A Critical Analysis of the Nature and Extent of Community
Participation in Public Works Programmes in South Africa.

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ABSTRACT

Some of the problems experienced with regard to community participation in the Community Based Public Works Program in its first phase (from 1994 to 1997) included: participatory processes were determined externally; there was uncertainty of roles and responsibilities; there was lack of clarity on the decision-making process which caused conflict, there were constraints in terms of sufficient resources, capacity and information; there was a lack of clear definition of rights and processes to address concerns raised in the participation process; unequal power relationships effected the negotiation process; and there was a lack of ongoing participatory monitoring and evaluation. Participation also had significant costs, which went beyond financial, in terms of time and the costs of changing attitudes and traditional ways of working.

These were some of the conclusions of this dissertation, which is a critical analysis of the nature and extent of the community participation process in public works programmes in South Africa. The Community Based Public Works Program (CBPWP), a post apartheid, government-funded programme that targeted "the poorest of the poor" and used labour-intensive construction methods and community labour in the building of infrastructure was used as a case study to conduct this critical analysis. The aims of the CBPWP were to address infrastructure shortages, create jobs, provide training and build the capacity of communities to contribute to the development process.

This dissertation includes a review of literature and theory of community participation, which finds that: participation needs to be considered in the context of its relationship with the internal development process; successful participation depends so much on the adequate provision of information, access to resources and understanding of local level dynamics; and that participation can be both a means (to improve project performance) and an end (to empower communities to participate in their own development); that it is not without costs and that the nature and type of community participation varies from

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purely information sharing, through consultation, decision-making and the initiation of action.

This report also includes a background to public works programmes and their context internationally and locally. Public works programmes are multi-purpose and range from strategic, long-term economic interventions to emergency relief programmes. They are essentially instruments through which public spending can be directed towards the poor and range from community-based, labour-intensive infrastructure building programmes to programmes to address natural resource management goals. In post-apartheid context of South Africa in the 1990s they are intrinsically tied to transformation and reconstruction and incorporate objectives of the empowerment of communities in the development process and the transformation of development institutions and top-down development processes. Many of these programmes in South Africa, including the CBPWP, recognise community participation in particular as an essential component of meeting their objectives.

This dissertation builds a profile of community level stakeholders in the CBPWP and examines how these stakeholders interact with the CBPWP at each stage of a typical project. Data from two broad evaluations of the CBPWP (conducted by (i) CASE and the ILO and (ii) by SALDRU and described in Chapter 5 of this report) is interrogated to do this. Research findings are then analysed (according to key research questions outlined in Section 1.5) and summarised in terms of: how communities participate in the CBPWP; what their incentives for participation are; whether they are provided with sufficient information and resources to participate effectively; who takes responsibility for ongoing community participation; a cost benefit analysis of participation for the various stakeholders; how participation should be measured and, finally, identifies important issues which need to be considered in the design, implementation and monitoring of community participation processes in development programmes.

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DECLARATION:

The research described in this dissertation was carried out by myself, as a student of the School of Environment and Development, between August 1997 and October 2000, under the supervision of Dr Tessa Marcus.

This study represents original work by the author and has not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any university. Where use has been made of the work of others, it is duly acknowledged in the text.

Base data was collected by the author as part of research conducted for two organisations, The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), based in Pietermaritzburg, and the South African Labour and Development Research Unit of the University of CapeTown (SALDRU). Permission has been obtained from these two institutions to use their baseline data for the purpose of completing this dissertation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

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List of Abbreviations:

ANC..................... African National Congress
CBO..................... Community Based Organisation
CBPWP................. Community Based Public Works Programme
CLO..................... Community Liaison Officer
COSATU................ Congress of South African Trade Unions
GEAR................... Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme
MIP..................... Municipal Infrastructure Programme
NDPW................... National Department of Public Works
NEF..................... National Economic Forum
NGO..................... Non-government Organisation
PRA..................... Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDP..................... Reconstruction and Development Program
SMME................... Small, Medium, Micro Enterprise
UNCHS.................. United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNRISD................. United Nations Research Institute of Social Development
WCD.................... World Commission on Dams

FORWARD:

Having been involved in rural and urban township development in South Africa for a number of years, and being aware of the dire poverty and infrastructure and services backlog in some of these areas, finding a way out of the downward cycle of poverty for impoverished communities is, for me, one of the greatest challenges for the future of South Africa. Previously disenfranchised communities, particularly in rural areas, are characterized by high poverty, high unemployment, low skills and severe environmental degradation, which, in a lot of cases, appears to be getting worse as population numbers increase, unemployment increases, the most highly skilled labour leaves to seek work in town (adding to problems of rapid urbanization and poverty there) and demands on natural resources increase dramatically.

Public works interventions are one important way of addressing some of the above issues. During 1997 and 1998, I worked on two evaluations of public works programmes and projects. These were:

- A joint project by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry and the International Labour Office, commissioned by the National Department of Public Works and evaluating the Community Based Public Works Programme (referred to in this report as "the CASE/ILO study"); and
- A project conducted by the South African Labour and Development Research Unit, evaluating the performance of a broad spectrum of public works programmes in the Western Cape (referred to in this report as "the SALDRU study").

In these evaluations, which covered a broad spectrum of issues, it became evident that it was far more difficult to measure the social impacts, targeting, long term effects, institutional arrangements and public participation aspects of public works programmes than it was to measure the technical quality of projects, the number of work-days provided, training and cost effectiveness aspects. Also, it was evident that to a large extent, this was not being done in an ongoing, participatory fashion and that it should be.

What I have aimed to do in this dissertation is to look more closely at the community participation aspects of public works programmes and relate them to participation theory. Using my experience in evaluating the CBPWP and some of the raw data from the abovementioned two projects, I have tried to draw out all those aspects relating to public participation and examine them more closely in relation to a number of questions. Being a fairly short dissertation it is by no means a complete measurement of the successes and failures of community participation in public works projects, it does go down the road towards highlighting issues that need to be considered in future planning and implementation of public works type interventions and their monitoring and evaluation strategies.

Note: This is a Masters project on Environment and Development. Its terms of reference was to have a both a developmental and an environmental component. Although this

dissertation mainly focuses on development and infrastructure provision, participation is a topic very relevant to environmental management and sustainable resource use. In addition, public works programmes are increasingly being used for environmental purposes, for example, the elimination of alien vegetation from water courses in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry's Working for Water programme, and agricultural and land management through the Department of Agriculture's Land Care programme. Lessons from this dissertation could be valuable in the monitoring and evaluation of these programmes as well. Furthermore, to say that public works and infrastructure programmes are not about the environment would be perpetuating the bad practice of treating environment and development as two separate, and often opposing things. In considering participation - one of its values is that people from all sectors, including those with environmental concerns, through participating can (or should be able to) influence the outcomes of development initiatives to address these concerns. Also in the notion of sustainable development, the protection of the interests of future generations is very important and it is necessary to consider who is representing their interests in all development projects and programmes.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION:

> During a rural development project in 1995, which involved the
> building of an access road to a rural village in the foothills of the
> KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg, I took a break and walked along the
> newly built road. I was joined by a youth of about 17, who explained
> the ins and outs – to the last technical detail – of the road; the way it
> was built, the way the community had identified it as a development
> priority, how the management committee managed the financial
> arrangements, how workers were selected to build it, and the plan to
> maintain it. He was so proud of that road it touched me. It was the
> first time I realised the meaning and potential of public participation,
> the hidden benefits that cannot be quantified. Since then I have seen
> community participation in a hundred different contexts, in a hundred
> different forms and with a hundred different results. My interest in
> the process of public participation has led me to take a closer look at
> the meaning of, the benefits of, the costs of, and most of all the
> methods used in this variable thing we call participation. (Lindy
> Morrison, 2001)

1.1   Introduction to the research topic.

South Africa's "apartheid era" left a legacy of extreme poverty, high unemployment, low

skills, severe infrastructure shortages and severe environmental degradation in the

communities of the majority of its people. Just as serious as these material shortcomings,

are the, usually less tangible, human development shortcomings which extend more

deeply into the social fabric of a society and which include: inequality, disempowerment,

lack of economic opportunity, and dependence on welfare interventions.

South Africa is engaging with significant challenges in transforming this situation to one

of economic, social and environmental development based on sustainability, equity and

empowerment, where communities have increasing ability and resources to participate

effectively in their own development.

There are a number of initiatives at present to attempt to address this situation, for

example: the Land Reform Programme; the Reconstruction and Development Programme

(RDP) and, later, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic

strategy; and various initiatives to promote small, medium and micro industry

development. Perhaps, some of the more visible attempts to address poverty in impoverished communities in South Africa are public works interventions.

In South Africa at present there are a significant number of public works programmes. These range from programmes to address the backlog of infrastructure in specific areas (such as the Municipal Infrastructure Programme and the Community Based Public Works Programme) to service provision programmes (Such as ESKOM electrification schemes) to schemes (such as the Working for Water and Land Care Programmes) with the primary aim of reaching natural resource management objectives.

These initiatives have multiple objectives, the most obvious being the cost-effective provision of infrastructure (or in some cases the reaching of environmental management goals), job creation and training. The obtaining of these, "tangible" objectives is relatively easy to measure.

In order to transform impoverished communities from charity recipients into viable entities with control over their own futures, however, intervention strategies have to have a longer-term empowerment and sustainable livelihoods focus beyond temporary relief objectives. Public works programmes in South Africa in the 1990s and 2000 are intrinsically linked to transformation and because of this they have goals of capacity building and empowerment and aim for a high degree of community participation in order to achieve this. Empowerment and capacity building, however, are less tangible than infrastructure and jobs and are more difficult to measure.

