difference in dialect reflected their different statuses in society, with the result that some respondents felt inferior about the dialect which they used.

As such, the language issue became an ethical issue concerning the social status and power differential between the researcher and the participants in the research. The fieldworker, for example, noticed that some respondents felt uncomfortable in his presence, as he was a black man from a university. The researcher himself was addressed by some respondents as “*baas*” (translated as sir, or even “master”), which reflects the extent to which racial inequality associated with South Africa’s past still persist in small local towns in the Overberg District. This point may be illustrated by the case of one respondent who arrived for the interview with his ID firmly pressed in his hands, which, as a sign of deference or even inferiority, he decisively provided when the researcher asked him his age. The social status differential between the researcher and respondents was also brought to the fore in some cases where there was no other option but to conduct an interview in a respondent’s home. Most of those respondents clearly felt uncomfortable and obliged to explain what they believed the researcher would perceive as the “bad state” of their houses.

For the researcher, these fieldwork experiences raise some core issues concerning social research practice, which are often glossed over in social research methods courses presented at higher education institutions. These issues concern the need to recognise the unavoidably intrusive nature of social research, and the need to overcome social differences which may exist between researcher and research participants, to allow for the former to be accepted as an outside by the latter. Some questions which arise in this regard are as follows:

- To what extent can, or should, social status differences between the researcher and the researched be overcome?
- Can one expect the respondents to accept the presence of a researcher who clearly is an outsider to their community?
- Is it not perhaps preferable for researchers to accept the social status differences between themselves and the researched, rather than to attempt to resemble the members of the community whom they are researching?

Simple gestures which indicate respect, such as leaving the community in the case of a violent incident¹⁷, and in this case informing the respondents that a disrupted interview would only recommence when the respondents were more at ease, proved useful in addressing such issues.

¹⁷ One such an incident interrupted an interview that was being conducted in an informal settlement.

4.6 Making a tangible difference to the WfW Programme and its beneficiaries



Figure 4.4: Feedback being provided to WfW

Figure 4.4a: The researcher engaging in a WfW training and social development meeting, at which he presented his preliminary findings

Figure 4.4b: Baskets presented to contractors as a token of appreciation for their assistance with the research

The researcher is of the view that one of the most important aspects of social research is to assist with the development of policy that should improve the lives of the participants in research. This is referred to by Mouton (2001:242) as “an actor view of knowledge [i.e.,] one believes knowledge does, in some degree, entail an intervention in the social world”. The first “intervention” in this regard was to provide feedback on the fieldwork to the managers of each CapeNature WfW project studied. In the case of three of the four projects, such feedback consisted of a written document, which was individually prepared for each project concerned, and presented to the respective project managers after the completion of the fieldwork for each project (see Appendices B, C & D). One project manager had sufficient time at his disposal for a face-to-face feedback session.

In an attempt to narrow the gap between academic social research and policy decision-making, the researcher presented the preliminary findings of his research at the WfW’s Annual Training and Social Development Meeting held in May 2010 (see Figure 4.4a). At that time, WfW was undergoing a period of nationwide policy reformulation, particularly concerning the length of time which beneficiaries were allowed to participate in the programme. The feedback session, therefore, proved highly relevant to the programme’s Training and Social Unit, which is tasked with implementing such policies, and provided the members of the Unit with in-depth insight into WfW’s beneficiaries, the often challenging circumstances of their daily lives, and their dependence on their WfW work, including both the positive and negative consequences thereof.

CHAPTER FIVE:

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

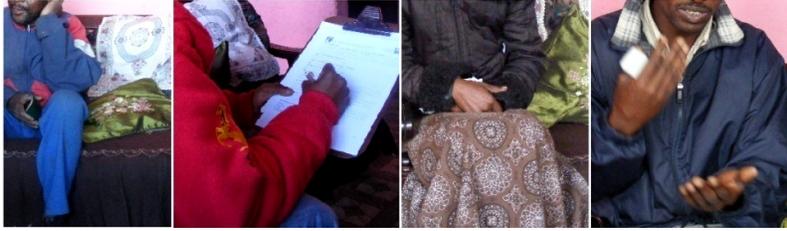


Figure 5.1: Respondents being interviewed

5.1 Introduction

THIS CHAPTER COMMENCES with an introductory section, which presents background data (pertaining to project sizes and annual budget allocations) on the CapeNature WfW projects studied. The focus then shifts to the beneficiaries, by providing a historical overview of the respondents' previous employment and entrance into the WfW Programme, followed by a description of the sample of respondents in terms of relevant socio-demographic background variables. Thereafter, the respondents' pre-WfW work histories, as well as a comparison between the remuneration received in previous employment and now received from WfW, are presented. The section in question also compares the extent to which the respondents enjoy working on WfW with the extent to which they enjoyed their previous employment.

The next section of the chapter deals with the amount of time which the respondents had already spent on the programme. This is complemented by the reportage of data on alternative financial resources, which is divided into a) alternative, interim income earned between contracts (i.e. slack-times), and b) alternative financial resources, such as those which are provided by the household or other family members. The chapter then proceeds to report on the respondents' expectations of remaining with WfW in the foreseeable future, their ambitions to become contractors, as well as their perception of the likelihood of realising such ambitions. The presentation of the results concludes with a description of respondents' knowledge and sentiments regarding their exiting from the programme, their perceptions of their employability outside of the WfW Programme, as well as of the availability of alternative employment opportunities.

A discussion of possible explanations for the various levels of dependence reported by the respondents brings the chapter to a close. The explanations draw on theories of social structure to assist in the development of an understanding of why some respondents were found to be dependent on the four WfW projects studied.

5.2 Background information on the WfW projects studied



Figure 5.2: The projects selected

Figure 5.2a: WfW projects Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve

Figure 5.2b; Riviersonderend Nature Reserve

Figure 5.2c: De Hoop Nature Reserve (Source: Google Images)

Figure 5.2d: Marloth Nature Reserve.

According to the project manager of the HH WfW Project, at the time of data collection, the project provided employment to approximately 144 beneficiaries, including 12 contractors and 132 workers (Davids, pers. comm., 12 Aug. 2006). The project receives an annual budget of R1.9 million and has exited three contractors since its inception in 1995. In contrast, the RSE WfW Project comprised 78 beneficiaries: six contractors and 72 workers, according to the project manager concerned (pers. com., 23 Sept. 2009). The latter project is allocated an annual budget of R1.6 million, and has exited one contractor and his/her team of 10 workers since the commencement of the project in 1995.

Couched in the picturesque Swellendam mountain ranges is the Marloth WfW Project, which consisted, at the time of the study, of only one contractor team (project manager, pers. comm., 28 Sept. 2009). The project receives a budget of R300 000 annually, and has exited one contractor since its inception in 1997. Lastly, according to the Community Conservation Manager for the Overberg (who spoke on behalf of the project manager concerned), the project in the reserve consisted of four contractors and 44 contract workers at the time of data collection (Henn, pers. comm., 14 Nov. 2009). The project receives an annual budget of R766 334 and has not yet exited a single contractor since its inception in 1995.

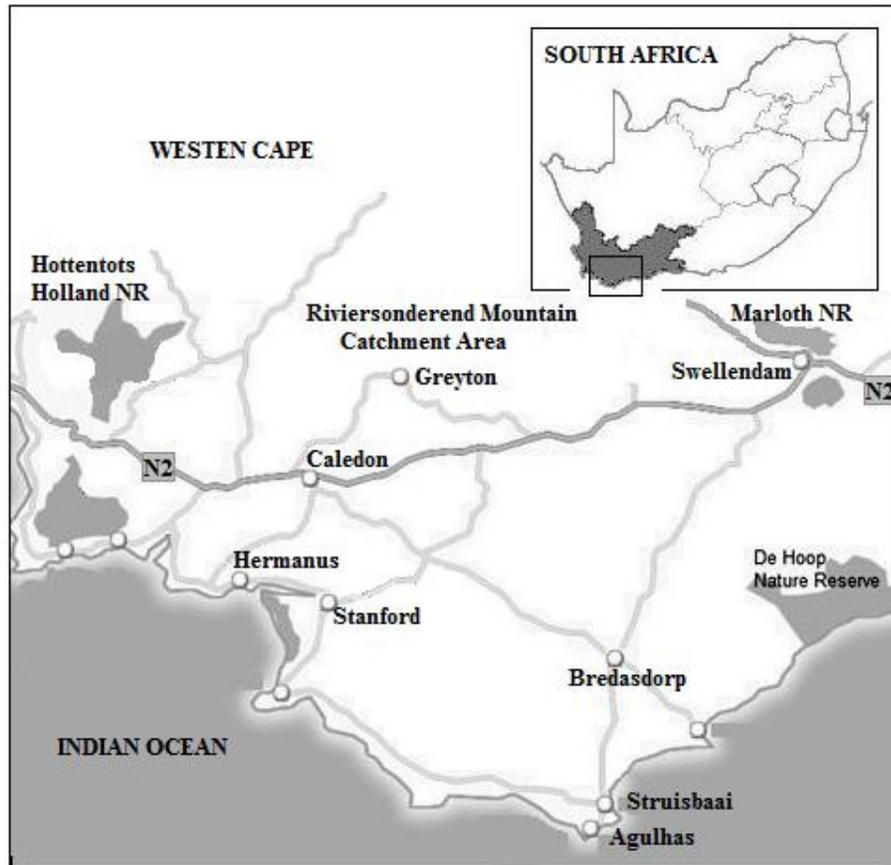


Figure 5.3: A map of the Overberg District in the Western Cape. [Modified].
Source: Safari Accommodation South Africa.

The projects provide a range of different employment possibilities for their beneficiaries, as general clearers, chainsaw operators, herbicide applicators, drivers, and health and safety officers¹⁸. Training is also provided to equip the beneficiaries with the skills necessary for performing a range of tasks. Although the beneficiaries receive remuneration from their contractors for each IAS piece (contract) completed, the income data obtained by this study was calculated and converted to a monthly average amount, to allow for a comparison with pre-WfW remuneration. All respondents earn an estimated R1000-R2000 per month¹⁹ from working on the projects concerned.

¹⁸Although some items in the interview schedule were designed to collect task-related data, it proved very difficult to record such data consistently, as many respondents were unaware of the specific tasks for which they were employed. Therefore, such data are not reported.

¹⁹This estimation was obtained by multiplying the amount which beneficiaries reported earning per day when they have a contract (R50–R100) by 20 (average number of working days in a month).

5.3 Sample profile

5.3.1 Sociodemographic background

In terms of gender, men were slightly over-represented in the study, as they comprised 55% of the sample. Such an over-representation was surprising, as the legally binding Code of Good Practice for employment and conditions of work for Special Public Works Programmes (Republic of South Africa, 2002a:3) requires of such programmes to attain the target of a 60% representation of women. This finding therefore suggests that the projects concerned do not quite gender-target beneficiaries as prescribed.

Table 5.1 (below) shows that, in terms of age, the majority and almost half (47%) of the respondents were in their twenties, followed by a quarter who were aged between 30 and 39, with only 16% in their forties. A small minority of less than 5% were younger than 20 years old, and only 7% were older than 50 years, with no beneficiary in the sample who was older than 59 years at the time of data collection. The fact that the majority of respondents were in their twenties is worth commenting on, as the Code of Good Practice states that such projects should attain the target of a 20% representation of youth between 18 and 25 years of age. According to a Quarterly Labour Force Survey (StatsSA, 2008:21), South Africa's unemployment rate is highest among those within the age category 15 to 34 years. Furthermore, the fact that 73% of the respondents reported being single leads one to the conclusion that the projects studied mostly provide employment to young single men within this age category. This is to be expected, also considering the harsh environment in which the beneficiaries of the projects concerned have to conduct physically demanding labour.

Table 5.1: Sample distribution among age categories

Age category	<i>n</i>	%	Cum. %
Younger than 20	5	4.5	4.5
20–29	52	46.8	51.4
30–39	28	25.2	76.6
40–49	18	16.2	92.8
50–59	8	7.2	100.0
Total	111	100.0	

In terms of the highest level of formal education attained, the majority (60%) of the respondents had completed grades 8 to 11, followed by approximately a fifth (21%) who had

completed grades 4 to 7, and 8% who had not received any formal education. No respondent had any form of tertiary training, and only 10% of the respondents had completed Grade 12.

The selected WfW projects provide employment to beneficiaries from a wide range of areas across different towns and informal settlements, with half of the beneficiaries needing to travel at least half an hour to get to particular projects. More than half (57%) of the respondents inhabited brick houses, while a large percentage (37%) resided in informal shacks on own stands.

Although 30% of the respondents had lived in another area before they started working on the WfW projects selected for the study, very few of them had moved to their current place of residence in order to participate in WfW. The majority (36%) of respondents previously resided on agricultural farms in the area, while a smaller proportion reported having previously lived in towns, such as Paarl, Malmesbury and Grabouw, among others. A minority of the respondents reported having lived in provinces other than the Western Cape before they started working for WfW: only three had resided in the Eastern Cape, and one had lived in the Free State.

5.4 Pre-WfW employment histories

The respondents were asked what they had “done” (generally speaking) before they joined the WfW Programme. Of all the respondents, 12 were economically inactive: 10 were still in school, one woman was a student, while one had a disability. These respondents are excluded from the remaining section. Of the 99 respondents, 92 had been employed prior WfW. Of the remaining seven unemployed respondents, six were job losers, while the other respondent could be classified as a job leaver, since she was pregnant (see StatsSA, 2008:17) (see Figure 5.4 below).

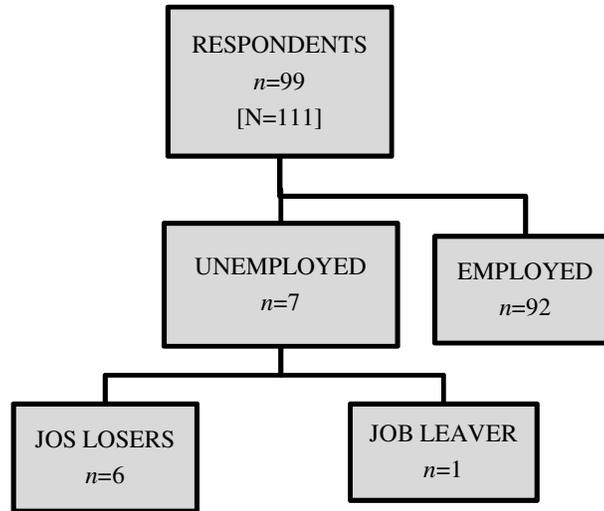


Figure 5.4: Sample composition in terms of pre-WfW employment history

The following three subsections will consider only those 92 respondents who earned and income prior to joining WfW.

5.4.1 Type of economic activity in which respondents engaged prior to WfW

Approximately half (49%) of the respondents had been employed as farm labourers²⁰ in the Western Cape, primarily on deciduous fruit farms, as sorters and packers of fruit. The other half of the respondents had previously been employed primarily as gardeners, cashiers, or domestic or construction workers.