There is a fair amount of literature available on the experience, internationally, of public works programmes. However, their performance and success is measured, for the most part, in terms of the number of jobs created; the cost effectiveness of projects; and the technical quality of the assets provided. Although some of these initiatives, notably the Community Based Public Works Programme in South Africa, have social aims such as the empowerment of communities, the social impact of their projects, "the human

development that has or has not taken place, is normally neither costed nor examined" (Everatt April 1997).

Public Works in South Africa are, likewise, mainly measured in terms of their ability to create jobs and in this respect, have come under criticism (especially by proponents of the GEAR strategy which aims to cut back on welfare spending) as "an expensive way of creating jobs". Nevertheless, public works programmes remain an important source of income in impoverished communities and if their presence is to be continued (and does not fade because of a lack of political will as so many election support initiatives do), it needs to be justified in terms of benefits beyond job creation and infrastructure provision. The question is: can it be justified? These additional benefits are aimed at addressing the "more intangible" problems of poverty such as inequality, disempowerment, lack of economic opportunity, and dependence on welfare interventions, **have much to do with the level and extent of community participation in these programmes and the extent to which this participation has an impact** in terms of empowering communities to secure the skills and resources they require.

This dissertation looks more closely at the community participation aspects of public works programmes in the post-Apartheid period and relates them to the international experience and theory around participation processes. Its objective is not to measure empowerment and the degree to which community participation contributes to it (in fact it argues that once-off research efforts like this one cannot hope to do this), but to look critically at one of the paths to empowerment – community participation, to examine how it happens in public works programmes in South Africa and to draw out important aspects of it which need to be included in a long term monitoring and evaluation strategy.

The first phase (1994 to 1997) of the Community Based Public Works Programme (CBPWP), one of South Africa's first post-apartheid extensive government funded public works programmes is used as a case study to do this.

1.2   Research concerns:

The main aim of this research is to draw out and examine the community participation aspects of development interventions such as public works programmes in South Africa. The Community Based Public Works Programme is used as a case study to do this. This dissertation is concerned, therefore, with two things: public participation; and its application in public works projects (in this case the CBPWP in particular).

1.3   Structure of this report:

This dissertation is comprised of eight chapters:

Chapter 1 is the introduction and includes a brief explanation of the key research concerns; a summary of the report structure; a breakdown of the aims and objectives of the dissertation and its main research questions.

Chapter 2 outlines the research methodology used for the research and for the writing up of this dissertation.

Chapter 3 provides: a summary of "What is community participation" based on the development of participation theory in the past decades; a discussion of how participation can mean different things from information sharing through consultation, decision making and initiating action; and information on the important aspects of a participatory development process.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of public works programmes, where and why they originated, experience of them internationally and their application in South Africa.

Chapter 5 provides specific information on the Community Based Public Works Programme, which is used as a case study for this research, and sums up the evaluations of this programme conducted in 1997 by CASE/ILO and in 1998 by SALDRU.

Chapter 6 uses data collected as part of the above evaluations to build profiles of the local level stakeholders in a beneficiary community and to examine how they participate in the various stages of public works programmes and projects.

Chapter 7 uses the data collected in Chapter 6 to answer questions about the nature and extent of community participation in CBPWP and analyses the research findings against the theory of participation outlined in Chapter 3.

Chapter 8 is a conclusion of the findings of this research and includes some important points to be remembered with respect to including and measuring elements of public participation in any development project.

Following this, a short evaluation is included, which looks at the extent to which this project met its aims, some limitations of this research and recommendations for further research. Finally, a short implementation plan outlines possible ways of implementing this research.

1.4   Aims and Objectives:

The main purpose of this dissertation is to conduct a critical analysis of the nature and extent of community participation in public works programmes in South Africa. A secondary aim is to draw out important issues which need to be included in the designing and implementation of participation strategies and the monitoring and evaluation of them. It uses the Community Based Public Works Programme in South Africa as a case study to answer various questions relating to the above. Data collected from two evaluations of the CBPWP (the CASE/ILO evaluation and the SALDRU evaluation, both described in Chapter 5) is used as well as experience in working in these two projects to address the primary and secondary research questions outlined below.

1.5 Research questions:

The key research question in this dissertation is:

What is the nature and extent of community participation in public works programmes and projects in South Africa?

This research question has many layers and components, and in order to analyse it comprehensively, a number of important corollary questions to this central question were identified which include the following:

- Who are the local level participants?
- What are the opportunities for their participation in programmes and projects and are these maximised?
- How do people participate at local level?
- What are the incentives for participation?
- Are participants provided with sufficient information and resources to participate effectively?
- What are the costs of participation and to whom?
- Who is responsible for ensuring that community participation happens and are those responsible for carrying out responsibilities in this regard capacitated and resourced to do so?
- How should participation be measured?
- How does participation in the CBPWP measure up to international theory of participation?

Whilst the assumption that community participation in public works projects does actually lead to empowerment, and to both equitable and sustainable development in the long term is implicit in this report, it is important to revisit this assumption. This,

however, is beyond the scope of this report, and it is hoped that this dissertation will provide guidance for further studies in this regard.

This Chapter has provided an introduction and an overview of the aims, objectives and structure of this research project, as well as the central and corollary research questions. Chapter 2 will focus on the manner in which the research project was undertaken and provide an overview of the research methodology.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODS:

2.1   Structure of Chapter 2:

This chapter begins with a summary of the methodology and the data used in this dissertation. Following this, the decisions made at the outset of this dissertation are outlined. Then, as the CASE/ILO and SALDRU studies are used as base data for this research, the methodologies used in these studies are briefly summed up in order to develop a more complete picture of how this dissertation is built up.

2.2   Summary of research methodology:

The research method employed by this thesis was secondary data analysis. The focus was on analysing existing data collected from previous studies in order to address new research questions. In order to address these questions (outlined in Chapter 1), the following steps were employed:

1) To conduct a literature review of South African and international literature on community based public works programmes and on participation;

2) From this literature review, to refine the initial list of research questions and determine how the available data should be interrogated;

3) To decide on the best means of answering these questions from the available data (The available data consisted of the studies conducted by CASE/ILO and by SALDRU and the raw data from the research);

4) To interrogate the above sets of data with regard to community participation (bearing in mind that the author contributed to both of these research projects and incorporated aspects of community participation within them);

5) To develop a profile of the stakeholders participating in projects of this nature (focussing on stakeholders within beneficiary communities);

6) To build a theoretical CBPWP project, breaking it into its various stages;

7) To show how community level stakeholders interact with projects at various stages;

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8) To develop a model from this, showing how participation actually happens in most CBPWP projects;

9) To look at the current strengths and weaknesses of the community participation process by means of a SWOT analysis;

10) To compare the current model with current theory of participation; and finally

11) To draw conclusions and make recommendations.

2.3   Secondary research data:

The data available during the write up of this report, in summary, consisted of:

(i)   A statistics database (in SPSS format) which is made up of the responses to questionnaires delivered (as part of the CASE/ILO research in 1997) across 50 public works projects, to 781 workers, 985 non-workers, and 100 project committee members. A condensed version of the project committee questionnaires is attached as Annex 1.

(ii)   Notes from interviews conducted by the author and the CASE/ILO project team in interviewing officials in the National Department of Public Works; staff of the provincial ministries of public works; and technical consultants involved in project delivery.

(iii)   Minutes from Participatory Rural Appraisal Workshops (PRA) with workers from public works projects in the Western Cape (namely Clanwilliam; Khayalitsha, Thembalethu (near George) and Murraysburg).

(iv)   Interviews with members of beneficiary communities of projects, and workers on these projects in the Western Cape (namely: Clanwilliam, Khayalitsha, Murraysburg and Thembalethu).

The fact that there was so much information and experience to draw on was both a constraint and a bonus to this project. While it was extremely valuable to be able to interrogate four sources of comprehensive data for answers to the questions this project poses, it required a very strict framework for analysis. Rather than trying to incorporate all the data into the research, specific questions were identified, and the data was

manipulated to answer these questions. The most important criteria was that the questions had to be focussed on aspects relating to community participation, as opposed to evaluating the performance of public works programmes and projects in general.

2.4   Initial Project Decisions:

A number of choices had to be made at the outset of this project. These included:
(i)   Whether to consult all four data sets or to focus on just one of them;
(ii)   Whether to draw on the experience of an infrastructure delivery programme (the CBPWP) or on more natural resource management focussed programmes such as Working for Water or Land Care;
(iii)   How to best present the findings of this research.

It was decided as follows:
     (i)   To use all four data sets as the spread of data from different sources enabled a more comprehensive, wider angle look at the subject and enabled two important studies to be brought together. The CASE/ILO database is however used as the primary source of quantitative data and experience.

     (ii)   The CBPWP, as opposed to the Working for Water or Land Care programmes, for example, was chosen owing to the quantity and the quality of the information available, the authors experience in evaluating this programme, and the high quality research that has gone into evaluating this programme. Another significant advantage is the fact that this programme has been running since 1994, and therefore has six years of experience; and

     (iii)   In order to provide some sort of structure for this research, it was decided to develop a breakdown of the various stakeholders in the CBPWP (focusing on community level stakeholders) and then to construct a typical, theoretical project, in which steps are identified where public participation does or should occur; its costs and benefits,

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and how it could be improved. These steps range from design of programme, through project design, project management through to post-project ownership, management and maintenance of infrastructure. These descriptions of the stakeholders and the stages of a project provide a good frame of reference in the development of a picture of public works programmes for the reader.

2.5   Base data collection: Methodology for the CASE/ILO project and the SALDRU project :

Chapter 5 sums up the CASE/ILO and the SALDRU evaluations in more detail, their aims, activities and results. This section serves merely to list and describe the complex research methodologies that were used in the research process, including sampling, methods of data collection. The main purpose of this is to emphasise the validity of the base data for this dissertation.

2.5.1   Research methods used in the CASE/ILO evaluation:

These included: sampling (of and within projects); quantitative research (structured questionnaires); qualitative research (informal interviews; semi-structured in depth interviews; consultative workshops); and technical assessments of the quality of infrastructure (this research does not measure the quality of infrastructure, therefore will not describe these techniques).

Sampling:
This was very complex. The evaluation needed to consider as representative a sample as possible out of 599 completed and incomplete projects across 11 implementing agencies. Representivity needed to be across: completed and ongoing projects; different sized projects, different types of projects. This was achieved as follows:

(i)   Data on the total of 599 projects nationwide was entered into a database;

(ii)   The projects were divided up according to province;

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(iii)   The database was further divided into whether projects were ongoing or completed;

(iv)   Random sampling of projects in each province was embarked on to choose projects and adjusted to ensure that they were proportionally representative of different types of projects.   The sample was also proportionally representative of the number of CBPWP projects in each province.

(v)   Within projects, random sampling was done to interview workers and non-workers and committee members. Efforts were made, however, to ensure that samples were proportionately representative of women and men and youth.

Data collection:

A team of nine people (five from CASE and four from the ILO) was set up to conduct the evaluation. Questionnaires were drawn up by the whole team, using each person's expertise in particular areas of research.   It was important to develop a picture of what was happening nationally, provincially and locally. The team used different methods to collect information at each of these three levels.   The target groups and the method used to collect information from each are summed up in Table 1 below: (this table is based on information from the CASE/ILO report p 7 – 8)

Table 1: CASE/ILO data collection methods

LEVEL	TARGET GROUP	RESEARCH STRATEGY/ACTIVITIES
National	National Public Works Programme (Director)	Semi-structured qualitative interviews
	National Public Works Programme (Programme Manager) National Public Works Programme (Programme Manager)	
Provincial	Provincial Departments of Public Works	Semi –structured qualitative interviews
	Provincial Public Works Programme (Task Team)	
	Project Officers	
Local	Community/Project Committee	In depth (qualitative and quantitative) interviews (using structured questionnaires
	Project Manager	In-depth interviews (qualitative)

	Technical Consultants, Trainers, Contractors, Workers	In-depth interviews with technical consultants (qualitative) In-depth structured questionnaires to trainers Survey of workers and non-workers (Questionnaires – qualitative and quantitative)

Data analysis:

Data from the questionnaires was entered into a statistics database (SPSS) in order to facilitate a statistical evaluation of the responses to the questionnaires, and to identify the overall trends in the data which the database revealed. The database could be interrogated to answer the questions posed by the research. Notes were taken during the less formal interviews, and used to corroborate or qualify the statistical evaluation .

2.5.2   Methodology for the SALDRU project:

In the first phase of the project, a database of information relating to 101 public works projects across seven different programmes was collected. In the second phase a range of case studies was considered in order to assess the extent to which these aims had been realised.

Sampling:

It was decided that to conduct 10 case studies would provide a 10% sample of the total of 101 projects in the database, and that this represented a sufficient sample. Time and budget constraints precluded a higher statistical sample. However, this 10% sample did not allow for random sampling as had been used in the other data set as it did not provide adequate exposure to specific issues that were deemed necessary to investigate, such as local government involvement; labour disputes, second round effects. Therefore purposive sampling had to be used with some level of knowledge of dynamics particular to individual projects.

The central independent variable in management issues was "institutional arrangements". Therefore the first sampling exercise involved a division of the database into projects according to four different institutional arrangement "types" as shown in the following Table 2 (the last column of this table shows the number of projects of each type that would be included in a sample of 10 projects):

Table 2: Sampling by institutional arrangements:

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT TYPE	FREQUENCY OF PROJECTS	%	NO. OF PROJECTS IN SAMPLE
1. Government only	2	2	0
2. CBO only	30	30	3
3. Govt. and CBO partnership or participation	55	55	6
4 NGO or NGO and CBO partnership	14	14	1

The next step was to choose particular projects within these broad category types, bearing in mind that in order to obtain information we would need to seek projects that demonstrated certain characteristics. To do this categories were further divided in order to obtain a representative sample of the type of project (infrastructure) in each category as follows (Table 3 below).

Table 3: Sampling by project type within institutional arrangement type:

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT TYPE	TYPE OF PROJECT	NO. IN SAMPLE (10)
Government Only	community centres and /or crèches: roads and/or stormwater:	1 1
CBO only or Government and CBO partnership	roads and/or stormwater: alien vegetation removal: sanitation/water:	4 2 1
NGO or NGO/CBO partnership	community centre or alien removal:	1

Slight adjustments were made in the sample in order to achieve: a fairly even geographical distribution of projects throughout the Western Cape and to obtain a balance between the number of urban and rural projects. Out of the final sample of 10 projects chosen, 5 of these were CBPWP projects.

Data Collection and Analysis:

The data collected from the case studies was qualitative and quantitative. Methods used are summarized in Table 4, below:

Table 4 : Data Collection in the SALDRU evaluation:

METHOD USED	PURPOSE	ANALYSIS OF DATA
Workers Survey	To look at employment history of workers before and after the project	All data was entered into a hypertext database. Hypertext is a computer data package specifically designed for the analysis of qualitative data, enabling the researcher to code information and retrieve information on certain aspects by typing in code words.
Semi-Structured Interviews	To collect information from officials and members of local level institutions (local govt, NGOs and CBOs) and consultants and project managers	
PRA Workshops	To collect general data from workers and committee members on the projects	
Small semi-structured participative discussion groups	Used to interview e.g an entire project committee	
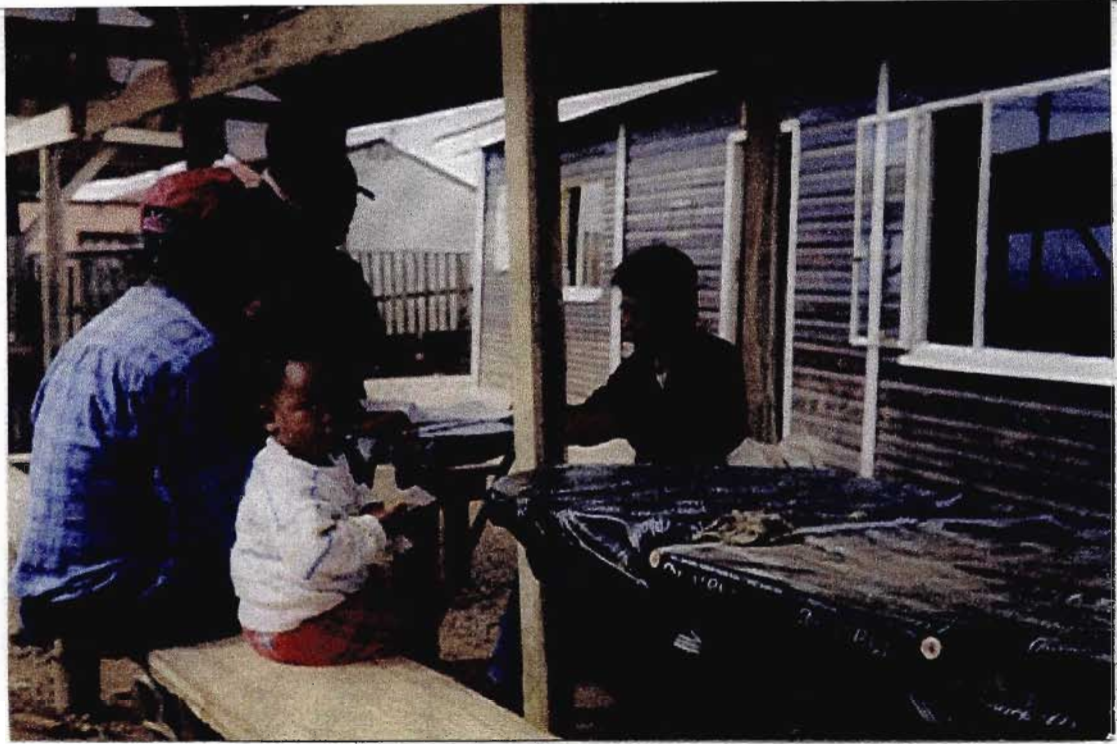
Photograph 1: Interviews with workers in Thembalethu (SALDRU fieldwork)

2.6 Summary

This chapter has summed up the methodology used to examine the community participation process in the CBPWP as well as the methodology used in the CASE/ILO and SALDRU research which is used as base data for this project. The following section provides a theoretical framework against which the information collected can be examined.