The type of employment in which respondents engaged prior to WfW varied across the four projects. For example, the HH WfW project is surrounded by many deciduous fruit farms, which absorb WfW beneficiaries as casual seasonal labour²¹ between contracts (i.e. during slack-times), whereas projects such as Marloth and De Hoop nature reserves tend to draw beneficiaries who had previously been employed as gardeners, or as domestic or construction workers. Only seven of the respondents reported operating small businesses selling food and/or cold drinks, which indicates that only a small percentage of respondents had engaged in some form of entrepreneurial activity before being employed by WfW.

²⁰The respondents were not asked to elaborate on whether they were employed as regular, seasonal or casual labour.

²¹Cf. Conradi (2007) on the classification of the farm labour force used in previous surveys of such labour.

5.4.2 Amount of income earned and other financial resources received

The respondents who reported earning an income before WfW were asked how much they had earned on average. As the responses varied from remuneration per hour or month, to piecework, they were converted to a daily rate²²:

Table 5.2: Pre-WfW remuneration per day

Remuneration (R)	n	%	Cum. %
1–50	40	44.4	44.4
51–100	45	50.0	94.4
101–150	4	4.4	98.9
301–500	1	1.1	100.0
Total*	90	100	

*The total reported excludes the 21 respondents who could not remember how much they had earned, and whose responses were therefore coded as missing.

Table 5.2 shows that the majority (94%) of respondents had earned less than R100 a day, with only the remaining small fraction (6%) having earned more than that per day. When the WfW beneficiaries' current remuneration is also converted to a daily rate (by dividing the total remuneration per contract by the number of days per contract), it amounts to R50 to R100 per day. A comparison with the data reported in Table 5.2 reveals that almost half (45%) of the respondents who had earned an income before joining WfW had earned (on average) an amount equivalent to what they earned for WfW contracts.

Remarkably, 55% of the respondents had discontinued their pre-WfW employment voluntarily, while 42% had to discontinue their previous employment as a result of contracts and/or seasonal employment coming to a close (see Figure 5.5 below). The majority (17) of those 51 respondents who had voluntarily discontinued their pre-WfW employment, reported doing so because they had perceived the amount which they had earned from their previous employment as being insufficient. Eight of the respondents had voluntarily discontinued their previous employment when they were informed by WfW contractors that WfW contracts had become available in the area in which they lived.

²²For purposes of the study, a workday was assumed to comprise eight hours. The remuneration for piecework was considered to be equivalent to a day's remuneration.

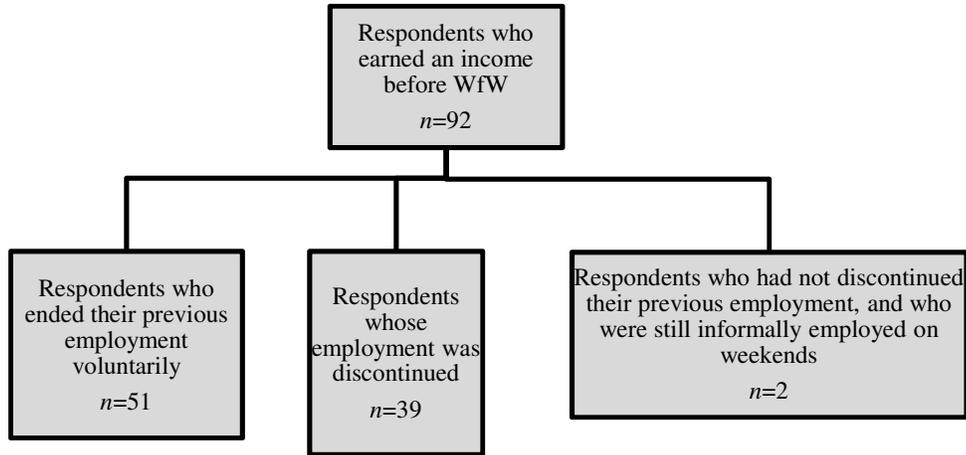


Figure 5.5: Sample distribution according to reasons for discontinuation of pre-WfW employment

In addition to the income earned from employment engaged in prior to WfW, 30% of the respondents also reported having had access to other financial sources, primarily through other family members or partners (as reported by 23 respondents), but also in the form of the government Child Support Grant (CSG), in the case of nine respondents.

5.4.3 Continuity between pre-WfW and WfW employment

Of the 92 respondents who had earned an income before starting work for WfW, 34 reported that their employment had ended immediately before they started working for WfW (see Table 5.3 in this regard). Most (36) of the remaining 58 respondents whose employment did not end immediately before they started working for WfW, reported having “done nothing” (not having been economically active in any way) in the interim, or slack-time period. Notwithstanding, six respondents had been employed on a seasonal basis as casual farm labourers, with a number of others reporting engagement in a diverse range of casual forms of employment, such as gardening, straightening fences, or (one) having been a herdsman.

Table 5.3: Continuity between pre-WfW and WfW employment.

Ending of previous employment prior to commencing work for WfW	n	%	Cum. %
Immediately before	34	38.2	38.2
Less than 6 months before	30	33.71	71.91
Between 6 months and 1 year before	7	7.87	79.78
More than 1 year before	18	20.22	100
Total*	89	100.0	

*The total reported excludes the one respondent who still has his own business, and was therefore coded as “not applicable”, and the two respondents who could not remember, and whose responses were therefore coded as missing.

Figure 5.5 (presented in section 5.4 above) reflects the significant proportion (almost half) of respondents that had discontinued their previous employment voluntarily. Of these, 39% stated that they had done so immediately before starting to work for WfW. A much smaller percentage (26%) of those who had left their previous employment voluntarily, did so more than six months before starting to work for WfW. Such findings seem to indicate that most respondents who left their previous employment voluntarily might have done so in order to join WfW. This begs the question: why did such a high percentage of beneficiaries trade their previous employment for similarly remunerated employment with WfW?

5.4.4 Respondents’ entrance into the WfW Programme

5.4.4.1 Where respondents first heard about the projects

As Figure 5.6 shows, the majority (55%) of the respondents first heard about WfW from their friends (beneficiaries) already working on teams, while 25% became familiar with WfW through a contractor. Four respondents explained that they had observed people walking in the streets dressed in WfW work-clothes, seven reported that they were acquainted with the contractor, whereas four of the respondents said that other family members worked for WfW. Such data indicate that the four projects selected for the study seem to draw beneficiaries from within closely related social groups, and that many are informed about projects by friends or family members who are already working on such projects.

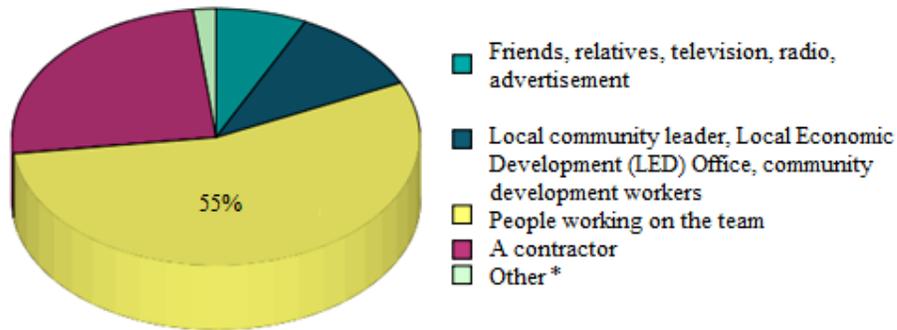


Figure 5.6: Sources from whom respondents first heard about WfW.

When asked how they had proceeded to enter the WfW Programme, the majority (38%) of respondents reported having approached the contractor for employment, whereas a smaller, though still substantial, percentage (29%) were approached by the contractor to work on his/her project. One of these respondents testified that a contractor, who was also a family member, had been in urgent need of workers, and had therefore asked people in the community to start working for him. A further 17% of the respondents reported that government officials had introduced them to the programme, after which they were presented with an option of completing an application form. The remaining and smallest percentage (12%) of respondents were introduced to a contractor by family members. Overall, such data indicate that the particular projects studied absorbed beneficiaries primarily by way of contractors.

5.4.4.2 Reasons why respondents entered the programme

- Perceived advantages associated with WfW work

A full third (34%) of the respondents elaborated on their reasons for entering the programme by reporting that some aspects of WfW work attracted them to the programme. A number of respondents mentioned the opportunity that such work gave them to work in nature, as illustrated by the following two responses:

If you go over that hill, then you see something new. There are all kinds of surprises in the mountain that one comes across. [*As jy nou oor daai koppie gaan dan sien jy iets nuuts. Daar's allerhande verassings in die berge waarop jy afkom.*]

I told myself that someday I will work for WfW. Since childhood I've liked nature. Now I can already identify a lot of plants. [*Ek het vir myself gesê dat ek eendag vir WfW wil werk. Van kleintyd af hou ek van die natuur. Nou kan ek al baie plante identifiseer.*]

Other perceived advantages which attracted respondents to the programme included favourable working hours and remuneration, and the fact that training is provided. In this regard, it is interesting to note that 16% of the respondents implied that they had made a rational choice to enter the WfW Programme, based on a comparison they drew between WfW work and their previous employment, which showed the former to be the “best option”. For instance, one respondent explained that he realised WfW would assist him, eventually, to obtain better employment or, alternatively, in starting an IAS contractor business of his own: “Then you don't fall so behind in life [*Dan bly jy nie so agter in die lewe nie*]”. Some female respondents explained that WfW's working hours allow them, as mothers, to be with their children in the afternoons, as opposed to the long working hours required by farm work.

- Countering the tedium and stigma associated with unemployment

A further 29% of the respondents explained why they decided to participate in WfW, by elaborating on the fact that they were “tired of sitting at home” (in one respondents' words) without employment, particularly considering the social stigma attached to such inactivity. For example, one respondents reasoned that, “Now at least I am not just like them who walk around like that [*Ek is nou ten minste nie soos hulle wat net so rondloop nie*]”, or “At least now I don't sit at home”. In a similar vein, five respondents specifically remarked how other people in their community take cognisance of them working, as opposed to their sitting at home.

- Lack of alternative employment options

A fifth (20%) of the respondents stated that they had no choice but to enter the WfW Programme, as they had no other employment options. Of these respondents, most (13) had only completed grade 8 to 11, from which one may infer that their perceived lack of other options may be linked to their relatively low level of education. This link could also be observed directly in respondents' statements, such as, “It is hard to get other work if you do

not have some form of education or qualification”. Although only one in five of the respondents cited a lack of alternative employment options as a reason for entering WfW, this is still a sizeable proportion of beneficiaries who perceive WfW as a safety net, especially for those who have a relatively low level of education, and who thereby acknowledge that they had no alternative but to become recipients of an EPWP.

5.4.5 Comparisons drawn between pre-WfW employment and WfW work

When those beneficiaries who had been employed prior to joining WfW were asked whether, and, if so, to what extent, they had enjoyed their pre-WfW work more than they did their WfW work, the majority (85%) stated that they preferred the latter (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Extent of enjoyment of pre-WfW work in comparison to WfW work

Extent of enjoyment	<i>n</i>	%	Cum. %
Much more than WfW	6	6.5	6.5
A little bit more than WfW	5	5.4	12.0
Neutral/the same as WfW	3	3.3	15.2
Not so much as WfW	24	26.1	41.3
Not at all as much as WfW	54	58.7	100.0
Total	92	100.0	

Those 78 respondents who enjoyed WfW work more than they did their previous work, were asked to elaborate why. These qualitative responses can be grouped into three broad categories, which are closely related to the above-mentioned advantages which attracted beneficiaries to the programme in the first place, i.e., the respondents’ enjoyment of work in the natural environment, preferable conditions of employment with WfW, and an increase in self-worth as a result of working for WfW.

5.4.5.1 Respondents’ enjoyment of work in the natural environment

Of the above-mentioned respondents, a fifth described taking great pleasure in working in the natural environment (the “veld”), expressing a sense of liberation which they felt in doing so: “I like being free [*Ek hou van vry wees*]”, or “It’s pleasant in the mountain [*Lekker in die berg*]”. Such descriptions make sense when compared to the respondents’ perception of the farmwork environment as unpleasant and highly demanding - a perception that will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

5.4.5.2 Preferable conditions of employment with WfW

Most of the respondents (one fifth) referred to issues of remuneration, such as that WfW remuneration is more reliable, with a fifth stating that it was compared more favourably with their previous earnings. In some cases, such a perception seemed to arise from the fact that the beneficiaries are remunerated at a predetermined rate, even if they complete an IAS contract sooner than anticipated. “Your work is fairly hard, but the money that you earn is a little bit more [*Jou werk is bietjie swaar, maar die geldjie wat jy kry is bietjie meer*]”. The perception of improved remuneration is not necessarily due to an actual increase in income, but may be attributed to the fact that remuneration is received at all. On this point, one respondent explained: “Sometimes we would work at the farm and not get paid”. This highlights the value that respondents attach to a reliable income, which they seem to value even more than being remunerated at a higher level, but without being guaranteed regular receipt of the income. “For me, money comes quicker here at WfW”, one respondent said. Some respondents also referred to other financial considerations, such as that their work on WfW projects incurred lower travel costs, as these projects were relatively near to their place of residence, in comparison with their previous employment.

Approximately one-tenth of the respondents viewed WfW’s working hours as more favourable. For example, one respondent spoke of her childcare duties: “We are more free. Now if we finish a task, then we can be at home to look after the children [*Ons is meer vry. As ons 'n taak nou klaar is, kan ons by die huis wees om te kyk na die kinders*]”. This preference for more flexible working hours that enable one to take care of one’s children was also noted earlier in this chapter.

Some of the respondents (8%) enjoyed working as part of a WfW team. One respondent explained: “We are all together, like a big family [*Ons is almal so 'n groot familie, so bymekaar*]”. Lastly, two respondents noted that, while WfW provided training, farmers provided none.

As approximately a tenth of the respondents voluntarily compared working for WfW specifically with farm work, it behoves this study to compare the two forms of work. Twelve respondents, in particular, elaborated on the inferior working conditions which they had encountered on farms. In this regard, one respondent noted, “Farm work makes you sick [*Plaaswerk maak jou siek*]”, and another respondent explained that “[f]arm owners were very pushy, in terms of wanting the work done fast. WfW conditions are much better”. Other respondents portrayed the conditions on farms as either being unpleasant (“dirty”), or

managed by farmers who treated farm labourers poorly. Some of the respondents spoke of having been pressured by farm owners to work harder, and of the more demanding nature of farm work, in relation to the work which they were required to carry out for WfW.