CHAPTER 3: PARTICIPATION

Box 1: Participation, "Top-down" or "Bottom-up"

A member of the Community Based Organisation Network in KwaZulu-Natal, Japhet Ngubane, tells a story about a community on the North Coast of KwaZulu-Natal. A development organisation aimed to initiate a number of poverty relief programmes in a labour-intensive, community-based manner. Interviews, meetings, discussions and PRA workshops were held in order for the community to prioritise their development needs - and the highest need prioritised in this process was water. The community stressing, to the donor's delight, that standpipes in back gardens would greatly lessen the workload of the women who presently collect water from the river. Since water on tap is still a fairly expensive exercise for impoverished rural communities in South Africa, this struck Japhet as strange. On further investigation, it was revealed that the main and current need of the community was to pay school fees for their children for the year (approx R 260). They could not, indeed, afford to pay for or use the water and had no intention of doing so - they were aware however that water installation would provide the largest numbers of jobs in the short term so that the school fees could be made up. A participatory exercise had indeed been held, in the community, prior to the donor-led participatory exercises to decide on this way forward.

This is not a common occurrence, however, it does illustrate an important question with regard to community participation. Is it a top-down patronising exercise that communities are learning to manipulate for added advantage? Communities are encouraged to "participate" according to the needs and specifications of the outside/donor agency and the development project requires a separate participation exercise to the internal development planning process within communities.

(Personal Communication with Japhet Ngubane, 2001)

3.1   Aim of chapter

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief introduction into thinking about public participation: what it is; how it is defined; and why, when and how it should be practiced, as a point of reference in considering the effectiveness of the public participation component of the CBPWP.

3.2   What is public participation?

The above question is the point of much debate. With an increasing recognition by governments, international development organizations and non-government organizations, of the right of the public to have a say in development initiatives which affect their lives and their society; with a strengthening in civil society; and with a recognition of the relationship between empowerment and poverty, participation has become increasingly important in development theory and practice. (Oakley, 1995 page 1).

There is a fair amount of literature available on the subject of participation. It seems however that there are two distinct contexts for writing about participation. There is literature that deals with broad policy issues and decision making around, for example: the development of national and international policy on environmental issues or trade issues (for example, the Consultative National Environmental Policy Process (1994) in South Africa), and then there is "participatory development" which does not involve deciding on macro-policy but is concerned with intricate day to day involvement in ongoing development processes and projects. Oakley, 1995 describes this type of participation as "part of the process whereby people seek to have some inluence and to gain access to the resources which would help them sustain and improve their living standards" (Oakley 1995, page 2). In my opinion, lessons learned in the one are not adequately disseminated to the other. Whether we are dealing with participation of the Third World in World Trade Organisation agreements or dealing with impoverished people participating in decision-making around the design of a road, the issues are very similar. They are to do with: inequality and different power relationships (based on economic power, levels of education, ownership of resources, gender); access to information and technology; access to resources (e.g. legal representation) and different approaches to decision making (e.g. language, gender and culture differences).

Participation is something which is multi-purpose and multi faceted and fairly difficult to understand. In the available literature, it is clear that there is no agreement on what participation is. There have been some attempts to define it. Diamond et al (1989) make the point that participation means different things depending on: why participation occurs

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(as a means or an end in itself); when participation occurs (is it in actual decision making); who participates (community homogeneity or heterogeneity) and how they participate (bottom-up or top-down)

Perhaps a good starting point is to consider the historical development of the concept of public participation in international development fora such as the United Nations. Although community participation is not a new concept, it has taken on increasing importance in "development speak" in the past few decades, especially with evolving notions of development. Development is no longer merely about economic progress but includes aspects of social and economic sustainability. Development thinking was influenced substantially by a basic needs approach in the 1970s, which emphasized the need for "development strategies which were not primarily capital centred, but seeking to involve people more directly in development". This was a response to the need to "devise more effective way of reaching the lowest income groups" (Oakley 1995, p. 1). A sustainable development approach in the 1980s and 90s also emphasized people's participation. In the 1990's people's participation has strengthened into a well established principle of development which has received support from Governments, International Development Agencies and NGOs" (Oakley 1995 p. 1).

Diamond et al in their summary of Community Participation in Urban Projects in the Third World (Diamond et al, 1989) describe this changing notion of participation in detail by referring to various United Nations and World Bank definitions and uses of the phrase "community participation" over the years. Salient points from their summary, which support the above statement include:

- In 1955 the United Nations described community participation as inherent in the development process by stating: *"community development is a process designed to create conditions for economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation"* (cited in Diamond et al 1989)

- In the 1970s, when the basic needs approach to development emerged, participation was formally recognized as an essential element in the

implementation of a basic needs approach" (Diamond 1989). The International Labour Office (ILO) acknowledged this in 1976 and stated that "*such needs as health, education, safe water, and sewerage can only, or more efficiently be provided for through public effort.*" (World Employment Conference Papers 1976, in Diamond et al 1989).

- In the late 70s it seemed that community participation began to take on a more important role and to be expanded to include a relationship with power. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)'s 1979 definition states that - the objective of participation is "*... to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control*" (UNRISD, 1979, p8 – from Diamond et al 1989).

- In 1986, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) identified participation as important for a number of reasons and produced a "participation programme". The following Table 5 sums up the three arguments used by the UN to advocate the importance of community participation in projects.

Table 5: The importance of community participation in development programmes:

ARGUMENT	EXPLANATION
Participation is an end in itself	people have the right and duty to participate in the execution (planning, implementation and management) of projects which profoundly affect their lives
Participation is a means to improve project results	if people participate in the execution of projects by contributing their ingenuity, skills and other untapped resources, more people can benefit, implementation is facilitated, and the outcome responds better to the needs an priorities of the beneficiaries
participation is a self-generating activity which stimulates people to seek participation in other spheres of life	participation builds up a self-reliant and co-operative spirit in communities; it is a learning process whereby people become capable of identifying and dealing actively with their problem(UNCHS, 1984a p 6)

(Reference: taken from information in Diamond et al, p 82 – summarized from an introductory document to the UNCHS Participation Programme, 1986)

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The concept of participation and its importance in development has grown stronger over the years. Development practitioners have moved significantly away from top down implementation of projects to a model which includes a high degree of participation and this participation is clearly seen to be beneficial, if not essential to the success of a project.

Yet, there is resistance to the concept of participation. It clearly has costs associated with it, for example: it gives power to the people and takes away some authority from development agencies; it is time consuming; it is often expensive; it makes project outcomes harder to plan for; it poses more challenges to development professionals (who are often focused on technical solutions); sometimes the process of participation becomes more important than its purpose (i.e. to improve project performance and decision making); and often it remains a top-down exercise where parameters are set by development agencies with their own agendas.

To answer the question "what is community participation?" - it is easier to look at its various forms of application than to try to come up with an all-inclusive definition. Two main divides in thinking, and application, are around

    (1) participation as a **means** or as an **end** in itself; and

    (2) the degree to which participation does, or should, lead to empowerment.

Participation, in practice, varies from

    (1) a process whereby community members are encouraged to do what development agents want them to, or to buy into a development process. (This type of participation is informative rather than participatory development) and

    (2) a community driven process where development is initiated by the community and all decisions are shared, based on an ongoing process of participation leading to empowered communities taking responsibility for their own development process.

Perhaps the biggest influence on participation thinking is the relationship between participation and power. (Paul, 1987, Chapter 2). In rural areas, for example, often the biggest constraint to development is the capacity or level of empowerment in communities. The least empowered members of society are traditionally – the poor. This lack of power can be political, spatial and economic.

Paul (1987, Chapter 2) lists the objectives of community participation as (a) empowerment, (b) building beneficiary capacity (c) increasing project effectiveness, (d) improving project efficiency, and (e) project cost sharing. He further distinguishes a continuum of 4 types of participation according to their relationship with empowerment as illustrated in table 6 below:

Table 6: Paul's (1987) continuum of participation.

Type of participation	Information Sharing	Consultation	Decision-making	Initiating Action
Degree of Empowerment	1 --------→	2 -------increasing	3 -------→	4

Similarly Roberts (1978) distinguishes between involvement, consultation and participation (each with more progressive levels of public involvement).

3.3   Why participation?   NB

"Support for participation has both ideological and instrumentalist underpinnings: a recognition that top-down, technocratic forms of development imposed on diverse local realities often result in failure; that local people best understand their own needs and that involving local people can be cost effective in terms of reduced capital costs and increased involvement in operation and maintenance; and finally, the belief that poor people should be empowered and have more command over their lives" (Chambers 1995, from SALDRU report, January 1999, p 94)

One of the most recent information sources for participation was from the World Commission on Dams (WCD 1999) which was mandated to evaluate large dam projects

throughout the world over the period 1998 to 2000. One of the thematic papers dealt exclusively with issues of participation, whilst another thematic paper looked at the how large dams affected indigenous people and explored what their role should be in the participation process around large dams. The findings of this WCD process are discussed in Chapter 7, including their recommendation that all communities affected by projects should demonstrate their acceptance of the project, or it should not be allowed to go ahead. In the case of Indigenous Communities, they effectively have the right to veto, as the WCD recommends that they have the right to prior, informed consent. This is an important indicator of the human rights trend in global policy processes, and much work is needed to ensure its effective implementation. . One of the supporting documents for the World Commission on Dams entitled "Participation, Negotiation and Conflict Management in Large Dams Projects" (November 1999) provides a comprehensive list of reasons for participation. These reasons are summarized in the following table 7:

Table 7: Reasons for participation: NB

REASON FOR PARTICIPATION	COMMENT
1. Future conflicts can be brought into the open and discussed.	This leads to increased information for decision making and decreasing chances of miscommunication
2. To increase communication (extent and accuracy)	This leads to rapid clarification and a reduction in conflict based on communication errors
3. To ensure the hearing of all sides.	This leads to a lessening of acrimony. Participants are able to voice discontent. If the participation process is fair, then even those who "lose" may still feel that their side was heard and seriously considered.
4. If there is no predetermined outcome, stakeholders can make sure decisions are as fully informed as possible.	The WCD report makes the point that this occurs especially in consensus building processes where all parties at the table need to agree before a decision is made.
5. Participation can increase the level of buy in of stakeholders.	It is important to remember that participation can be used as a form of propaganda in that educational and information aspects of participation can be used to get support for proposals rather than to elicit ideas and solutions to problems (WCD p 13)
6. Public participation is a requirement of international funders and donors.	Unless this is monitored effectively participation can be a token exercise in which decision-making is not really shared.