One of the four respondents who considered the working conditions on farms to be unpleasant, highlighted the absence of an authority figure at WfW who might have monitored, instructed and pressurised them: “No boss shouting at you [*Nie ‘n baas wat op jou shout nie*]”. His further comment, namely that “[F]armers are constantly on our case”, reveals the hierarchical nature of the relationship existing between white landowners and black or coloured farm labour. In contrast, project managers, contractors and team workers working on the WfW projects studied tend to share a racial and/or cultural identity, which seemed to be much preferred to being managed by someone of a different race and/or culture. One respondent explicitly made this point, by saying that he welcomed the fact that WfW projects were managed by black or coloured people, as opposed to working for a white farm owner. One respondent even portrayed a farm owner as treating “his” farm labour as animals, saying: “He treated me like a pig”. Such comments reflect the lingering pervasiveness of apartheid’s influence on race relations in many rural and farming communities in the Western Cape.

5.4.5.3 Increased self-worth from working for WfW

Only five percent of respondents, who prefer WfW work to their previous employment, reported having experienced a new-found sense of dignity and/or respect from community members, due to their work for WfW. It is particularly during those times when beneficiaries have contracts to complete, that the regularity of employment and income earned (described in section 4.5.2 above) appears to raise the levels of self-worth experienced by the respondents.

However, WfW employment is also characterised by irregular contracts and, consequently, late payments. A small number of all the respondents mentioned the irregularity of payment (and thus their financial insecurity) in the case of WfW contracts, and/or the infrequency of such contracts, particularly as the absence of work during long periods between contracts led to workers being stigmatised by other members in their community. “People in the community see we wait long for work within WfW”, one respondent observed. A number of respondents reported feeling inferior or less proud of their work due to receiving their pay late and due to the inconsistency of contracts. Some respondents felt discriminated against by other members in their community on the basis of

regularly having to remain “at home” between contracts. In this regard, one respondent described a standard criticism directed at her as, “Are you at home again? [*Is jy alweer by die huis?*]”, while another respondent quoted a common response from community members as: “You earn your money at home [*Julle verdien julle geld by die huis*]”.

Community members do not seem to pass judgement on the respondents not earning an income *per se*, but seem rather to discriminate against WfW beneficiaries on the basis of the scarcity of contracts and/or the late payments that seem to characterise WfW employment. As a consequence, many beneficiaries may feel inclined to wait for contracts presented by a “trusted” employment provider (the contractor), as opposed to having to deal with the uncertainty of not securing alternative employment at all, and being discriminated against for sitting at home: “If I hang around at home, I don’t feel happy [*As ek by die huis lê voel ek nie gelukkig nie*]”.

5.5 Respondents’ current WfW employment

5.5.1 Time spent on the WfW Programme

Table 5.5 reports the various lengths of time that respondents had continuously (i.e., without interruption) been working on a particular project by the time that the interviews were conducted in 2009²³.

Table 5.5 Duration of continuous participation in project

Duration	<i>n</i>	%	Cum. %
Less than 1 year	17	15.5	15.5
1-2 years	48	43.6	59.1
3-4 years	21	19.1	78.2
5-6 years	10	9.1	87.3
7-8 years	13	11.8	99.1
9-10 years	1	.9	100.0
Can't remember	1	1	
Total	111	100	

²³Ten respondents discontinued their WfW involvement for a number of months or years, after which they resumed working on a WfW project. For such respondents, the length of time that they had already been participating in the programme by the time that the interviews were conducted in 2009, was calculated from the date on which they resumed work on the programme, and not from the date on which they originally joined the programme.

Approximately 60% of the respondents had been continuously employed on WfW for less than two years. Of the remainder of the respondents, 28% had been continuously employed on the programme between three and six years, whereas only 13% had been employed for more than seven (but only up until ten) years.

5.5.2 Respondents' extent of enjoyment of their current WfW work

Considering the findings reported in the preceding sections of this chapter, it comes as no surprise that the greatest majority (87%) of respondents enjoyed the work which they do for WfW very much, whereas a further 12% reported at least somewhat enjoying their current WfW work (see Table 5.6 below), which indicates that WfW does, in fact, provide employment which most beneficiaries perceive as enjoyable.

Table 5.6: Extent of enjoyment of current work in project.

Extent	<i>n</i>	%	Cum. %
Yes, very much	96	86.5	86.5
Yes, somewhat	13	11.7	98.2
No, not really	2	1.8	100.0
Total	111	100.0	

When those 109 respondents who (at least to some degree) enjoyed their current WfW work, were asked to elaborate on the reasons why they enjoyed their work, the largest set of responses (19) to this open-question related to them taking pleasure in WfW's teamwork approach. Table 5.7 below presents the frequency of the responses:

Table 5.7: Reasons why respondents enjoy the work which they currently carry out in a project

Reason	n	%	Cum. %
Enjoys the teamwork	19	23.8	23.8
Enjoys being in nature, the environment or open spaces	15	18.8	42.6
Enjoys the training	10	12.5	55.1
Enjoys the remuneration	9	11.3	66.4
The work is easy	8	10	76.4
Know how to do the work	5	6.2	82.6
The work is hard	4	5	87.6
The work keeps one busy	3	3.7	91.3
Enjoys the sense of responsibility	3	3.7	95
The work is dangerous	2	2.5	97.5
Enjoys the shorter working hours	2	2.5	100
Total	80	100	

WfW’s teamwork approach was not only the single most frequently cited reason for enjoyment of WfW work, but also the single most frequently mentioned aspect that they enjoyed *the most* about their work, with one in four respondents mentioned that what they enjoyed the most about WfW work was working in a team, as opposed to working alone. To illustrate the point, one respondent explained that he enjoyed the teamwork, since “[...]everyone works together [...*almal saamwerk*]”, whereas another highlighted, “[...]to work with your people [*saam met jou mense te werk*]”, and two respondents mentioned a non-discriminatory teamwork environment as the reason for enjoying WfW work. Here the respondents again tended to contrast WfW’s teamwork approach with working alone in their previous employment.

Such responses make sense if one considers the potential benefits to be gained from the teamwork environment provided by PWP, as discussed in Chapter Three (see subsection 3.8.2 in particular). Four of the respondents went as far as to cite the benefits of teamwork as a reason for their reluctance to leave WfW. The benefits mentioned include the perception that a teamwork environment is “safe”, in the sense that team members do not have to work alone, and, in particular, that friends or, in some cases, family members work together with them on their teams (although this runs counter to EPWP policy such as the Ministerial Determination or the Code of Good Practice). In addition to the teamwork environment, it is also the contractor who contributes to workers’ perceptions of the WfW working environment as comfortable, protected and safe, particularly in comparison to other types of employment. One respondent, for example, explained that his contractor treated him so well

that he felt that he could always call on him for financial or personal assistance. Moreover, 37% of the respondents reported that they would consider asking their contractors for monetary assistance, if needs be.

As is reflected in Table 5.7 above, the second largest (15) set of reasons for respondents' enjoyment of WfW relate to the opportunity to work in the veld, or in open spaces. This finding accords with the feelings of liberation experienced by respondents (see section 4.5.1 above). The other, slightly smaller sets of responses, which occurred in almost equal frequency, reflected appreciation of the following aspects of working for WfW: remuneration (9); training received (10); or the relatively easy nature of the work concerned (8).

5.5.3 Perceived importance of current WfW work

Table 5.8 (below) shows that almost all of the respondents reported attaching a sense of importance to the work that they do, whereas only a small proportion felt that such work was only of some importance.

Table 5.8 The extent to which respondents perceive their work as important

Extent	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	Cum. <i>%</i>
Yes, definitely	87	78.4	78.4
Yes, a little bit	19	17.1	95.5
Neutral	1	.9	96.4
No	4	3.6	100.0
Total	111	100.0	

When those who considered their work important were asked to elaborate why, the majority (58%) drew upon conservation-related discourse, such as that their work saves water. According to one respondent, the fact that their work helped save water was of importance: "I can see streams of water flowing again where we've cut down the invasives. The natural vegetation grows back again". Such narratives are, no doubt, a result of the training which WfW beneficiaries receive on the nature and threat of IAS, and illustrate how such training has been incorporated into their beliefs concerning the importance of their work.

A further 23% of the respondents stated that eradicating IAS instilled in them a sense of pride in, and/or respect from, the community in which they lived. This is further supported by responses to a later question, posed to all respondents, on whether they believed that the

members of their community considered the work that they do to be important, with 39% of the sample as a whole confirming that this was, indeed, the case.

The third most frequent set of reasons for perceiving their work to be important, which was cited by 14% of the respondents, pertains to the income which they earned from WfW. Of the 16 respondents, 10 stated, in particular, that such an income rendered them proud.

5.6 Access to alternative income and/or other financial resources

More than two-thirds (75%) of all the respondents were not actively engaged in a WfW contract at the time of data collection, and almost all (96%) of the respondents reported having experienced past slack periods without contracts while working for WfW. According to Statistics South Africa (2008:10), recent definitions of employment include those who are underemployed. Such a situation is less extreme than being unemployed, as it is marked by only a partial lack of employment. In terms of this definition, 75% of the respondents might be classified as underemployed, as they are not continuously engaged in contracts within WfW. The classification “employed” also depends on whether such respondents engage in alternative employment during those times in which they have no contract.

The average length of underemployment, or time spent without a contract, was reported by the majority (40%) of the respondents as exceeding three months, with 23% experiencing gaps of two months between contracts, and 37% experiencing gaps of one month or less. It is, therefore, important to assess to what financial resources such respondents reported having access during such times.

5.6.1 Alternative employment between contracts

5.6.1.1 Perception of the importance of alternative employment between contracts

A large majority (83%) of the respondents affirmed the importance of having alternative employment between contracts. Of those respondents who elaborated on their answers, the majority (59%) considered alternative employment necessary in order that they might buy food or settle financial debts, while a much smaller proportion (11%) of the respondents considered alternative employment as being an important way of keeping busy between contracts.

The remaining 30% of respondents drew attention to the importance of waiting for a WfW contract, rather than entering into alternative employment during times when there are no contracts available. Thus, although the quantitative data indicate that the majority of respondents perceived it as necessary to engage in alternative employment between contracts, the qualitative data elucidate that not all the respondents shared this perception.

5.6.1.2 Reasons for a lack of engagement in alternative employment between contracts

More than half (54%) of the 106 respondents who had experienced periods without a contract in the past reported not earning an alternative income between contracts, although (as mentioned above) most believed it necessary to have such alternative sources of income. When the 106 respondents were asked whether they had searched for alternative employment during such times, approximately half (51%) answered in the affirmative, but also reported that they had been unable to find such employment. The other half (49%) did not search for alternative employment, but (in their own words) “just wait for WfW work”. The respondents explained this finding in their own words, as follows: “Why look for work if you already have a job? [*Hoekom gaan werk soek as jy reeds 'n werk het?*]”, and “I know I have work waiting for me at WfW”. A similar response implied a fear of losing WfW work: “I didn't want to start a new work, in case we got a contract and I'm not available”.

The majority (62%) of all the respondents (111) reported that their contractors do not want them to engage in alternative employment between contracts, with almost half (43%) of these respondents explaining this on the grounds that their contractor does not want to lose them as workers. For example, one respondent explained, “We started as a team [*Ons het begin as 'n span*]”, and that the contractor does not want the team to break apart, since the team members are familiar with the work. In other words, if a team member has to be replaced, the replacement would have to be trained from scratch to do the work, which is not in the best interest of either the contractor or the team as a whole. Another respondent asserted that the contractors do not want to lose their workers to other employment, because of the team spirit that has developed over time among the members: “We all work as a team. Everyone works together as a team. There's a spirit in the team [*Ons werk almal as 'n span. Almal werk saam as 'n span. Daar's 'n gees in die span*]”.

In summary, the respondents in the study indicated that a lack of employment opportunities does not adequately explain why beneficiaries do not engage in alternative employment between contracts. Many do not search for such employment, because they fear

losing their WfW work, especially considering their belief that the contractors are reluctant for them to leave a WfW project team in search of alternative employment. Such a belief is, however, not universal. According to more than a quarter (27%) of the respondents, the contractors want them to find other employment between contracts, encourage them to find work, or at least do not want them to sit at home “doing nothing”.

5.6.1.3 The nature of alternative employment between contracts

Of the 106 respondents who stated that there were times when they were without a contract, less than half (49, or 46%) indicated that they engaged in other employment to earn income between contracts. The most common types of alternative employment included farm or garden work of a seasonal or casual nature (in each case mentioned by 11 respondents), and construction work (which was mentioned by 6 respondents). One respondent felled unwanted trees in his neighbourhood, declaring that he had learned to do so in WfW’s chainsaw operating course. The respondents who engaged in alternative employment during slack-times with WfW, became aware of most such opportunities by hearing about them within their communities, or by observing other people engaging in such employment. Lastly, of the 49 respondents who reported earning an income between WfW contracts, 15 ran their own small businesses, selling cigarettes, cold drinks and sweets. This finding comes as no surprise, since the running of a spaza shop from home has been found to be quite common among similar types of communities within the Western Cape (*cf.* Cichello, 2005).

5.6.1.4 Reasons for returning to WfW

Of the 49 respondents who reported earning an income between contracts, 40 reported earnings in excess of R1500/month, which is comparable to WfW’s remuneration of between R1000 and R2000/month (see section 2 above). Of those 40, 14 returned to WfW when a contract became available, based on their perception that WfW’s remuneration is satisfactory. The responses of 10 respondents implied that they returned to WfW, because such work was perceived as constituting permanent employment. In terms of the explanation provided by one respondent, other types of employment do not offer the same kind of security as permanent employment: “You’re never guaranteed that you will have work [*Jy’s nooit verseker jy gaan werk hê nie*]”. This is a counterintuitive finding, since WfW does not provide reliable, guaranteed work, as indicated by the fact that 96% of all the surveyed respondents reported not having had contracts at some point while working on WfW. Thus, although WfW contracts are relatively scarce, many beneficiaries still perceive WfW as

providing guaranteed employment, or at least employment that is more reliable than the available alternatives. Two respondents stated that they returned to WfW because they did not want to leave their contractors, or lose their WfW work, which again indicates the relatively common perception among beneficiaries that taking on alternative employment between WfW contracts might cause them to lose their chances of employment within WfW.

5.6.2 Other financial resources

5.6.2.1 Household resources

A very small percentage (8%) of respondents reported to live on their own at the time of the interviews. This section will, therefore, focus on the remaining majority of 102 respondents. More than a third (36%) of these respondents shared their households with between three and four other household members. An almost equal percentage (34%) of the respondents reported having between one and two members in their household. Lastly, only one-fifth (21%) of the respondents had between five and six members, followed by the smallest percentage (9%) of the respondents who lived in households consisting of between seven and nine members. In total, 75% of the respondents shared their households with at least one other employed household member:

Table 5.9: Frequency distribution of respondents among households categorised in terms of percentage of employed members*

% of employed members	n	%	Cum. %
1-20%	11	14.2	14.2
21-40%	28	36.4	50.6
41-60%	19	24.7	75.3
61-100%	19	24.7	100.0
Total	77	100.0	

*Excluding the respondent

When the number of employed members of a household is expressed as a percentage of the number of all members in that household, most (28%) of the respondents resided in households of which between 21% and 40% of the members were employed. Residence in households of which between 41% and 60%, and between 61% and 100% members were employed, was reported by 19% of respondents in each case, with one-tenth of the respondents only sharing their households with members of whom only between 1% and 20%

are employed. However, a quarter of the respondents (the second largest percentage) reported being the only employed members in their households.

Of particular relevance to the issue discussed in this section is the finding that 85% of the respondents reported pooling financial resources within their households, in the sense of sharing household-related expenditures. Pooling of resources includes, for example, combining individual household members' income to purchase food, rather than a respondent receiving money from other family members (a phenomenon which will be discussed in the next sub-section).

Government social grants constituted another financial resource that originates from within the respondents' households. In this regard, the majority (61%) of respondents reported having between one and four children in their household for whom CSGs were received by another member in the household, which therefore contributed to the (mostly pooled) financial resources of the respondents' households. Furthermore, 9% of the respondents' households had one member who received an old-age pension, whereas 6% of the respondents confirmed that one member in their household received a disability grant.

5.6.2.2 Respondents' own resources

Aside from engaging in alternative employment between contracts and accessing pooled household resources, 59% of the total percentage of respondents interviewed had access, on a monthly basis, to their own financial resources as an alternative, and/or as a supplement to their WfW income. Approximately a third (32%) of these 65 respondents reported receiving a CSG, 31% obtained money from other family members, whereas 17% received money from their partners. A further 18% generated an alternative income by selling cold drinks, cigarettes, meat and/or vegetables, with 15% being engaged in casual employment on a regular basis, while simultaneously participating on WfW.

As Table 5.10 shows (below), almost half of the respondents who reported receiving their own alternative financial resources on a monthly basis, and who were able to attach an approximate monetary value to those resources, had access to R500 per month or less, whereas less than 10% (5) had access to more than R1000 per month. Of those five respondents, three had their own small business, which made a substantial contribution to their household's financial resources. Such an amount is substantial when compared to the average monthly payment which respondents tend to receive from working for WfW (which

has been calculated to be between R1000 and R2000 per month). Lastly, when the respondents were asked where they were most likely to turn when they needed money, many (45%) identified their family members. This is, no doubt, due to the fact that most respondents' households comprised other employed members, but it is important to note that a full 37% of respondents reported that they would turn to their contractors for financial support when they needed it.

Table 5.10: Monetary value of respondents' own, alternative financial resources^a

Amount in R	n	%	Cum. %
Less than R250	20	36.4	36.4
R251–R500	10	18.1	54.5
R501–R800	4	7.3	61.8
R801–R1000	4	7.3	69.1
R1001+	5	9.1	78.2
Received per day/job ^b	12	21.8	100
Total	55	100.0	

^a This table excludes ten respondents whose incomes varied too much for reporting.

^b The amounts were generally too insignificant to report.

5.7 Expectations of long-term WfW employment

As noted in the review of previous research on WfW (see Chapter 3, section 3.8), WfW may create high expectations among its beneficiaries with regard to their remaining with the programme in future. Therefore, assessing respondents' expectations of long-term work with WfW may shed light on, and explain the extent of, dependence on the projects concerned. This section of the thesis reports on the respondents' aspirations with regard to leaving WfW, or becoming contractors, as well as on their knowledge with regard to the exit strategy.

5.7.1 Aspirations of leaving WfW

A high proportion (more than two-thirds, or 71%) of the respondents conveyed their reluctance to leave WfW. One may therefore conclude that the majority of respondents might have expected to have future employment with WfW. Relatively few (7%) respondents reported a clear aspiration to leave the programme, whereas 15% merely considered the possibility of doing so.

Table 5.11: Extent to which respondents wish to leave WfW.

Extent	n	%	Cum. %
Yes, definitely	8	7.2	7.2
Yes, possibly	17	15.3	22.5
Neutral	7	6.3	28.8
No, not really	27	24.3	53.2
No, definitely not	52	46.8	100
Total	111	100.0	

Open-ended questions on the issue revealed that approximately a third (32%) of the respondents who did not want to leave WfW wished to remain in the programme because they enjoyed the type of work which WfW required of them. A further 13% (14) of the respondents explained their reluctance to leave WfW on the grounds of a lack of alternative employment opportunities, or due to a lack of knowledge of where to look for such work. Some (5, or 4%) also expressed anxiety about returning to farm work, highlighting its temporality and/or seasonality, extended working hours, and the expectations, based on past experiences, of being exploited by farm owners. One respondent explained, “If I leave, I have nowhere to go to. I don’t want to go back to the farms”. The same respondent stated that the farmers tend to subtract certain amounts from their wages, whereas WfW does not.

Eleven percent of all the respondents reported concern about “missing out” on WfW employment if they were to leave the project. They stated that they wanted to stay on the programme, because they wanted to “go far in the project”, or because WfW was perceived as offering permanent work. Such a perception was articulated well by one respondent, according to whom being employed on different jobs all the time does not provide the financial security he desires.

5.7.2 Becoming a contractor: aspirations vs. reality

More than two-thirds (69%) of the respondents expressed a desire to become contractors, indicating that WfW might, unintentionally, be creating an environment in which the beneficiaries wish to remain. When the respondents concerned were asked why they aspired to become contractors, eight provided responses based on the perception that the contractors’ remuneration exceeds their own, whereas five cited their perception that the contractor is guaranteed work with WfW as a reason. The majority (12) of respondents, however, associated the benefit of being able to exercise control over others (being the “boss” who

gives the orders) with the contractor position. One respondent explained: “I would like to be a boss. Be on my own. To know that you’re now the boss [*Ek sal graag ’n baas wil wees. Op my eie wees. Om te weet, jy’s nou die baas*]”. Beneficiaries may aspire to secure a position that will alleviate their own sense of marginalisation and low self-worth in their community. One respondent explained in this regard: “So that I can get a better life [*Sodat ek ’n beter lewe kan hê*]”. Similarly, five respondents referred to a contractor’s potential to create employment opportunities in the community as a reason for aspiring to such a position.

Although the majority of the respondents expressed a desire to become a contractor, a considerable percentage (60%) of them were unsure whether they would ever actually attain such a position. Such doubt is illustrated by one respondent, who explained: “I guess I will always only want to be a worker. Stand behind others’ backs [i.e., support others] [*Ek sal maar net altyd ’n werker wil wees. Agter ander se rug staan*]”. In such a case, a sense of inferiority and tacit acceptance of “being just a worker” underlies the harbouring of doubts about the potential of becoming a contractor.

Some of the responses of the minority of respondents who believed in the likelihood that they would ultimately become a contractor, revealed a sense of control over their destiny. Such a belief is reflected in the following statements: “When I joined, I said to myself I will become a contractor [*Toe ek daar inval toe sê ek vir myself ek gaan ’n kontrakteur word*]”; “Because that’s my vision [*Want dis my visie*]”; and, “If I put my mind to it, then it can happen [*As ek my mind daarop sit, dan kan dit gebeur*]”. Statements such as these indicate that some beneficiaries feel they have a sense of control to employ the means offered by WfW toward increase their social mobility.

5.7.3 The exit strategy

A relatively high percentage (66%) of the respondents claimed neither to have heard about “exiting”, nor of the “exit strategy”. This claim was unexpected, and contradicted WfW project managers’ claims during interviews that their beneficiaries did, in fact, know about the strategy. One may therefore assume that some of the responses reflect respondents’ fear of the possible consequences of admitting having knowledge of exiting, or a denying the reality of such a condition of employment. Equal proportions of the minority of respondents who claimed to know about the exiting requirement (34% of respondents) either expressed discomfort with having to exit the programme, or acceptance of the fact that they would have to do so (although it is quite possible that the reliability of the responses to this particular

question was reduced by the respondents' evidently low level of comprehension of the strategy involved).

One respondent from the latter group explained her acceptance of the strategy on the grounds that she had never seen anyone exit the programme before. Some respondents also seemed to accept the exit strategy based on their understanding of WfW as an EPWP: "We are not here to get rich. We are only here to help each other create work [*Ons is nie hier om ryk te word nie. Ons is net hier om mekaar te help om werk te skep*]". Only eight respondents explained their acceptance of the exit strategy within the framework of WfW as an EPWP, namely on the grounds that other people also need to have access to such an employment opportunity. However, focusing on the fact that WfW, as an EPWP, merely assist the unemployed (like themselves) to have at least some work (and remuneration) rather than nothing, might also contribute to beneficiaries' low sense of self-esteem.

Among those who reported discomfort in relation to the exit strategy, a high level of emotional distress was evident. For example, one respondent (referring to her contractor) uttered in bewilderment: "Uncle Piet²⁴ must not drop us [*Oom Piet moet nie vir ons los nie*]"! This statement demonstrates not only confusion with regard to exiting, but also the high level of distress which is associated with what the respondent perceived the strategy to entail. Other respondents elaborated on their uneasiness with the exit strategy by referring to a lack of other employment opportunities, or their reluctance to accept a new contractor.

One respondent expressed an unwillingness to accept this strategy, especially with regard to the exiting of contractors, by referring to his perception of the role of WfW as an EPWP: "This is a work-creating project! If they have to exit, then they will only sit at home again. Where will a man then get a job? [*Hulle moet nie die kontrakteurs exit nie. Dis mos 'n werkskeppingsprojek dié! As hulle moet exit, dan sal hulle weer net by die huis sit. Waar gaan 'n man dan werk kry*]"? The reluctance just to "sit at home" occurred frequently in the respondents' narratives. For example, one respondent said, "That the people sit like this at home, that's the biggest worry [*Dáái wat die mense so by die huis sit, dis die grootste kommer*]".

²⁴The name of the contractor concerned was changed to protect his identity.

5.8 Perceptions of employability outside the WfW Programme

Considering the percentages presented in Table 5.12 below, it is clear that the majority (66%) of the respondents were convinced that they were able to conduct work other than that which they have been conducting for WfW, while another 19% believed that they could probably do other work. Of the 13.5%²⁵ who were unconvinced (to varying degrees) of their employability outside WfW, the majority reported that they had not engaged in any other work prior to WfW. It is therefore not surprising that, of those respondents who believed in their employability (which includes 83% of the total respondents interviewed, as reported in section 5.4), such a belief was most frequently justified on the grounds that they had experience of other employment prior to starting work for WfW.

Table 5.12: Extent to which respondents believe WfW work is the only work they can do

Extent of belief	n	%	Cum. %
Yes, definitely	9	8.1	8.1
Yes, probably	6	5.4	13.5
No, probably not	21	18.9	32.4
No, definitely not	73	65.8	98.2
Don't know/unsure	2	1.8	100.0
Total	111	100.0	

5.8.1 The perceived benefits of WfW training

The second most frequent reason cited for regarding themselves as employable outside of WfW concerned the training which the respondents had received within WfW. Accordingly, a high percentage (84%) of all the respondents were convinced that the training which WfW provides would assist them to find employment alternative to WfW, with some of those respondents referring specifically to the certificates they were awarded on completion of their training. The data, therefore, seem to indicate that WfW's training component tends to boost the beneficiaries' confidence in their own employability, in particular as they receive certificates which provide them with tangible confirmation of the particular training which they have completed. The awarding of certificates not only instill in the successful trainees a sense of pride, but the certificates are highly valued as proof of their credentials that they can present to prospective employers.

²⁵This percentage was calculated by collapsing the "yes, definitely" and "yes, probably" categories.

With regard to the particular type of training highlighted as potentially valuable for finding employment alternative to WfW, three main clusters of skills emerged as important. One respondent expanded on the training which he had received in chainsaw operation. He expressed a belief that training would prove valuable to him, in that it would enable him to conduct IAS-clearing related work in Cape Town, where a perceived need exists for the eradication of large, problem-causing trees between dense stands of houses. Some other respondents also referred to the chainsaw operation course in particular as assisting them in gaining IAS-clearing employment on farms. Associating WfW-related skills with a possibility of securing future farm work is to be expected, as many of the beneficiaries are accustomed to performing such work.

In addition to the training in chainsaw operation received, participation in first aid courses also seemed to boost the confidence levels of the respondents receiving such training, with 32% of the all the respondents mentioning, for example, that it opens up nursing or paramedical employment opportunities. Thirdly, some respondents referred to herbicide applicator training possibly opening up future WfW-related employment opportunities on farms, where such skills may be required.

5.8.2 The perceived role of contractors

More than a third (37%) of all 111 respondents expressed an unflinching belief that the contractors concerned would assist them in finding alternative employment, with an additional 26% considering such assistance to be at least probable. Of these respondents, most explained their perception in this regard by referring to their contractor's personality (for example that he/she was a "good person"), or to the fact that the contractor concerned had assisted them previously to obtain other employment between contracts. Contractors were also perceived as wanting the beneficiaries to succeed, or to be employed outside WfW. Thus, the contractors were perceived by many respondents as acting on their behalf, while harbouring a sincere concern for their employability outside WfW. Knowing that contractors could assist them to find alternative employment may also lead the beneficiaries to demonstrate their work ethic to contractors. According to one respondent, "The contractor knows I work well".

Of the smaller proportion (29, or 26%) of respondents who did not believe that their contractors would assist them in finding alternative employment, a relatively high number (9) felt that their contractors did not want to "lose" them as workers. In this regard, some referred

to their own, strong work ethic and to how much they meant to WfW, as reasons why the contractors would not want to lose them to alternative employment.

5.8.3 Potential alternative employment opportunities

Considering that most of the projects studied are surrounded mainly by deciduous fruit farms, as well as the fact that most of the respondents who were employed prior to starting work with WfW were employed as farm labour, it is not surprising that almost a third (28) of the 94 respondents who believed themselves to be employable outside WfW reported that they would seek farm work as alternative employment to WfW. Moreover, IAS clearing seems to have influenced the particular type of employment which these respondents would seek on farms. One respondent, for example, said that many of the farms in the area in which he lived had densely populated stands of IAS which had to be removed with chainsaws.

Aside from farm work, many of the respondents also reported that they would either rely on their pre-WfW employment, or seek employment in towns as an alternative to working for WfW. Such alternative employment was included being a waitron (6), a construction worker (6 men), a domestic worker (6 women), or a cashier (7). One respondent mentioned that she would consider starting up her own spaza shop. These findings are significant from a dependence perspective: although WfW's training seems to widen the range of labour that beneficiaries perceive they can perform, many of them still consider reverting to familiar types of employment in their surrounding areas as an alternative to WfW. This casts some doubt on the effectiveness of WfW training with regard to the actual broadening of beneficiaries' alternative employment opportunities.