3.4 What are the basic tenets of best practice participation?

The International Association for Public Participation lists the main principles of participation on its website (http://www.pin.org). These principles are summarized as follows:

1. The public should have meaningful and continuous voice in decisions that affect their lives and their participation must influence or have impact on those decisions;

2. the public must speak for itself (representation mechanisms exist in most governance structures but besides this people must be able to articulate for themselves;

3. the public participation process must seek out and facilitate the involvement of those potentially affected;

4. Public participation must address the process needs of all participants – it must involve the participants in defining and designing how they will participate (There are different ways of understanding, communicating and decision making depending on cultural, gender, race, class, religion, or education differences and these need to be taken into account). The process needs to be flexible, inclusive and designed to elicit information and increase participants comfort; and

5. The public participation process must provide participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way (timely and full access to information about proposals, problems, impacts and alternatives).

3.5 How is participation practiced?

There are many tools and a variety of media that can be used for public participation. The most common forms used in South Africa are workshops (for example, in the Community Based Public Works Programme), interviews and public hearings (for example in the Consultative National Environmental Policy Process in 1994). Other

mediums include newspapers, television, radio, information sessions, the election or appointment of representative groups, surveys, questionnaires, conferences etc. What are more important are the essential elements in public participation processes. These vary with the aim of a particular participation exercise but generally include: identification of stakeholders, information dissemination and sharing; consultation, communication, facilitation, listening, documenting, learning, shared decision making, monitoring and evaluation and (with more empowerment related aims) power sharing, capacity building and empowerment. Conflict is also a very important component as where it exists, it has to be brought into the open and dealt with. A further component mentioned in the WCD documentation (World Commission on Dams, November 2000) is the importance of acknowledging the rights of various stakeholders and the risks to stakeholders of the proposed development. This helps in the identification of stakeholders and the determination of their level of participation in decision-making.

3.6   Who participates?

The stakeholders in participation exercises vary considerably with the type of project or programme being initiated. It is important that a participation process seeks to identify all affected stakeholders and groups that could be excluded. Often it is possible to distinguish between core stakeholders and others. Core stakeholders generally include beneficiary or affected communities and individuals, delivery agents such as government, consultants, engineers, locally based organisations (people who are directly involved). (World Commission on Dams, November 2000) Others may include the general tax paying public; academics, NGOs (who can also be part of the core stakeholders depending on their mandate), observers, interest groups, etc.

3.7   When do they participate?

This question is linked strongly to the question of who initiates a development project. When does participation start? If the project, for instance, is initiated by the community who will benefit from it, community participation begins very early. However, if the

project is initiated by people outside the community (as a public works programme generally is) the question becomes: at which stage do we involve which stakeholders.

The WCD report identifies 5 decision-making stages where the public can get involved in development. These are: problem framing; solution generation and selection; decision implementation, adjustments to change and evaluation. (World Commission on Dams, November 2000). Each stage demands more extensive information dissemination and more active involvement of stakeholders.

In much development, the development agent takes responsibility for including community participation. Sometimes this is because of donor or government pressure to include a degree of participation in the project or because community participation will benefit the project or proposed development. Very often community participation entails the developer defining a process and project for the community and only then inviting the community to participate, according to the parameters set by the developer.

3.8   What is the cost of participation?

In considering the above aims and descriptions of the participation process, the question, but what does all this cost to achieve is very important. Often it is this that determines the type of participation that occurs and also the quality of this participation. Participation processes have material costs in terms of money and time and these have to be taken into consideration. With a programme with goals and targets to meet, participation costs can be very high as they make outcomes very much harder to plan for. If a project is working on a strict time line, for example and the participation process is problematic, the costs of public participation can be very high in terms of penalties payable by delivery agencies. The cost is not limited to development agents but is also born by the participating stakeholders in terms of time and inconvenience, this is particularly true in communities where a number of different participatory process are occurring. Often people participate with the expectation of some return e.g. a job, which is not forthcoming, and this leads to frustration and a reduction in interest in the project and in other, future projects.

3.9   Summary of Chapter 3:

This chapter has discussed participation and its development as a tool to both empower communities and improve projects. It has discussed the reasons for participation in projects; the important elements in a community participation process, different levels of participation, and the costs and benefits of participation. Its aim was to provide a point of reference to compare the experience of community participation in the CBPWP (outlined in Chapters 6 and 7) against.

This theoretical review found that successful participation depends on the adequate provision of information, access to resources and understanding of local level dynamics. It also found that participation can be a both a means (to improve project performance) and an end (to empower communities to participate in their own development); that it is not without costs; and that the nature and type of community participation varies from purely information sharing, through consultation, decision-making and the initiation of action (see Table 6: Paul's continuum of participation).

This continuum of participation (Table 6) is referred to in the summing up of the type of participation in each stage of a CBPWP project. In Chapter 7 the CBPWP is examined to see whether its community participation includes the important aspects of participation outlined in this chapter in section 3.5.

CHAPTER 4:   PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMMES

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a background understanding of community based public works programmes, the theory and experience of them internationally and in South Africa.

4.1 What is a public works programme?

Public Works Programmes are primarily government funded programmes such as the Community Based Public Works Programme (CBPWP), which aim at meeting basic needs; targeting the poorest sectors of the economy; and providing employment, training and capacity building while producing infrastructure through labour intensive methods. More recently they are being increasingly used to meet natural resource management goals such as removal of alien vegetation in the Working for Water project in South Africa.

4.2 Where and when did public works programmes emerge as tools for development?

Public Works type programmes have a long history. Even as far back as the eighteenth century, they were used to provide food security or minimum income for the poor. They were common after a disaster such as a drought or during famine as a way of staving off starvation and avoiding civil unrest. They were traditionally, however, not long term support and economic growth instruments. Relf et al (undated) attribute the newer, long term role and developmental role of public works programmes to Keynesian Economic Theory.

Keynesian Economic Theory

In the 1930's Keynes developed an economic model which stated basically that:

"high unemployment leads to more poverty, low incomes lead to less spending power and low spending power means less demand for goods and services which leads to high unemployment". (cited in Relf - IT Transport, Ltd, undated).

As a way of escaping this vicious cycle, Keynes advocated increased public expenditure which was aimed at generating employment and income which would therefore increase the demand for goods and services and boost the economy into success. One of the ways he suggested that this could be done was through public works programmes. (cited in Relf, undated)

"The apparent downside was that increased public expenditure would be based on government borrowing. Yet the theory held that two trends would make the short term borrowing both manageable and justified. Firstly the spread of incomes and production in response to a boost in demand would generate taxes relatively quickly and secondly, if the infrastructure built under a public works programme were sensibly chosen, it would provide a physical platform on which further economic growth could be built" (Relf - IT Transport, Ltd, undated)

Keynes therefore advocated public works as a means of boosting the economy and providing long-term developmental support.

The Keynesian Model can be drawn as follows:

Box 2: The Keynesian Economic Model

                                   Increased government expenditure
                      I   I
     Economic growth   **Higher consumer incomes**
        I   I

    More employment   **Higher effective demand**
       I   I
         Increased production trade and service provision
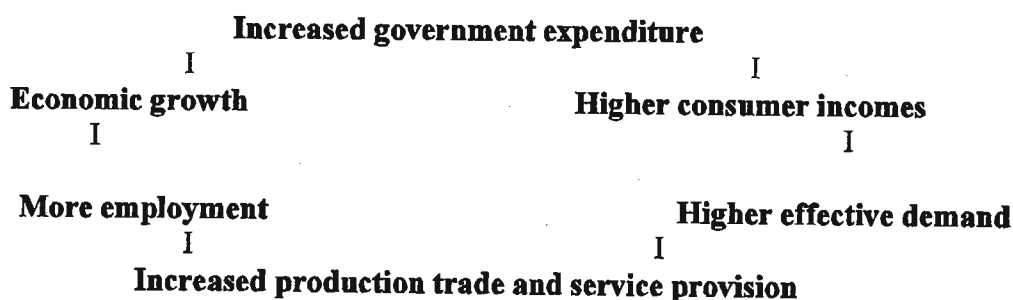
This theory was criticised by economists on the basis that higher incomes of public works' workers as well as the higher government expenditure would lead to inflation.

Nurkse, in the 1950s was another proponent of public works. His model was concerned with the low productivity and underemployment of rural labour and that this cheap labour could be used as a resource to bring about economic growth, while reducing the dependence on capital and foreign exchange. The Nurksean model was also not concerned with poverty alleviation and social dynamics. It was primarily a strategy for economic growth (Relf et al, undated). Large scale Chinese labour mobilisation before 1978 had strong resemblance to the Nurksean Model (Relf et al, undated).

In summary, public works are tools which can be used for the provision of income for the unemployed poor, as well as for providing infrastructure as a stimulus for development. Relf (undated) argues that often there is a trade off between or a need to find a balance between different objectives e.g. providing incomes for the poor and providing affordable and durable infrastructure assets.

4.3 What is the Rationale for Public Works Programmes?

Everatt writes "*government policy, especially economic and fiscal policy is based on the assumption that targeting can take place and benefit certain groups ... public works programmes are an instrument through which that targeting can be achieved. They are commonly regarded as having considerable potential for successfully reaching a specified audience, usually defined as broadly as "the (usually rural) poor". This is because a physical asset is being built in a specific location where the target audience is concentrated and can either participate in the building of, or at least benefit from the created asset.*" (Everatt, April 1997)

Public Works programmes are a way to direct public spending towards the poor. Most aim to uplift this group in some way and encourage further economic growth as a result of the "catalyst" (infrastructure) provided. How this is achieved varies considerably

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among programmes. Some programmes have a primary aim of reducing an infrastructure backlog (for example, the Municipal Infrastructure Programme in SA aims to address the dire backlog of infrastructure that was created during apartheid South Africa with a secondary benefit of job creation and capacity building in local government,(source: interview with MIP project manager, notes from CASE/ILO evaluation 1997)); Some aim purely for "job creation"; Some are in the form of food for work schemes to avoid mass starvation in times of economic depression. Public works programmes also aim at economic growth as a result of increased spending power, infrastructure conducive to development, and skills in communities. They can also be ways of winning votes if included in election campaigns. For example, the Skuifraam Dam proposed to be built in Franschoek, Western Cape, was approved by the then Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Professor Kader Asmal, as his last act before the national elections in June 1999. Included in the reasons for building the dam was the boost that it would give to the construction industry in the form of job creation. This was denounced by NGOs as a political ploy to gain votes, and which negated the more sustainable option of implementing water demand management.

Public works projects are often in the form of labour intensive infrastructure provision programmes. This is because impoverished areas are typified by a shortage of infrastructure and infrastructure has the potential to attract both further economic development (e.g. more resources for agriculture or industry and more access to markets from road projects etc); and investment. Sen (1981) discusses poverty and entitlements. He explains that the poor have low entitlements because of a lack of income generating resources and skills and says that a perpetuating feature of low entitlements is inadequate, or the wrong type of infrastructure.

Public works programmes thus vary from being strategic economically viable interventions to act as a stimulus for further growth to being safety nets for the poor.

4.4   Public Works Programmes Internationally:

Relf, (IT Transport, Ltd, undated) provides a discussion on the international experience of public works programmes. He divides public works programmes into: short term

relief programmes; long term employment creation programmes; income augmenting programmes; and low cost infrastructure programmes as illustrated in the following Box 3:

Box 3: Types of Labour Intensive Programmes in Developing Countries (from Relf, undated):

Short-term Relief Programmes: are responses to emergency situations. They are designed to supplement or replace sources of agricultural income reduced or destroyed by calamity, whether natural or otherwise. They are needed for at least one crop cycle, though programme activity should be sufficiently flexible not to interfere with crop planting and other busy periods of farming.

Long -term Employment Creation Programmes: are designed to absorb structural unemployment. They require longer-term financial support in rural or urban areas.

Income Augmenting Programmes: are based on the recognition that while the rural population has on farm and off-farm employment opportunities, the incomes of certain groups are chronically low. The aim of such programmes is to supplement the normal earning activities of participants. Such programmes may have to take into account seasonal employment patterns in other activities. Therefore projects should either be completed quickly or should be interrupted during the busy agricultural seasons.

Low-cost Infrastructure Programmes: are concerned primarily with the efficient creation or maintenance of infrastructure rather than the creation of employment. If significant levels of employment happen to be generated, they flow from the choice of labour intensive methods. Generally these will only be chosen where they are considered to be more cost effective than equipment intensive ones.

Relf (IT Transport, Ltd, undated) goes on to discuss the type of public works practice in different regions of the world, summarised as follows:

- Asian Countries such as India, Bangladesh and China, with large populations and a heavy demand on land and have had long experience of implementing large scale, primarily government funded public works programmes. An example is the Food For Work Programme in Bangladesh in the late 1980s, which generated approximately 115 million work days (approx 10% of waged work in the county)

- In the USA and the developed world, they are usually interventions after events such as wars and economic depression, usually with a macroeconomic aim of alleviating the cyclical effects of unemployment. One of the most well known

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Keynesian Public Works Programmes was the American "New Deal" in the 1930s. This was a large-scale programme which involved the labour intensive construction of roads, railways, schools, hospitals, dams and electrification schemes. This programme was regarded as a success and employed over 3 million of the 9 million unemployed in the US during the depression following the Wall Street Crash. (Relf, undated) Another example of this type of programme in the developed world is currently in Denmark, where the unemployed are employed on organic vegetable farming schemes with the aim of providing employment experience for the long term unemployed (Brian Ashe, Earth Summit 2002 Task Team).

- In Africa there is public works experience in 14 countries. Public works programmes are characterised as smaller scale programmes, largely donor funded and short term. Examples include: Kenya's Rural Access Roads Programme (which was a low cost infrastructure programme to upgrade access to rural areas).

Whilst much literature is available on public works programmes in other countries, most of it describes the number of workdays created, people employed and the type of infrastructure developed. Very little of it discusses the social or environmental impacts of these programmes. The following table 8 provides some examples of public works programmes internationally and roughly classifies them according to Relf's four categories described in Box 3. (i.e. short-term relief; long-term employment creation; income augmenting; or low cost infrastructure programmes)

Table 8: International public works experience.

COUNTRY	PROGRAMME	TYPE OF PROGRAMME	COMMENTS
Developed World			
USA - 1930s	"New Deal" Programme – labour intensive construction of infrastructure,	Macroeconomic programme designed to counteract long term unemployment during economic depression	Large scale programme Based on Keynesian Model, Employed 3 million people out of Americas 9 million unemployed in the 1930s
Asia			
Bangladesh (1985 – 90)	Food For Work	Relief Programmes	Although these were not particularly short-term and involved the building of roads and flood protection worth $10mil in 5 years, they were administered by the Ministry of Relief, and perceived only as a relief and not development activity (not measured in terms of economic growth)
	Rural Works Programme		
	Test Relief Programme (clearing water hyacinth)	Purely income generating for the rural poor – safety net, no long term goals (Relief Programme)	
India (1960s to 1991)	Maharashtra Employment Gaurantee Scheme (MEGS)	Long term employment creation programme	Discussed further in Box 4
Africa			
Kenya (1980s)	Rural Access Road programme and Minor Roads programme	Low cost infrastructure provision programme	Labour intensive construction of roads was more cost effective than capital intensive construction
Ethiopia (1970s and 80s)	WFP	Long Term income augmentation programme	In Ethiopia, with frequent need for emergency relief, the focus was on the assembling of an employment safety net of prepared projects ready for implementation.
Zimbabwe (early 80s)	Irrigation and Village Water Supply	Low cost infrastructure programme	Difficult to find literature.

An example of India's MEGS Programme is provided in box 4, below. The description is taken from Relf (undated) and the reason for including this box is to illustrate the vast differences between a programme of this nature and the CBPWP. In the MEGS programme there was very little participation in decision-making. Its primary aim was employment generation and community empowerment was only a secondary result through the provision of income. This programme was part of one of a number of 5 -year development plans implemented in India.

Box 4: The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme

Maharashtra is a relatively large state in Western India with a population of about 80 million. MEGS is a state-wide programme which arose out of ad hoc employment and emergency relief schemes. The formal rules and features of the programme are described below:

- As the title implies, MEGS guarantees employment to all adults in rural Maharashtra who register. But applicants cannot choose the type of work which is almost entirely physical and unskilled (such as earthworks or breaking stones)
- The state government undertakes to provide employment within 15 days of registration close to the applicants home
- The projects are intended to improve the productivity of agricultural and other rural resources. Each project lasts from 3 – 12 months and after completion is handed to district councils for maintenance and use.
- Wages are based on daily task rates for different activities – designed to ensure minimum wage.
- Funding comes from a set of special taxes (e.g. on salaried workers, irrigated land, motor vehicles and sales tax).

4.5 Public Works Programmes in South Africa

Public Works were widespread during the depression in the 1930s following the Wall Street crash. Their main aim was providing income for the poor. In SA they were used to "lift poor whites (mainly Afrikaners) above the level of the black" (Everatt, April 1997) in the 1930's – by improving their income and access to employment. Projects included the building of roads, walkways and terraced gardens and tree planting for forestry development.

Public works in South Africa in the 1990s are very different from the 1930s type interventions. The Reconstruction and Development Programme called on government to "play a leading role in building an economy which offers to all South African's the opportunity to contribute productivity". It called for short-term programmes to address unemployment and emphasised the targeting of women, youth and the disabled. One of the most significant ways of addressing this has been public works programmes.

A large amount of public funds have gone towards public works programmes since 1994. Some examples of these programmes and the amounts allocated to then include:

- R 250 million was allocated to the CBPWP in 1994/95;
- R 1,85 billion was allocated to the Municipal Infrastructure programme in 1994 (for water connections primarily);
- ESKOM spent approximately 1 billion per annum from 94 to 98 on electricity supply projects which were public works type projects;
- The Community Water supply and sanitation programme was allocated R 660 million in 1997.