5.9 Discussion

5.9.1 The extent of beneficiary dependence on WfW

As indicated in sub-section 1.2.3 of Chapter 4 of this thesis, the EPWP Code of Good Practice stated, at the time of data collection for this study, that a beneficiary may not be employed on the WfW Programme for longer than “a maximum of 24 months in a cycle of five years” (*cf.* Research Surveys [Pty] Ltd., 2004:1). Furthermore, Contini and Negri’s (2006) concept of negative duration dependence and Dahl and Lorentzen’s (2003) time dependence hypothesis both assign “welfare participation length” a central position in comprehending participants’ reluctance to leave welfare. Considering that WfW operates as an EPWP, the majority of its beneficiaries studied were found not to be highly dependent on the programme, considering that they had only been continuously employed on WfW for less than two years. Notwithstanding, the remaining 41% of the beneficiaries indicated having spent between three and ten years continuously working for WfW, which is a violation of the Ministerial Determination for Special Public Works Programme (2002b), and the EPWP Code of Good Practice (2002a). Possible reasons for this may be either a lack of enforcement with regards to these principles, as outlined in the Ministerial Determination, or poor recording of beneficiaries’ participation.

The heterogeneity hypothesis postulates that those beneficiaries with relatively few resources are inclined to remain recipients of government assistance (Contini & Negri, 2006). Applying this postulation to the findings of this study leads one to the conclusion that more than half of the respondents who had experienced a lack of contracts within the projects studied were financially highly dependent on WfW, as they tended not to engage in alternative employment between contracts. This is an interesting finding, provided that most respondents considered it necessary to have access to alternative sources of income during these times. The reasons why beneficiaries did not want to engage in alternative employment may relate to the fact that 20% felt they “had” to enter WfW because of a perceived lack of alternative employment opportunities. Beneficiaries seem to rather “wait” for a WfW contract, which leads one to the conclusion that many simply do not want to search for alternative employment opportunities, as they prefer WfW employment instead.

A minority of the beneficiaries could be considered as less dependent on WfW, in a financial sense, since they engaged in alternative employment between contracts, and earned a comparable amount to the remuneration that they otherwise received from WfW during times devoid of contracts. Those beneficiaries who had their own small business within their

communities tended to earn a steady, alternative monthly income of a comparable or slightly higher amount than that which they earned on the WfW Programme. This finding illustrates the extent to which entrepreneurial self-employment renders people relatively independent, in financial terms, of the government. A majority of the beneficiaries also had access, on a regular basis, to their own financial resources, mostly in the form of social grants. However, for the majority of beneficiaries the largest single source of income was provided by the WfW Programme, which still rendered most beneficiaries dependent on the programme in terms of financial resources.

When considering alternative household financial resources, a large majority of the beneficiaries shared financial responsibility for their households with other household members who were employed. By far the majority of beneficiaries also shared their households with members who received government social grants. The pooling of financial resources within their households, according to the heterogeneity hypothesis, rendered the beneficiaries less financially dependent on WfW.

Such findings also imply that WfW functions as a community-targeting programme, as most households in these communities benefited from one member working for WfW. The economic function of extended households is also evident in other case studies of rural communities and/or informal settlements within the Western Cape. For example, a case study of employment activities in Khayelitsha in Cape Town shows that households and extended networks do indeed pool financial for individuals in times when they are unemployed or economically inactive (*cf.* Cichello, 2005). Households often also fulfil the role of a network to other employment opportunities, as Surender et al. (2010) found in their study of social assistance and dependency in South Africa, on the basis of which they state that, “[H]aving a household or family member in employment seemed to be particularly crucial in providing contacts and links to work openings”. This function of WfW, and its associated benefits and complications, have not been considered in previous social research which has been conducted on WfW. The role of WfW as a community-targeting programme is, however, not the focus of this thesis, and requires further consideration in future research.

5.9.2 Expectations of long-term WfW employment

Almost two-thirds of the beneficiaries who participated in this study were reluctant to leave the programme, especially if it implied a return to farm work, which indicates a relatively high level of dependence on the programme for these beneficiaries in particular. Moreover,

WfW is perceived by many beneficiaries as offering what they consider to be permanent and/or “guaranteed” employment, which stands in stark contrast to the intention of WfW, as an EPWP, to provide temporary employment which should, ideally, assist beneficiaries to find alternative employment.

Such an interpretation of the data is further supported by the finding that a relatively large proportion (almost two-thirds) of the beneficiaries expressed a desire to become a contractor. However, some beneficiaries explained this desire by acknowledging the role played by WfW as an EPWP in alleviating poverty. Some wished to become a contractor due to their appreciation for, and aspiration to attain, a role which would enable them to provide employment opportunities for members of their communities. One may, nevertheless, argue that such a focus on the poverty alleviation function of WfW might fuel dependence in others, with many believing it to be the ability to provide employment to others in their own communities.

Although most of the beneficiaries aspired to become contractors, it is significant that the majority of them did not firmly believe that this aspiration would be fulfilled. On a policy level, such misalignment of aspiration and lived reality points to a disjunction between the way in which the WfW projects studied are actually implemented, and the degree to which working on such projects empowers the beneficiaries involved, especially as conceptualised in terms of WfW’s CDA, with its focus on the creation of entrepreneurs. Many of the beneficiaries were also found to perceive themselves simply as labourers, and not as entrepreneurs. As a consequence, the researcher argues that the implementation of WfW projects should therefore adapt to the actual needs of the beneficiaries, rather than merely seeking to transform such beneficiaries into independent entrepreneurs. Considering beneficiaries’ needs, the principles of the WfW Programme, i.e. exiting beneficiaries and turning them into entrepreneurs, may therefore be unrealistic. Such findings call for a re-evaluation, or even possible abandonment, of the exit strategy.

5.9.3 Perceptions of employability outside WfW

According to the expectancy model, which emphasises an individual’s control over a particular circumstance and the likelihood that the outcome will be a desirable one (Bane & Ellwood, 1994), dependence involves losing a sense of control over one’s life, which precludes the possibility of getting off welfare. Applying this conceptualisation of dependence to the study at hand leads to the conclusion that most of the beneficiaries

exhibited a relatively low level of dependence on WfW, as by far the majority were convinced that they could do other work besides that which was provided for them by WfW. Most, therefore, believed in the possibility of exiting WfW at some future stage.

The belief, which was common among beneficiaries, that other employment sectors would absorb them if their employment at WfW came to an end, may be ascribed to the fact that most beneficiaries had been employed elsewhere prior to joining WfW. However, most also believed that the contractors for whom they worked would assist them in finding alternative employment. The beneficiaries' sense of control over their future circumstances (in particular with reference to alternative employment) seems to have become intertwined with the belief that the contractor (or WfW) will assist them in ensuring a desirable outcome. Such thinking also suggests a very close relationship between the contractors and their workers, which again casts doubt on the type of independence conceptualised by the expectancy model.

Another common tendency among the respondents is defining future alternative employment opportunities narrowly in terms of familiar types of employment in which they had been engaged prior to WfW. This raises issues with regard to the training which beneficiaries receive from WfW, as such training should have, arguably, served to broaden the beneficiaries' knowledge of, and aptitude for, a wider range of employment possibilities. However, the many respondents who viewed farm work as alternative employment to WfW envisioned themselves working on farms not merely as casual or seasonal unskilled farm labourers, but as removers of IAS, for which they would make use of, for example, the chainsaw or herbicide course training which they had received while working for WfW.

5.9.4 Accounting for beneficiary dependence on WfW

As the findings indicate, most of the respondents voluntarily discontinued their previous employment in order to participate in the WfW Programme. Most had also become relatively dependent on the programme, particularly if dependence is conceptualised as a lack of engagement with alternative employment between contracts, or even in terms of aspirations to remain within the programme, rather than wishing to find other employment. The many reasons for dependence on the WfW Programme that became apparent in the responses received from the beneficiaries studied, may be categorised into one of three broad explanations for such dependence, which will now be considered. These include *WfW's teamwork approach; the fear of losing WfW employment; and the desire to escape a culture of poverty, marginalisation and stigmatisation.*

5.9.4.1 WfW's teamwork approach

One specific aspect of the working conditions associated with WfW employment seems to act as “pull factors” that attract people within the communities to such work: WfW teamwork approach. When comparing their previous employment to that with WfW, the third most common advantage mentioned in this study concerned this approach. Furthermore, a quarter of the beneficiaries derived enjoyment from working within a team, as opposed to working alone. Such findings may be interpreted according to the psychological translation of dependence in terms of “emotional neediness”, as explained by Fraser and Gordon (1994:312). From such a perspective, WfW's teamwork approach may be viewed as creating a fraternal working environment which seems to fulfil an emotional need of the beneficiaries which had not been addressed by their previous employment, and which many describe in terms of being and working on their own. In particular, teamwork is perceived as offering the safety and comfort associated with working together with friends and family members in a team, or with working for a contractor, whom many felt they could approach for monetary assistance. Such a safety-net function was also mentioned as one function filled by PWPs in general (see Chapter Three), which this study shows WfW provides in terms of its CDA and teamwork approach.

However, it also seems that such a safety net is precisely that which produces state dependence. On a sociological level, teamwork links to dependence in the sense that the teams function according to their own social norms, which may contribute to dependence. The expression of such sentiments as “we are a team”, or the common perception that contractors do not want beneficiaries to leave WfW, since they want to keep their teams intact, serves to illustrate the normative, social obligation to remain in a team – and consequently, working for WfW – which seems to shape many beneficiaries' employment-related choices and decisions.

It needs to be mentioned that, although WfW projects do seem to provide a safe team environment, many other employment opportunities in these regions, such as farm work, also rely (to some varying degrees) on the principle of team work. Thus, the fact that beneficiaries enjoy team work cannot be considered the sole or even primary reason for their reluctance to leave WfW. Rather, a number of factors, together, produce beneficiary dependence and reluctance to leave particular projects. The next factor which is now considered, is the fear of losing WfW employment.

5.9.4.2 Fear of losing WfW employment

Half of the respondents who claimed not to engage in alternative employment between contracts noted that they did not actively search for employment at the time, which suggests a relatively high level of dependence on the WfW Programme among these underemployed beneficiaries. For almost half of the beneficiaries, such dependence is linked to the perception that the contractors concerned do not wish for them to engage in alternative employment between contracts, or to leave their teams altogether, as the contractors are reluctant to lose them as workers in their teams. Among the remainder of the respondents, the fear that they might lose WfW employment if they were to engage in other employment was expressed as an important consideration for most. Considering the perceived lack of employment opportunities in the areas studied, this fear is not unfounded, and is exacerbated by the beneficiaries' reported lack of knowledge on how to search for alternative employment. Lastly, the fact that other forms of employment – especially seasonal, casual farm work – are temporary in nature is yet another reason why WfW is portrayed as a form of employment which the respondents are reluctant to jeopardise.

5.9.4.3 The desire to escape a culture of poverty, marginalisation and stigmatisation

The desire to escape a culture of poverty, marginalisation and stigmatisation coherently synthesises much of what has previously been discussed. Many of the beneficiaries were engaged in farm work prior to WfW, with most portraying the former in a negative light in comparison with their WfW employment. Such a portrayal may explain why so many elaborated on how they enjoyed working in the veld or in open spaces, as they had been unable to do so previously. Many negative attitudes were also associated with farm work, due to the perception that it remunerated at a low level, or irregularly. In contrast, WfW was portrayed by most of the respondents as an attractive alternative, offering relatively high levels of remuneration. Some respondents, especially women with children, also highlighted WfW's more flexible working hours, while others referred to the value of the training which they received while working for WfW. Considering the benefits WfW was perceived to offer, it is not surprising that many respondents left their previous employment voluntarily to join WfW.

Further negative perceptions of farm work related to being managed by a white “boss”, who constantly monitored, instructed and pressurised his farm labour. Perceptions such as

these are related to the concept of “farm paternalism” (*cf.* Du Toit, 2004)²⁶, as they reveal the paternalistic relationship which often existed in the past, and sometimes still exists between white landowners and their workers. Aspirations to be the “boss” partly explain why almost two-thirds of the respondents aspired to become contractors, as many view such a position as that of a “boss”.

WfW is, therefore, often perceived as a means of escaping not merely a culture of poverty, but also the marginalisation that many experience, particularly as farm labour. What seems to be “dependence” on WfW among the respondents may, therefore, very well be a result of the beneficiaries’ attempts to avoid or escape the culture of marginalisation which they experienced in their previous employment. Stated in terms of cultural models of dependence, such marginalisation leads them to hold on to WfW as a more humane means of survival.

Furthermore, in their responses, the beneficiaries in general tended to acknowledge their status in society as the “uneducated”, who are in dire need of a programme such as WfW. Such self-depreciation was reinforced by the fact that most of the respondents in this study were in their twenties (see section 5.3), but had only completed grades 8 to 11. Lewis (1963) explains that those who define themselves, or who are defined, as part of a culture of poverty, experience feelings of marginalisation and/or dependence, and of not belonging. Feelings of powerlessness and inferiority and, above all, a lack of self-worth tend to develop as a result. From such a perspective, dependence on WfW may be understood as a result of the need to address a lack of self-worth which, among the beneficiaries, was mostly associated with not earning a reliable income, or having to stay idle at home, without generating any income at all. Therefore, some respondents acknowledged (more often in a subtle, rather than in an overt manner) WfW as an EPWP, which provided them with the means – albeit the bare minimum – to escape and, at least to a certain degree, overcome their lack of self-worth relative to other members in their communities.

Ideally, a programme such as WfW, with its specialised training, should encourage beneficiaries to escape the culture of marginalisation that envelopes them, and which is still further exacerbated by their lack of self-worth and low level of education. Training should also, theoretically, elevate self-confidence levels. This was indeed found to be the case, as approximately four out of every five beneficiaries ascribed a sense of importance to their WfW employment in general. For many, the removal of IAS contributed to their self-worth

²⁶*Cf.* Kritzinger & Vorster (1996), who also studied this phenomenon.

and pride. However, their sense of self-pride was related much stronger to the income which they earned. In addition, the qualitative data show that community members tended to stigmatise the beneficiaries on the grounds of them having to suffer delayed payments or scarcity of contracts, rather than on the grounds of the relatively small income which they eventually do earn. Such a finding suggests that the normative expectation within beneficiaries' communities is that of earning a regular income, while staying at home, unemployed, is proscribed.

In summary, such findings seem to suggest that the beneficiaries' apparently high levels of financial dependence on WfW might be due to their wish to escape a culture of poverty, marginalisation and/or stigmatisation. The social structure (norms, values, etc.) of the communities within which beneficiaries live may contribute to them becoming dependent on WfW for employment, in the sense that they feel that they have to remain on WfW in order to live up to the normative expectations of their communities. In this way, WfW beneficiaries' performed actions (such as not searching for alternative employment or returning from alternative employment to work on available WfW contracts) are actions which are formally organised within a social structural context to achieve a common purpose. The purpose, in such a context, is unconsciously to escape a culture of stigmatisation, marginalisation and poverty.

In terms of Contini and Negri's (2006) explanation of a culture of poverty, repeatedly being exposed to stigmatisation may contribute to learned dependence or helplessness among beneficiaries. In this way, beneficiaries may also become dependent on WfW, as a result of learned behaviour, which is returning to WfW when contracts become available, in an attempt to prevent being stigmatised for being unemployed and not earning a regular income, or to avoid returning to the perceived marginalisation associated with farm work. WfW, therefore, represents a way for the beneficiaries of the WfW Programme to adhere to the social expectation of having regular employment and an income, even though this is actually not what WfW can offer. The future prospects of having employment on WfW, and especially the possibility of becoming a contractor, seem, in the minds of the beneficiaries, to greatly overshadow the reality that the programme is actually only a temporary employment facilitator.

State dependence, to a certain extent, may be regarded as an unanticipated consequence of the respondents' purposive social action of choosing between alternatives (Merton, 1936). Such purposive actions, performed by WfW beneficiaries, may yield the unanticipated

consequence of beneficiaries becoming dependent on the state. Some of the consequences of purposive social action, according to Merton, might be considered as occurring by chance, as the social forces and circumstances under which the beneficiaries live, and the choices which they make, are so complex and numerous that predictions about them are beyond the average reach. Stated differently, becoming financially dependent on WfW can be viewed as a complex interplay of purposive action which is performed by beneficiaries, but which is performed and organised in terms of a formal social structure which also, to a certain degree, limits the actions which beneficiaries can take. One a more practice note and in light of these findings of the unanticipated consequences of beneficiary dependence, the reality thereof becomes apparent when project managers provided their views on this phenomenon during informal interviews.

5.9.5 Project managers' views on beneficiary dependence

The negative connotations of dependence, as elaborated upon in Chapter Two, still seem to hold sway in South Africa today. These connotations have seemed to have also trickled down to WfW project managers, as those project managers who were interviewed for purposes of this study do not wish to encourage the development of such dependence among the beneficiaries of their projects. For example, when one of the project managers participating in this study was asked to explain his views on the effectiveness of his project, he made the following comment with regard to one of the contractors in his project:

²⁷Jenny, we brought you till there. We nurtured you from the bottom. Here you are now, you are now grown-up. It is now time that you leave the house. Your wings are strong enough; you have to fly now. That's the ideal thing. You can go and survive out there. In two years when I see Jenny, she should have three bakkies. Jenny should be driving better wheels than me, then we succeeded, didn't we?

(pers. comm., 12 Aug. 2006)

[Jenny, ons het vir jou gebring tot daar. Ons het jou van die grond af grootgemaak. Hierso is jy nou, jy's nou groot. Dis nou tyd dat jy die huis nou moet verlaat. Jou vlerke is nou sterk genoeg; jy moet nou vlieg, nou. Dit is die ideal ding. Jy kan nou gaan survive daar buite. Oor twee jaar as ek vir Jenny sien, dan moet sy drie bakkies hê. Jenny moet 'n beter ryding ry as wat ek ry, dan het ons mos nou geslaag?]

One project manager explicitly stated that dependence on the WfW Programme should be of great concern to the programme's officials, especially since many of the beneficiaries felt

²⁷For ethical considerations, the name of this contractor has been changed.

obliged to stay at home in the absence of a contract, because they wished to keep themselves available for what they were confident would be future contracts (pers. comm., 2009). According to the project manager concerned, beneficiaries of the WfW Programme tend to justify their behaviour with arguments such as: “I will get work within this project. Why is it necessary to go and look outside? [*Ek gaan werk kry binne die projek. Hoekom is dit nodig om buite te gaan soek*]”? Furthermore, as the project manager explained, the beneficiaries question why contracts are so irregular. They would ask, for example: “Why don’t we have a piece [i.e. an IAS contract] yet [*Hoekom het ons nog nie ‘n stuk nie*]”?

Among project managers, a fear of creating dependence stems in part from a concern relating to the sustainability of WfW employment and the availability of financial support from the government to provide funding for the programme in future. One project manager expressed apprehensions that the budget for the project he managed would continue to shrink in future. His concerns were based on the fact that, at the time of the study, more follow-up clearance operations were being implemented, which generally cost less than the first clearance operations. At that stage, contractors were being rotated with regard to contracts, with some having to remain without contracts for extended periods. Thus, in all the projects studied (according to the project manager), there were insufficient contracts for the contractor teams. In support of this claim, another project manager argued that they had too many contractors and too little money for contracts (pers. comm., 2009): “[WfW] shouldn’t be the Alfa and Omega. This project will not continue forever. One also has to take initiative to look for another opportunity for oneself [*Dit moet nie die Alfa en die Omega wees nie. Die projek gaan nie vir altyd aanhou nie. Jy moet ook initiatief neem om vir jouself ‘n ander geleentheid te soek*]”. For this reason, the same project manager was convinced that the contractors must also be equipped to conduct work other than clearing IAS.

Another project manager expressed the opinion that the WfW projects in general did not strive to render the beneficiaries independent of the programme, as the beneficiaries are completely dependent on the contractor for employment. He further maintained that, in reality, only the government currently has the financial means of providing such services in the rural areas. Stated differently, only the government can and does contribute to the alleviation of poverty in the rural areas. Dependence on WfW for employment, therefore, seems to be more than merely a case of the beneficiaries concerned resorting to the government for support. Dependence is also viewed as problematic, since the extent of financial support the government provides WfW, or any other EPWP in South Africa for that

matter, might may very well be reduced in future. The following quote from an interview with a project manager illustrates some such fears:

If we could improve or change our people's livelihoods. If I say change their livelihoods, I know one needs to make debt in order to survive in this world, but I don't want my people to sit with debt. Contractors have much potential. Some of the guys have told me that if they have to exit, they are afraid [for] their people. I teach them everything I can give, and I encourage them also. Currently, the project is not continuous, and it makes me nervous, really. My budget says that I can only give work to four contractors every month, and I have six. What do you do? How do you choose between those six? Which four are you going to give work? It's easy on the one hand, but i[t']s difficult also. If I was to get more money, then we could make a difference with the people in this area, yes.

(pers. comm., 2009).

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter reported on and discussed the findings of research regarding beneficiary dependence on four WfW projects in four CapeNature reserves in the Western Cape. The data show that most respondents may be described as being relatively dependent on WfW, especially considering their aspirations to remain within the programme in the foreseeable future, as well as their lack of engagement in alternative employment between contracts.

Concerning the latter, the majority of the respondents in this study, in addition to their income from WfW, had access to financial resources pooled by employed household members, as well as access to the social grants received by other members of their household. Most respondents also had access to their own alternative financial resources, primarily in the form of government social grants. However, such resources accounted for less than half of the income which they earned on WfW, which leads one to the conclusion that the respondents were dependent on WfW for providing them with their largest single financial resource.

Chapter Four also attempted to account for the relatively high levels of dependence which were found among the respondents. Based on the findings presented, it is suggested that the social structures within which beneficiaries function, ranging from a general culture of poverty, to community and team-specific norms, interact to contribute, either directly or indirectly, to their dependence. More specifically, many respondents live within a culture of

poverty, which implies that regular employment is highly valued within their communities, while unemployment is stigmatised. On a more micro level, WfW's teamwork approach engenders expectations of reciprocal commitment among team members and between contractors and workers, thereby contributing to many respondents remaining on the programme.

The findings seem to indicate that a policy which is aimed at reducing beneficiary dependence on WfW should focus not only on the beneficiaries themselves, but also on the (mostly unintended and also unanticipated) consequences of the programme's structure, as well as on the way in which the communities from which beneficiaries are drawn, shape beneficiary decision-making and actions.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

THE RESEARCHER SET OUT to explore beneficiary dependence on four different CapeNature WfW projects in the Western Cape. In doing so, five research questions were formulated to guide the measurement of such dependence and an exploration of its reasons, within a sociological framework.

Chapter One introduced the thesis by describing how the research focus developed. Chapter Two provided a theoretical background to the concept of state dependence (specifically on welfare) and described models and explanations to explain this phenomenon. This second chapter was followed by a historical overview of WfW as a South African EPWP, a description of the challenges that WfW faces, as well as a brief outline of the social research which has been conducted on various WfW projects in South Africa. Chapter Five reported on the data generated by this study in terms of the extent of and reasons for the dependence indicated by the beneficiaries of the four WfW projects. Such an understanding was achieved by ascertaining the nature of the respondents' previous employment, their reasons for participating in WfW, as well as the features of their WfW work that they most enjoyed. The researcher concluded that the WfW beneficiaries' social and work structures, as well as their individual, rational behaviour as role players in their own drama, contributed to their dependence on the projects studied.

This chapter now concludes the thesis by considering how the data gathered in this study pertain to the literature which was discussed in the second and third chapters of the thesis. Recommendations are provided to CapeNature and WfW on how to improve the programme to more directly align it with the needs of its beneficiaries. Furthermore, research is identified that still needs to be conducted in this particular field.

6.2 WfW as an Expanded Public Works Programme

As indicated in Chapter Three, the focus of PWP internationally is, at least partially, on the poor as a vulnerable sector of society, which needs a state-run social protection mechanism within a neo-liberal, deregulated market economy. However, such programmes were originally designed to encourage workers to become independent of the state. Such programmes then, theoretically, were also envisioned as assisting their beneficiaries “to engage in behaviours that can prevent or ameliorate their own dependency” (Morris & Williamson, 1987:14).

Workfare is also depicted in the literature as being less isolating for the beneficiaries than is welfare, since engagement in work enables employees to foster social interactions and networks within the work environment (*cf.* Goldberg, 2001). The positive social impact of workfare was evident in the findings of the study reported in this thesis. However, at the same time it was argued that the “safe” and enjoyable work environment facilitated by WfW’s CDA and teamwork approaches may contribute to beneficiaries becoming financially dependent on WfW, by inhibiting their engagement in alternative employment.

South Africa has also followed international example set in terms of the inception of workfare programmes in the 20th century, and reinforced such programmes by the fact that South Africa’s EPWP embraces temporary PWPs (*cf.* McCord, 2004a; Vodopivec, 2004). Such programmes have been described in the relevant literature as providing basic services and assisting the marginalised sectors of society to avoid social exclusion (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2001), although they have also been criticised on their aims. For example, McCord (2004a) asks whether South Africa’s EPWPs are geared toward providing social protection, or towards stimulating economic growth. South Africa’s employment is viewed as structural or chronic, and not as the result of a temporary market distortion.

To this point, one must ask whether WfW as a EPWP, is really geared toward providing social protection, or stimulate economic growth, which also seems to be an unrealistic reality as portrayed by the findings of this thesis. Considering the data which are reported in this thesis, it is clear that the four WfW projects surveyed do provide a social security net for their beneficiaries, considering the CDA of the WfW Programme and the teamwork environment within which the projects’ beneficiaries operate, which for many is the source of their enjoyment of the work which they do for WfW. McCord’s question about whether PWPs provide social protection or economic stimulation has given rise to much debate. The data

reported in this thesis do, to some degree, cast doubt on the four WfW projects' ability to stimulate economic growth through entrepreneurship, as the data reveal that among beneficiaries there exist a high degree of financial dependence on, and unrealistic expectations of, the WfW Programme. Future research is therefore needed to understand in more detail how the beneficiaries relate to, and are influenced by, the teamwork approach. Such research should shed yet more light on the challenges posed by beneficiary dependence on WfW.

The four WfW projects studied in this study function to lessen the chronic and structural unemployment existing within the rural areas in the Boland District of the Western Cape. The poverty in such areas is not transitional, but is grounded in decades of apartheid rule and centuries of colonialism (Aliber, 2003; Du Toit, 2004). The historical overview of WfW provided in Chapter Three shows how the organisation, in its own development, reflects the transition of national policy from apartheid to democracy. A temporary EPWP is, therefore, not likely to accomplish more than a slight alleviation of the poverty experienced within the aforementioned areas.

PWPs, including South Africa's EPWPs, are well-known for providing a form of social protection for the vulnerable beneficiaries of such programmes. This study shows that these beneficiaries view these programmes in a way that runs counter to the intentions of the originators of such programmes, i.e., to make independent entrepreneurs of those who, by and large, are farm labourers. Regarding the exit strategy of the WfW Programme, less than one in every ten beneficiaries who participated in this study accepted the strategy. By far the majority of beneficiaries perceived WfW as providing a form of basic employment, rather than a launch pad for future alternative employment. As many respondents view themselves as beneficiaries of an EPWP, the researcher suggests that WfW should rather focus on its role as an employment facilitator, than on what it has, in the past, viewed as its primary function, i.e., as an EPWP, providing for the marginalised sectors of society. Such marginalisation was described in Chapter Five, especially in relation to the writings of Ewert and Du Toit (2005), as well as in relation to Kritzinger and Vorster's (1996) study of the paternalistic nature of farmer-worker relationships in the Western Cape. Rethinking of the underlying dynamic of the organisation should be coupled with the redirection of the programme's current strategies toward the opening up of alternative employment opportunities in the open labour market. Such a redirection can take several forms. First, the grounding principles of the WfW Programme can be re-evaluated and reassessed to bring them in closer alignment with the

needs of the Programme's beneficiaries. Such principles include whether WfW should, in fact, aim to exit beneficiaries and establish entrepreneurial businesses, or whether it should merely aim to provide longer-lasting employment to the poor. However, less substantial changes within the Programme itself can also provide beneficiaries with a sense of empowerment. For example, the beneficiaries' working clothes, which currently symbolise the status of the WfW Programme as an EPWP²⁸, could be redesigned. Representing working for WfW as a means of accessing future employment opportunities would encourage beneficiaries to consider the programme as a catalyst, rather than as an accepted means of alleviating poverty and providing secure employment and income among the communities from which beneficiaries are drawn.

6.3 Generation of sustainable employment through the WfW Programme

As was explained in Chapter Three, viewing the environment as a generator of services may stimulate economic development and address poverty-related issues (Blignaut et al., 2009). In consequence of such a view, work opportunities have been created through the WfW Programme, in an attempt to address the impact and spread of IAS in South Africa. WfW, as an EPWP, endeavours to provide such employment, as well as to empower beneficiaries of the programme from the targeted communities. The creation of such employment opportunities should also (at least in theory) stimulate social capital within such communities, as well as prevent those living in such communities from becoming socially excluded and, therefore, deprived of basic service provision and/or asset accumulation.

More research is needed to understand to what degree the WfW Programme is actually stimulating and creating a market for clearing IAS in South Africa. Such research could entail the investigation of skills transfers within the programme itself, and ascertaining whether beneficiaries actually receive skills and training which enable them to exit the programme. As this study considered the sociological construct of dependency, it was not aimed at evaluating the Programme in terms of these skills provided to the beneficiaries. However, future research into the WfW Programme may benefit from asking beneficiaries directly

²⁸ Currently, WfW's work uniforms seem to celebrate the inception of the Programme as a victory of democracy with nostalgic reference to Nelson Mandela as a "chief patron", printed on yellow shirts (see figure 3.4). The researcher therefore argues that such a reference is outdated, and needs to be reconsidered and aligned with the Programme's current goals.

whether they attained skills, and to what degree they believe the skills they attained are adequate to enable them to find and/or engage in employment alternative to WfW.