If one adds, natural resource management programmes such as the Working for Water Programme and the Land Care programme, this budget increases dramatically.

The main focus of these programmes still remains as "job creation".

The Growth Equity and Redistribution Programme, was introduced in 1996, and attempted to cut back on "welfare spending" Arguments were proposed that public works were a very expensive way to create jobs.

The benefits of public works programmes, however, go beyond job creation. If these additional benefits are measured are public works still expensive? According to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, Public works should be development interventions which maximise opportunities for training and capacity building in

communities and maximise opportunities for further economic growth. The benefits of increased public participation in them, for instance, include contribution to the transformation of development institutions, increased ownership and suitability of assets to community needs, increased empowerment of communities and engagement with the development process. In post-apartheid South Africa these benefits are very important and it could be cheaper to provide them as off-spins of development interventions such as large-scale public works programmes than in any other way.

4.7   Summary of Chapter

This chapter has explained the background to and rationale for public works programmes. Public works are multi-purpose and range from strategic long-term economic interventions to emergency relief operations. They are essentially instruments through which public spending can be targeted at the poor and all incorporate labour-intensive methods and community labour. They range from infrastructure development programmes to programmes which address natural resource management goals. This chapter has provided a number of examples of public works programmes internationally and, finally, provided some background to public works in South Africa. Public Works programmes in post-apartheid South Africa have multiple objectives which include: the transformation of institutions (such as local government); empowerment and capacity building in communities; and participatory development, and do not simply address job creation and infrastructure provision.

The following chapter takes a closer look at one of the Public Works Programmes in South Africa at present and how it has been measured against the meeting of these multiple objectives.

CHAPTER 5: THE COMMUNITY BASED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME

> *"Rural Areas are not treated as important parts of this
> country but we should indeed measure our progress by the
> progress in rural areas"*
> President Mbeki, Community Meeting in Vulindlela 21
> November 2000 – addressing a group of participants in a public
> works project and praising public works programmes for their
> progress in addressing rural poverty.

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a broad introduction to the community based public works programme (CBPWP) which is used as a case study for this research. It also outlines the national evaluation of the programme by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) in partnership with the International Labour Office (ILO) in 1997, and the research into public works programmes by the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) of the University of CapeTown in 1998. The author of this dissertation was part of the research teams for both of the above-mentioned research efforts and together they form the background to the research in this dissertation.

This Chapter begins by asking a number of questions: What is the CBPWP? How large is this programme? What is the development context and rationale for this programme? Who are the stakeholders in the CBPWP? It then sums the CASE research project and then the SALDRU research project and how they measured the economic and social impacts of public works programmes.

5.1   What is the CBPWP?

The CBPWP is a South African government funded public works programme with the objective of "building public infrastructure in communities using labour intensive methods and community labour in order to create jobs, provide training and build the capacity of communities to contribute to the development process" (cited in the CASE/ILO report, 1997). It began in 1994 and the first phase ran for three years from

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1994 to 1997, with some projects being completed in 1998. A further phase was started in late 1998.

5.2   Size of the CBPWP:

The Government of National Unity, in 1994, as part of its Reconstruction and Development Programme allocated R 250 million towards poverty relief through community based public works programmes.   R 100 million was allocated to NGOs for implementing projects (namely the Independent Development Trust, Siyakha and the ECCSBT).   The other R 150 million was allocated to the National Department of Public Works to form the Community Based Public Works Programme (CBPWP).   Together these programmes formed the National Public Works Programme.   The CBPWP was the largest single component of this programme (CASE/ILO Report Oct 1997).   The reason why the whole amount was not allocated to government departments was that it was thought that it would take some time to develop the capacity of government to implement such a programme and the NGO's who already had experience in implementing projects could get some projects up and running much faster.

By the end of the first phase the CBPWP had 599 completed projects across a range of project types. (See table 10).

5.3   Context of the CBPWP:

In South Africa in 1994, the government of National Unity developed and began to implement the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).   Among the aims of this programme were poverty alleviation, the redistribution of income to address past inequalities and the creation of employment. The RDP called on govt to "play a leading role in building an economy which offers to all South African's the opportunity to contribute productivity" it called for short term programmes to address unemployment and emphasised the targeting of women, youth and the disabled (RDP, 1994). Since 1994, billions have

been spent on labour intensive public works programmes, focusing on job creation and poverty alleviation.

The CBPWP was by no means the largest poverty relief programme. Others included:

- The Municipal Infrastructure Programme which was focused on local government capacity building in infrastructure delivery and was allocated R 1,85 Billion from 1994 to 1996;
- ESKOM projects to deliver domestic connections totaled some R 1 billion per annum from 1994 to 1997;
- The Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programme, run by the Dept of Water Affairs and Forestry received approximately R 660 million from RDP funds between 1994 and 1997.

5.4   Aims of the CBPWP:

The aims of the CBPWP were to:
- Reduce unemployment;
- Educate and train beneficiaries;
- Create, rehabilitate and maintain physical assets; and
- Build the capacity of communities.

(NPWP, undated)

5.5   Allocation of resources;

Funds were allocated to provinces on the basis of population and poverty indicators from South African Census data. KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Northern Province receiving the highest allocations and Northern Cape – with high poverty but low population numbers, receiving much less. Distribution of funds among provinces is shown in Fig 9. (Taken from the CASE/ILO report 1997).

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Table 9 : Allocation of CBPWP Funds by province
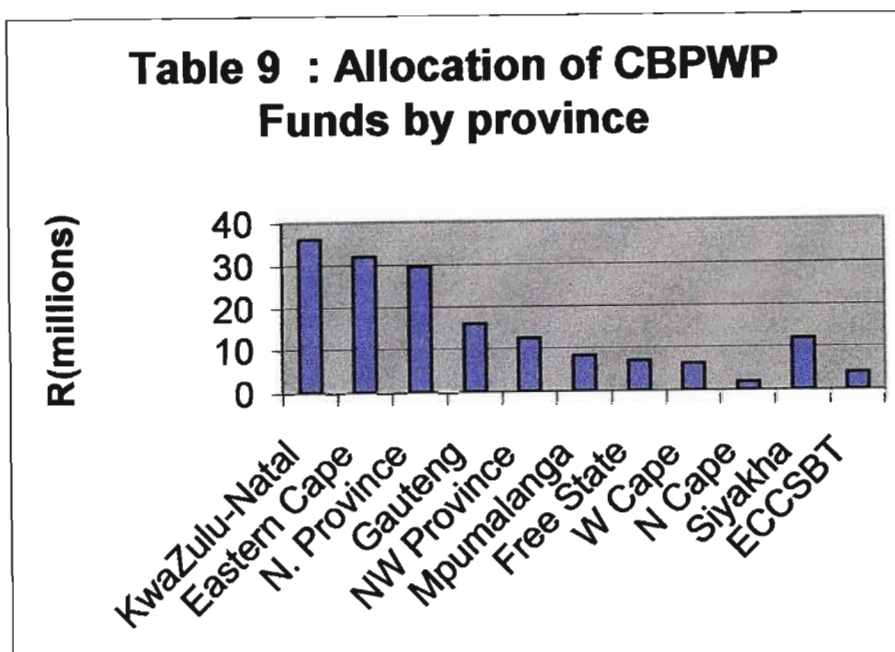
The CBPWP was advertised and applications for project funding sought from communities. A process to identify priority projects in each community ensued, applications were submitted and projects approved. The outcome of this was the spending of funds to create a variety of different projects. The distribution of type of project is outlined in table 10. This was, however, not planned this way. It was a result of a participatory needs assessment process.

The overall management of the CBPWP took place at national level with a dedicated staff in the National Department of Public Works. They retained the function of approving all projects, however, the implementation of these projects was managed by Provincial Departments of Public Works in the nine provinces as well as by two NGOs, SIYAKHA and the Eastern Cape Community Schools Building Trust (ECCSBT). This management was according to broad guidelines set out in the Project Management System (PMS). The PMS was devised by the National Department of Public Works and some provinces amended it to suit local conditions. Some of the provinces augmented the CBPWP funds by adding allocations from the provincial Premier's Funds or provincial Public Works Budgets. Overall coordination of the programme was by means of a monthly meeting of the provincial programme managers in Pretoria.