6.3.1 The CDA

In accordance with the CDA (see Chapter Three, section 3.6), many WfW officials regard the programme as stimulating small business development, in terms of which a contractor ultimately could provide employment to those living in a particular community. Such contractual employment would then exist, ideally, outside the scope of contracts provided by the government.

WfW's contemporary CDA, but also the previous wage-based system, as considered in Chapter Three, might have created high expectations among the beneficiaries of the programme that the South African government will (and should) provide sustainable employment for South African citizens. Additional expectations of remaining on the programme in the foreseeable future, as well as to the desire of becoming a contractor, were revealed to exist among the participants in this study. Such findings are supported by other WfW studies (*cf.* De Satgé et al., 2003; Goldin, 2003; Research Surveys [Pty] Ltd., 2004). As a result, one might argue that the CDA creates high expectations, as many of the respondents interviewed believed that they would "go far" in the programme. High expectations of the likelihood of becoming a contractor were also noted in the study conducted by Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd. (2004), as explained in Chapter Three. Such expectations cast doubt on whether the WfW Programme can both alleviate the poverty of marginalised communities and empower the beneficiaries concerned. In contrast, the CDA may stimulate a culture of dependence on WfW by providing what is perceived to be permanent and reliable employment within a secure work environment.

As reported in the CASE (2007) and Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd. (2004) study (see Chapter Three, sub-section 3.8.2), many beneficiaries of workfare programmes indicate a preference for working within a team, particularly as they envision such a work environment to be "safe". More specifically, in the Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd. study, most respondents stated that they preferred staying on WfW and expressed a reluctance to leave the programme. Such reluctance was also evident among the respondents in this study, many of whom identified their enjoyment of the teamwork approach, or their contractor needing them to continue working for them, as a reason for their reluctance to leave the programme. Chapter Four also referred to such a teamwork approach as cultivating a social structure

(comprising values, beliefs and norms) which exacerbates dependence. Stated differently, WfW's CDA might facilitate complacency among teams about having secure employment with WfW, which in turn leads the beneficiaries to remain on the programme, or keeps them from engaging in alternative employment. Such forces all exacerbate the financial dependence of the beneficiaries on WfW.

Further research is needed into which aspects of the contractor–worker relationship encourage the development of particular values and beliefs which are shared by the participants in the WfW Programme. Those subtle messages which are communicated to the workers by the contractors, and which pertain to the former's belief that they are irreplaceable as workers, also need to be addressed in future research. If WfW and CapeNature are indeed determined to empower beneficiaries so that they can be absorbed into the broader labour market, they would do well to make the beneficiaries more aware of the temporary nature of their WfW employment, as, at the time of the study, many respondents maintained the belief that their work for WfW was permanent.

6.3.2 Sustainability of future employment with, and/or alternative employment to WfW

Chapter Three of this thesis provided an overview of social research that has been conducted on WfW. Many of these studies, particularly those undertaken by McCord (2003) and CASE (2007), highlight beneficiaries' perceived inability to utilise the training which they have received on the programme, as well as their belief that such training does not allow them to engage in employment other than that which they have with WfW. Similarly, many respondents in Goldin's (2003) study reported a lack of alternative employment opportunities in general, or the limited number of IAS-clearing opportunities outside WfW in particular (see also the Research Surveys [2004] study). This thesis has shown that the respondents believe in their ability to engage in alternative employment, indicating a measure of independence from WfW. However, when probed to elaborate on such alternative employment possibilities, most of the respondents viewed their alternative work options as that of a waitron or cashier, which casts doubt on the relevance of the training provided by WfW. The belief, which was held in common by most of the respondents, that their contractors would help them find alternative employment, also leads one to question whether training effectively empowers beneficiaries to be able to search for alternative employment, or even to know where to start searching for this employment.

What future research should aim to provide is an understanding of why so many beneficiaries do not engage in alternative employment, or why they do not seem to consider relocating to larger towns or cities in order to search for alternative employment. Such research would also benefit from a grounding in labour market theory relevant to the structure of employment and poverty in South Africa. This would broaden our understanding of the reasons why workfare programmes (such as WfW) may be ineffective in creating “instant” entrepreneurs through the provision of temporary assistance.

6.3.3 WfW’s approach to work on private land

One way in which sustainable employment opportunities may be realised in future, is by fully utilising the potential offered by WfW’s approach to work on private land (as was explained in Chapter Three, section 3.7). The four projects studied for this thesis were found to absorb beneficiaries from towns and informal settlements that adjoin agricultural land, including deciduous fruit farms. These farms were found to provide seasonal, casual labour employment opportunities to WfW beneficiaries most specifically during slack-times (see Chapter Five). However, many of the respondents expressed a fear of returning to farm work, because of the paternalistic nature of the relationship between farmers and farm workers, and the poor working conditions associated with farm work. Accordingly, particularly within the four CapeNature WfW projects studied, any expectations (from WfW) of creating alternative employment opportunities on private land appear to be unrealistic. This is especially so since most of the respondents interviewed had worked on farms before they started to work for WfW, and had deliberately chosen to leave this farm work for the more preferred WfW work. Such a finding casts doubt on whether beneficiaries (particularly those who live in the vicinity of farms) would be likely to approach landowners with offers to eradicate IAS on their land in return for remuneration.

The beneficiaries of these projects should be encouraged to recognise the fact that farms hold potential not only as suppliers of farm work, but also as a demand for the clearance of IAS, which beneficiaries are equipped to meet. The researcher, therefore, sees a need for further research on this issue, as well as for the creation of IAS-clearing contracts on farms with the appointment of dedicated professionals to assist the contractors and/or their workers in approaching landowners to offer their services to eradicate any IAS which is growing on their land. Such actions might be the key to assist beneficiaries in breaching the cycle of

poverty and/or marginalisation which this study has shown is still being experienced on farms.

6.4 Beneficiary dependence

The need for a state to encourage its citizens to assume responsibility for their own employability and employment has gained worldwide acceptance (*cf.* Dean, 2007). This principle underlying workfare reflects the widespread norm that one's income should be the result of one's labour, and that it is desirable to have people actively socialised "[...]to engage in behaviours that can prevent or ameliorate their own dependency" (Dean, 2007:14). Workfare programmes have also, at least in part, been driven by the assumption that they will reduce their beneficiaries' dependence on welfare, as well as, ultimately, on the government for financial support (Kim & Zurlo, 2007).

Fraser and Gordon's (1994) argument that the concept of dependence carries strong negative connotations was illustrated in Chapter Two of this thesis, by means of a review of the poverty discourses which dominated in Europe during the 20th century. The development of a culture of dependence was believed to erode people's sense of responsibility to perform active labour. The psychological interpretation of dependence portrayed the phenomenon as an individual characteristic, which consisted of an emotional need for support by another. Such an interpretation resulted in the state of dependence being regarded as undesirable by society.

Chapter Five argued that one "unanticipated consequence" (to use Merton's [1936] terminology) of the four WfW projects included in this study, and mainly of their CDA and teamwork approach, was the creation of dependence on the South African state. Beneficiaries are absorbed within a social structure, which lead them to adopt certain norms and values, and which direct the choices they make (such as to remain on WfW, for example). Considering the social structure within which beneficiaries interact as actors, the rational choice model accounts for the options which are readily available to an actor. According to this model, opportunities, economic incentives (outside of WfW, in this regard) and level of education would provide beneficiaries with alternative options from which to choose. However, as this case study has shown, these options are severely limited and constrained by the beneficiaries' social structure and the unanticipated consequences which the approach and structure of the WfW projects produce.

6.5 Conclusion

Numerous studies have considered the phenomena of welfare and welfare dependence. However, few studies have either attempted to explain the dependence of beneficiaries on workfare, or tried to explore the similarities of workfare dependence and welfare dependence. The reality of workfare dependence and what it means on a practical note, have become apparent in the narratives of project managers who drew attention to the fact that dependence on the state should be avoided, as such workfare projects will not (or might not) last for ever. Addressing this limitation, as this thesis set out to do, has revealed, for the first time, the fact that workfare might, inadvertently, “recreate” dependence on the government for support. Though dependence does not necessarily produce negative consequences for either the government or the beneficiaries concerned, the phenomenon of dependence still needs to be explored further within the context of workfare programmes. Policy which directs such programmes, for example, the Ministerial Determination for the EPWP in South Africa, should be clear on the outcomes that are envisioned with regard to the beneficiaries who participate in such programmes. If dependence is regarded as a negative consequence of workfare (as it currently seems to be the case), then research should address the issue by considering why people become dependent on workfare programmes. It is hoped that this thesis, as an initial attempt to explain the reasons for the development of such dependence, would serve as a useful catalyst for such research in future.

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SECTION A) DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON THE RESPONDENT

I will start by asking you some questions about yourself. Please tell me if you do not want to answer a question or questions.

1) Gender	2) Age	3) Highest level of education completed	4) Marital status
1 – Male 2 – Female	1 – Under 20 2 – 20-29 3 – 30-39 4 – 40-49 5 – 50-59 6 – 60+	1 – None 2 – Grade 4-6 (Some primary school) 3 – Grade 7 (Primary school completed) 4 – Grade 8-11 (Some high school) 5 – Grade 12 (High school completed) 6 – Post-matric diploma/certificate Other (Specify): _____	1 – Single 2 – Married 3 – Divorced 4 – Widow/er Other(Specify): _____

5) Where do you currently live most of the week? [Clarification: The residence of the respondent while he/she works on a project; 4> days/week]

6) In what kind of house do you live for most of the week?

1	Brick house
2	Have a room in a house
3	Hostel
4	Shack on own stand
5	Backyard shack
	Other (Specify):

7) Before you first started to work in the WfW programme the first time, did you live in another town/city?

1	Yes	[Go to 8 & 9]
2	No	[Go to 10]
	Other (specify):	

8) Where did you live?

9) When did you move here?

SECTION B) RESPONDENT'S WORK HISTORY AND ENTRANCE INTO THE WfW PROGRAMME

Some people did other work before WfW. Let's talk about what you did before WfW and how your life was then.

10) Before you came to WfW (generally speaking), did you do something to earn an income?

11) What did you do?	1	Yes	[Go to 11 & skip 17-18]
	2	No	[Go to 17]

12) Do you remember what you earned?

R	Per month/week/day/hour
1	Don't remember/amount varies too much

17) Why not?

1	I was in school [Go to 20]
	Other (Specify):

18) What money did you live on?

[Go to 19]

13) Besides the work you did, did you get any other income/money at that time?

1	Yes
2	No [Go to 14]

13.1) From what?

14) When you think about what you did before WfW, did you like it more or less than WfW?

1	I like it much more than WfW
2	I like it a little bit more than WfW
3	Neutral/the same as WfW
4	I did not like it so much as WfW
5	I did not like it at all as much as WfW

14.1) Why do you say so?

15) (If applicable) Why did you stop doing that work?

16) When did that work end:

1	End right before WfW? 19]	[Go directly to
2	End less than 6 months before WfW?	[Go to 16.1]
3	End between 6 months and 1 year before WfW?	[Go to 16.1]
4	End more than 1 year before WfW?	[Go to 16.1]

16.1) What did you do in that time before you came to WfW?

[Go to **19]**

19) Besides WfW, [or the work you mentioned], is there any other work that you have experience in doing?

1	Yes [Go to 19.1]
2	No [Go to 20]

19.1) What work?

20) Where did you first hear about WfW? [Mark as many as apply]

1	Friends/relatives
2	Television/Radio
3	A local community leader
4	Other people working on the team
5	The contractor
6	Homeless People's Federation
7	A neighbour
8	Local Economic Development (LED) office
9	Community development workers
10	Advertisement
	Other (specify):

21) How did you get into the WfW programme?

22) Why did you decide to start working in the WfW programme?

SECTION C) RESPONDENT'S CURRENT WORK

In the WfW programme, people work different lengths of time on a project, or even move from one project to another. I would now like to talk to you about the time you have spent on the WfW programme and the projects on which you have worked so far. Remember that you have the right to stop me asking questions if you do not feel happy about going on.

23)	24)	25)	26)	26.1)	27)
When was the first time you started to work on the WfW programme? [Month, year]	Have you worked on a different project before this one? 1 – Yes [Go to 25] 2 – No [Go to 26]	When did you start to work on this project particular project? [Months, year]	Do you currently have a contract to do? 1 – Yes 2 – No [On p. 12 skip 37]	Were there times, since you have been in this project, when you did not have work to do? [Between contracts?] 1 – Yes [Go to 27] 2 – No [Go to 30, and skip 32]	On average, how long is it that you do not have work to do in this project? 1 – less than a month 2 – 1 month 3 – 2 months 4 – 3 months 5 – 4 months 6 – 5 months 7 – 6 months 8 – more than 6 months, but less than a year 9 – more than a year Other (Specify):

28) Generally, did you do something in that time to earn money?

1	Yes	[Go to 28.1]
2	Can't remember	[Go to 29]
3	No	[Go to 29]

28.1) What did you do?

28.2) Where did you hear about this?

28.3) Can you remember how much you earned?

R	Per month/week/day
1	Can't remember/ amount varies too much

28.4) Why did you come back to WfW?

[Go to 31]

29) [Respondent did not do other work in that time] Did you look for other work in that time?

1	No	[Go to 29.1]
2	Yes	[Go to 29.1]
3	Can't remember	[Go to 31]

29.1) Additional comments: [Go to 31]

30) Since you have been working on this project, have you done anything to look for other work besides WfW?

1	Yes [Go to 30.1]
2	No [Go to 31]

30.1) What have you done to look for other work?

31) Do you think the contractor wants you to find other work?

1	Yes
2	No
3	Unsure / Don't know

31.1) Why do you say so?

32) [Skip if question **26.1**'s answer was **2**] Do you think it is important to have a job for the times when you do not have work to do in this project?

1	Yes
2	No
3	Unsure/don't know

32.1) Why do you say so?

²⁹**33)** Some people receive money from the government in the form of social grants. Do you think it is better to work for your money than to get it from the government? [All pay].

1	Yes, definitely better to work for your money
2	Yes, probably better to work for your money
3	Unsure
4	No, probably not better to work for your money
5	Definitely not better to work for your money

33.1) Why do you say so?

Let's talk about the work you do in this project.

34) What do you do in this project at the moment?

1	General worker
2	Brushcutter
3	Chainsaw operator
4	Herbicide applicator
5	Supervisor
6	Driver
7	Health and safety officer
8	General clearer
	Other (Specify):

²⁹The responses to item 33 were not analysed, since the data gathered were deemed unreliable and incomplete.

³⁰35) What work have you done since you have been in the WfW programme? [Mark as many as apply]

1	General worker
2	Brushcutter
3	Chain saw operator
4	Herbicide applicator
5	Supervisor
6	Driver
7	Health and safety officer
8	General clearer
	Other (Specify):

36) Do you like your work in this project?

1	Yes, I like my work very much
2	Yes, I like my work somewhat
3	Neutral
4	No, I don't really like my work
5	No, I don't like my work at all

36.1) Why do you say so?

37) [Only if person has a contract to do] For how many days/weeks is this contract?

37.1) How much money do you get for this contract per day (wage)?

R	/day
---	------

37.2) How much money do you get for this contract (overall)?

R	/contract
---	-----------

38) Generally, how do you feel about the money you get in doing contracts?

39) What do you like the most about your work?

40) What do you like the least about your work?

³¹41) Would you rather want to do something different in this project?

1	Yes	[Go to 41.1]
2	Maybe	[Go to 41.1]
3	No	[Go to 41.2]
4	Don't know	[Go to 41.2]

41.1) What would this be? [Go to **42**]

³⁰The responses which were received to items 34 to 35 were not analysed, since the data were unreliable, as the respondents did not know their positions within the teams.

³¹The responses to item 41 were also excluded at the data analysis level, since the item elicited only irrelevant data.

42) Do you think the work you do is important?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, a little bit
3	Neutral
4	No, not really
5	No, definitely not
6	Unsure

42.1) Why do you say so?

43) Are you proud of the work you do in this project?

1	Yes, very much
2	Yes, somewhat
3	Neutral
4	No, not so much
5	No, not at all
6	Unsure

43.1) Why do you say so?

44) Do you think your friends/family/ or people in [name the town] think the work you do in this project is important?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, a little bit
3	Neutral
4	No, not really
5	No, definitely not

44.1) Why do you so say?

45) Would you say that people now treat you differently since you have been working in the WfW programme?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, maybe
3	Neutral
4	No, not really
5	No, definitely not

45.1) Why do you say so?

46) Will you tell someone else to come and work in the WfW programme?

1	No
2	Yes
3	Yes and no

46.1) Why?

47) Has anyone ever said bad things to you , or made general remarks, because you work in the WfW programme?

1	Yes [Go to 47.1-47.2]
2	No [Go to 48]

47.1) What did people say?

47.2) Why do you think people say this?

³²48) Some people say that the people who work in the WfW programme are just getting handouts from the government. Has anyone ever said this to you? [Probes: Trevor Manual money; Nelson Mandela money].

1	Yes [Go to 48.1]
2	No [Go to 49]



48.1) Why do you think people say this?

³²Item 48 was excluded from the data analysis process, as it was deemed irrelevant to the research foci of the current thesis.

SECTION D) RESPONDENT'S ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF INCOME AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Some people cannot live from the money they get from working on the WfW programme alone, and need the help of other family members or friends, or even do other work to get more money. Let's talk about whether you get other income besides from WfW. Remember that you do not have to answer any question. Let's start with your household.

49) Do you share your house with other people? [For most of the week?]

1	Yes [Go to 50]
2	No [Go to 58]

[The following table does not include the respondent]

	50	51	52	53	54
	Name [Write on a separate piece of paper]	Age	Gender 1 – Male 2 - Female	Relationship with respondent 1 – Husband/wife/partner 2 - Child 3 – Brother/sister 4 – Parent 5 – Grandfather/mother 6 – Grandchild 7 – Other related family 8 – Non-related family 9 – Adopted child	Type of income/money received 1 – Fixed job 2 – A casual job 3 – Informal job/ Work for him/herself 4 – Social grant 5 – Does not get any income/money Other (Specify):
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					

[If no other household gets money, go to **57**]

55) Do the people in your household share the money they get with the other people in the household?

1	Yes, always
2	Yes, sometimes, but not always
3	No, never

56) Do the people in your household share their money with you?

1	Yes, always
2	Yes, sometimes, but not always
3	No, never

56.1) Additional comments:

57) Would you say WfW has helped your household to live better?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, possibly
3	Neutral
4	No, not really
5	No, definitely not

57.1) Why do you say so?

Let's talk about other money you may be getting outside WfW. Remember that you don't have to answer if you don't want to.

58) At the moment, do you get any other money besides what the contractor pays you?

1	Yes	↓
2	No [Go to 59]	

58.1) From what/whom? [*For example, friends/family/organisations*]

58.2) How much do you get?

R		/day
R		/month
Other (specify):		

59) Some people go to friends when they need money, while others go to their family or organisations in their area. When you need money, where is the first place you go?

60) Where do you go when you have a personal problem?

**SECTION E) RESPONDENT'S EXPECTATIONS OF LONG-TERM EMPLOYMENT WITHIN THE
WfW PROGRAMME**

Some people never want to leave WfW and want to work on this programme for as long as possible, while others leave WfW after a while. Let's talk to you a little bit about how you feel about your future in WfW.

61) Do you want to leave WfW?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, possibly
3	Neutral
4	No, not really
5	No, definitely not

61.1) Why do you say so?

62) Do you want to become a contractor?

1	Yes
2	No

62.1) Additional comments:

63) Do you think you will become a contractor?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, possibly
3	Neutral
4	No

63.1) Why do you say so?

64) Have you ever heard something about 'exiting', or the 'exit strategy'? [If respondent is unsure/does not know, explain this concept briefly].

1	Yes
2	No [Go to 65]

64.1) Can you tell me something about it?

64.2) How does the exit strategy/ or knowing that you have to exit this programme, make you feel?

Some people enjoy working in a team, while others don't. Some people get afraid to leave the team, because they think they will have to leave WfW on their own. Other people may feel that they do not want to leave WfW, because they have made good friends in this team. Let's talk about the people in your team.

65) Do you have any friends in this team?

1	Yes
2	No

65.1) Do you have more friends inside this team than outside of this team?

1	I have more friends in this team
2	I have the same amount of friends in this team as outside this team
3	I have more friends outside this team
4	Unsure / Don't know

66) If you have to leave WfW, and you have a choice between leaving with your team to go and work on similar contracts outside WfW, or leaving on your own, which option would you take?

1	With the people in this team
2	It does not matter
3	Unsure / It depends
4	On my own

66.1) Why do you say so?

**SECTION F) BENEFICIARY'S PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EMPLOYABILITY AND
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OUTSIDE WfW**

Some people feel that WfW gave them skills to do other work, while other people feel that they did not get the right training to do other work.

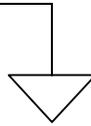
67) Do you believe WfW is the only work you can do?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, probably
3	No, probably not
4	No, definitely not
5	Don't know/unsure

67.1) Why do you say so?

68) Would you like to do another job rather than WfW?

1	Yes, definitely	[Go to 68.1]
2	Yes, possibly	[Go to 68.1]
3	Unsure	[Go to 68.1]
4	No, not really	[Go to 69]
5	No, definitely not	[Go to 69]



68.1) What job(s) would that be?

68.2) (If applicable) What is the reason you are not doing this (these) other job(s)?

69) If you have to look for other work, do you think the training you received in WfW will help you to do other work?

1	Yes, definitely
2	To some degree
3	Unsure
4	No, not really
5	No, definitely not

69.1) Why do you say so?

70) If you have to look for other work, do you think the contractor will help you to find other work?

1	Yes, definitely
2	Yes, maybe
3	No, not really
4	No, definitely not
5	Neutral

70.1) Why do you say so?

71) If you have to look for other work, where will you look for it?

72) Is there anything else you would like to talk to me about?

Thank you for your answers!

APPENDIX B:
FEEDBACK ON THE WfW PROJECTS STUDIED: HH PROJECT

07 September 2009

Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve fieldwork feedback

I was able to conduct my fieldwork for my research project in the Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve for the weeks stretching from the 3rd of August to the 2nd of September. During these weeks, interrupted by weekends and one week where I had to be at a conference in Stellenbosch, Cwengile, my personal fieldworker for the Xhosa interviews, and I were able to collect valuable data for WfW to utilize in order to improve both its own social strategies, but also the livelihoods and expectations of the beneficiaries of this particular project. We conducted all the interviews in a contractor's house in Goniwe Park, Villiersdorp. Generally speaking, four interviews were conducted per day. There were no major incidents during this period, and things could not have gone more smoothly. We did not give the respondents anything for their participation, however, depending on the weather, we did on some occasions buy a one-liter Coke for the house and its people to enjoy. After the fieldwork was completed, contractors [...], [...] and [...] each received a special fruit basket to thank them for their particular help.

Hereby special thanks to:

- Eric Davids for his time. Thank you very much for tending to the arrangements with the contractors.
- Thank you very much for the contractors who helped us each day to get the respondents in line to do the interviews. Special thanks to [...], [...] and [...]. Without their effort, Cwengile and I would not have been able to complete one interview. Thank you also for [...] for lending us her house in which we conducted all the interviews.

On a more personal note, we enjoyed it thoroughly just spending time in your vicinity. The project seems to be very unique, both in its rich historical outcry for what our country has been through, to how a project like WfW allows environmental dreams and passions to make a real difference in alleviating poverty as well. I feel extremely privileged to have had the opportunity to do research in this project.

One general finding was that most of the respondents have not been introduced, in any way, to any concept relating to 'exiting'. This is perhaps a matter that needs to be taken seriously by WfW in general, but also by CapeNature - if it does endeavour to implement a reasonable and feasible exit strategy. I will make reference to this in my thesis as well, as it portrays a vital piece of data from which to deduct that WfW contract-workers do not seem to be equipped, both physically, but more mentally, to exit the Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve WfW Programme, as outlined by EPWP policy and CapeNature currently.

APPENDIX C:
FEEDBACK ON THE WfW PROJECTS STUDIED: RSE PROJECT

27 September 2009

Genadendal Fieldwork feedback

I was able to conduct fieldwork for my thesis in the Riviersonderend Mountain Catchment Area in Genadendal from the 7th to the 23rd of September, 2009. 31 respondents in total were interviewed. Eight interviews were conducted in Bereaville, seven in Genadendal, and the remaining 21 in CapeNature's WfW office in Greyton. The majority of the interviews (10 out of 34) took 45 minutes to complete. No incentives were provided for the respondents' participation. One respondent appeared to be unwilling to participate, and therefore this particular interview was stopped. No serious problems occurred during the interviews. It has to be noted that one contractor team, working for Landcare at the time on private land, was excluded from the study, as my theoretical study population do not accommodate beneficiaries who are not working on WfW during the data gathering period.

The Riviersonderend Mountain Catchment Area represents a WfW project injected with the right ingredients to alleviate poverty in the surrounding communities. One reason for this is the fact that many respondents share a devoted passion for the work, but also a strong belief that WfW is the only 'permanent' employment for the poverty-stricken communities in the area. Most interesting was the fact that many respondents agreed that people respect the work they do, as the communities also benefit from the project with regards to the provision of clean water from the mountain. As with WfW's contractor development approach (CDA), aiming to create independent entrepreneurial contractors, it still has to be seen whether WfW's exit strategy will really be successfully implemented in this project at the moment. I believe this strategy, however contested it is in academic literature, will only succeed if stakeholders outside the spheres of CapeNature and WfW agree to work in collaboration with WfW and CapeNature – a partnership that, in this particular area, still appears to be absent. For example, the municipality in Genadendal holds a great opportunity to absorb WfW contractors, but according to the project manager, still seems to be unwilling to join forces. Similarly, Landcare, representing the farming community in the Riviersonderend area, also seems to have the capacity to make contact with CapeNature's WfW contractors. Having said that, one may argue that external factors such as farmers' unwillingness or ignorance to accommodate WfW's contractor teams on their property, may halter this process from developing. As an illustration, one respondent boldly stated that some farmers say, for example, that they would rather take a bulldozer to eradicate invasive species on their property than to deal with the financial burden of hiring WfW contractors. In summary, as this particular project shows incredible potential to alleviate poverty, and to some degree lessen beneficiaries' dependence on this programme, one may argue that it fights against a presumable 'ignorant' labour market for alien clearing activities in the area.

I would like to thank Lawrence Odendal in particular for his time in helping me to get the respondents everyday. Without his passion for my study, and help, the fieldwork for this project would not have gone so smoothly. I would also like to thank all the contractors, who on some occasions had to assist me to get hold of the people for the interviews. Generally

speaking, I enjoyed long talks with Lawrence about his project, and feel fortunate to have had the opportunity to experience this project and its beneficiaries. I will never forget this experience.

APPENDIX D:
FEEDBACK ON THE WfW PROJECTS STUDIED: MAROTH PROJECT

11 October 2009

Marloth Nature Reserve Fieldwork feedback

On the 28th of September, 2009, I interviewed approximately five beneficiaries and the contractor of the Marloth Nature Reserve WfW project. The interviews were conducted on the reserve, while no incentives were provided to the respondents. The fieldwork was especially memorable given the beautiful location, but also the good arrangements that were made by the project manager with the contractor, prior to my arrival. For this I was greatly thankful.

The majority of the interviews took around thirty minutes to complete, given that most respondents were very withdrawn and quiet. This project draws young members of the local community Raylton, near Swellendam (four out of the five contract-workers interviewed were younger than 30 years). Not surprisingly, in comparison to the other WfW projects of this study to date, no respondents have matric, with educational levels ranging from grade eight to eleven. This contributes to this project's necessity to provide employment and income to marginalised sectors of the area. For example, one respondent, as for many others in this study, honestly stated: "*Werk is skaars maar hier in Swellendam*" [Work is scarce here in Swellendam]. With this in mind, WfW seems to offer a safe and trusted working environment, where beneficiaries can both work without supervision – characterised by farm work, or the typical 'baas' figure – while also doing enjoyable work in the field, and walking in the mountain. This becomes apparent in answers such as that previous farm work conditions were bad, and working hours too long.

WfW, well-known in the respondents' communities, appears to be a surrogate for a lifestyle often characterised (and sometimes discriminated against) by sitting at home without receiving any income. As an illustration, one respondent explained that he decided to join the programme because it was better than to sit at home. However, the question once again raised in this regard is whether WfW actually alleviates poverty in these communities, or merely sustains dependence on the government to provide employment. I believe it is suffice to acknowledge that a project of this magnitude will not alleviate poverty, but definitely provides an opportunity for people who have not had descent education, to receive training and a very basic income. Having said that, according to the contractor and project manager, there is no market for clearing alien invasive species (IAS) outside the confines of WfW - a daunting answer [...]. Corresponding with Genadendal's WfW project, the municipality does not appear to have the will to absorb WfW's contractor teams. Similarly, as stated by the contractor, local farm owners do not want to spend so much money on clearing IAS on their property, and would rather use their own farm labour to eradicate these. Keeping this in mind, one has to question why WfW's Ministerial Determination stressed the need to exit beneficiaries, if most of the contractors and project managers interviewed in this study to date, agree in arguing that the strategy was narrowly considered and unpractical when it was approved. According to the project manager, the focus should rather be on expanding the range of possible employment opportunities within CapeNature, like trail maintenance, fire

fighting or general conservation of the reserve. Having said that, budgetary constraints appear to impede this process from developing to its full potential.

I would like to thank Ben Swanepoel for the arrangements prior to my arrival at his project. Thanks also to the contractor, who did not hesitate to let me interview his team.