Table 10 : Distribution by project type
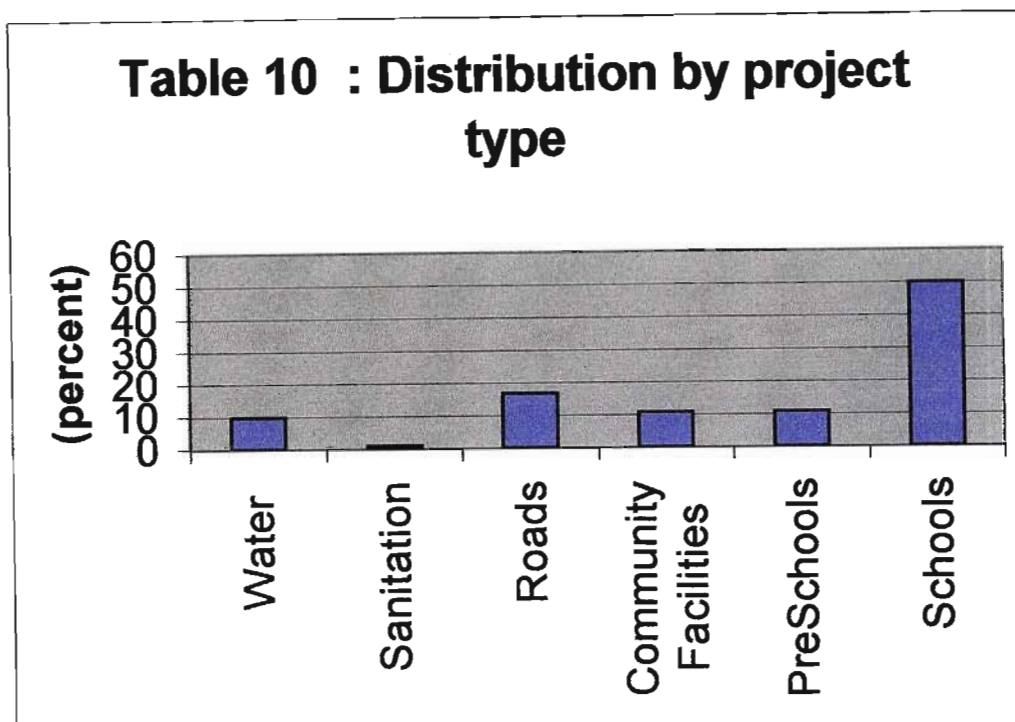
Community participation, in keeping with its recognition as a fundamental principle of the RDP, was an essential component of the CBPWP. The CBPWP played an important role toward transforming the nature of infrastructure delivery by institutions in South Africa.

Various aspects of the CBPWP will be explored in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.6   The CASE/ILO evaluation.

In 1997, The Community Agency for Social Enquiry, together with the International Labour Office, was contracted by the National Department of Public Works to conduct a joint evaluation of the CBPWP. Their task was to assess the performance of nine provincial public works departments and two NGOs (Siyakha Sugar Association and the Eastern Cape Community Schools Building Trust (ECCSBT)) in delivery of CBPWP projects. This work went far beyond assessing participation and had seven main areas of evaluation. These were: Training and Capacity Building; Socio-economic impact; institutional arrangements; Technical Issues; Financial Management; Labour Issues and

Overall Impact. Other areas of interest included: programme monitoring and evaluation; the potential role of local government in the continuation of the CBPWP and implementation overheads.

All in all, the CASE/ILO study produced: Completed interviews with national public works staff, staff of the ECCSBT and SIYAKHA; all the provincial CBPWP coordinators and completed in-depth questionnaires from fifty project managers; one hundred project committee members, 781 workers and 985 non-workers. From this information a report entitled "An Experiment in Empowerment, An Evaluation of the Community Based Public Works Programme" (October 1997) was produced. (Referred to as the "CASE/ILO report" in the rest of this document). This report was presented to the National Department of Public Works and used to influence decision making in a new round of the CBPWP. The report has served largely as an in-house planning document and has not been widely publicized as yet.

The methodology of the CASE/ILO evaluation is summed up in Chapter 2. It is important to note that the CASE/ILO project was not looking specifically at participation but was evaluating the effectiveness of the CBPWP to deliver infrastructure, jobs and capacity building to the poorest of the poor

5.7   The SALDRU evaluation:

The aim of the research project was to consider how aspects of policy design and implementation effected the ability of public works programmes to meet their aims of employment generation, poverty alleviation, capacity building, skills training and infrastructure provision as well as their ability to contribute to future socio-economic development.

In the first phase of the project, a database of information relating to 101 public works projects across seven different programmes was collected (using the definition of public works programmes being those with the primary aim of reducing unemployment and

alleviating poverty as opposed to programmes which aim primarily to provide low cost infrastructure (SALDRU, 1999)). In the second phase a range of case studies in the Western Cape was considered in order to assess the extent to which these aims had been realised.

The SALDRU study was an evaluation of the performance of public works projects across a range of programme in the Western Cape. Although similar to the CASE/ILO evaluation it had a number of important differences, these being that it was independently funded by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and not government-commissioned; that it focused on a range of programmes in the Western Cape and not just the CBPWP; that in enabled a more in-depth regional view across programmes, and that it was more focused on second-round effects, or long term impacts of public works programmes.

The SALDRU study looked at seven different public works programmes in the Western Cape as follows: The Western Cape Economic Development Forum Short term job creation commission projects; the CBPWP, the Community Employment Programme; Department of Public Works Pilot projects; the Clean and Green Campaign; the Working for Water Programme and the Public Works Transport Programme.

The SALDRU study produced: a database of public works projects across seven programmes in the Western Cape (101 projects in all); interviews with Western Cape Public Works officials, community facilitators, project committees, consultants, CBOs, NGOs as well as PRA workshops held with workers in 10 case studies. It culminated in the production of a report entitled: "From Works to Public Works, The Performance of Labour Intensive Public Works in the Western Cape Province, South Africa." (Referred to in the rest of this document as the "SALDRU report").

Comment:
The above two research projects produced an enormous amount of data. What I have attempted to do is draw out research findings specifically relating to community

participation and test those against participation theory and use them to inform current thinking on the meaning of participation in development projects. The quantitative information in this dissertation is largely from the CASE/ILO worker and non-worker survey and the committee questionnaires.

5.8   Summary of chapter

This chapter aimed to provide an introduction to the CBPWP. It discussed the nature, size, context and aims of this labour intensive community based infrastructure delivery program and the allocation of resources within it. It provided a summary of the CASE/ILO research projects from which the base data for this project is drawn. The following Chapter 6, considers the participation process in the CBPWP in finer detail by developing profiles of local level stakeholders and examining aspects of their participation in the various stages of the CBPWP program and its projects.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

6.1 Outline of Chapter 6:

The following chapter sums up the nuts and bolts of community participation in the CBPWP by considering who the local level stakeholders are, and how, and at what points in a typical project they participate. As discussed in the methodology, the raw data from the CASE/ILO evaluation (in the form a statistics database) is interrogated in order to:

- Build profiles of the CBPWP stakeholders, particularly at community level;
- To develop a profile of a typical CBPWP project; and
- To examine the quantity and quality of the participation of these stakeholders at each stage of a CBPWP project.

The Chapter starts with a brief example of a CBPWP project, the Sederville Stormwater project in Clanwilliam, which was one of the projects evaluated in the SALDRU study. The object of including this example is to build a picture of a project in the readers mind. Further references are made in the rest of the chapter to this example, among others.

(Note: The names of specific contractors, consultants and particular local governments have not been mentioned on purpose in order to avoid criticism of the competency of specific role-players. The purpose of this project is to look at the overall process of participation in public works projects and the generic problems experienced and not to criticise the performance of specific stakeholders.)

6.2   The Sederville Stormwater project – an example:

This project is given as an example of a CBPWP project. It is not a detailed breakdown of all aspects of this project, merely a point of reference for the rest of the chapter.

A CBPWP project was implemented in Sederville, the coloured township of Clanwilliam in the West Coast Development Region of the Western Cape. Clanwilliam has a fairly

rural based economy with most employment provided in fruit and rooibos-tea growing and manufacturing enterprises. There is a high rate of unemployment in both the coloured (Sederville) and black (Khayalitsha II) townships and much employment is seasonal. The project was an eight-month project which ran from July 1996 to March 1997. The objective of the project was to build a Stormwater drain, 700 metres long, in order to address problems of flooding, and mosquito infestation as well as to make the area safer and reduce pollution. It was a fairly technical project with a budget of R 500 000 to R 520 000. It employed roughly 50 workers from the community who worked an approximate 3760 work days. Out of the 50 workers, only 3 were women and 4 were "youth" (under 24 years old). The total labour cost was roughly R 105 000, approximately 20% of the total project costs. Payment was based on a wage, as opposed to a task based, system.

The institutional arrangements for this project were as follows:

- The Provincial Department of Public Works contracted consultants to implement the project.
- They in-turn employed sub-consultants to conduct the community facilitation aspects of the project.
- The consultants then formed a partnership with the local government who worked, together with an elected community project committee to implement the project. (This committee consisted of RDP forum members, a member of the Local School Committee and some of the local councilors)
- An engineering firm and a training company were contracted for these aspects.
- The Town Engineer was appointed as the project manager.

There was significant variance in the way different CBPWP projects were implemented. The Sederville project is cited here as an example of a fairly typical CBPWP project with fairly typical procedures for electing a project committee, selecting workers, involving the broader community and general project implementation and management.

Significant in this project was a labour dispute that resulted in a work stoppage accompanied by demands for: water and toilet facilities; higher wages; an additional bricklayer; more workers to be employed and disciplinary action against drunks.

After the project was completed, a number of workers found employment in the building industry, a few in the local council and some in a further public works intervention in the community (a working for water project).

For more information on the above project see the attached extract from the minutes of a PRA evaluation exercise held in March 1998. (Annex 2)

Photograph 2: The Participatory Workshop – Sederville, Clanwilliam

6.3 Local Level Stakeholders in CBPWP Projects:

6.3.1 A "Beneficiary" Community:

This dissertation is about community participation. Although "community" is a confusing concept in itself. The word "community" can refer to any group of people with a common interest, it can for example refer to all people working in a certain sector (the mining community, the NGO community), or a group of people living in the same area or a group of people with common values, beliefs and aspirations, or a group of people of equal socio-economic status (e.g: the affluent community). The word community is also used to describe groups of animals or insects.

For the purpose of this dissertation the term "community" is used to mean "people living within a geographically defined area" (a township or settlement). With respect to public works or poverty relief programmes, this "community" is usually characterized by high unemployment and poverty. When we talk about community participation in public works we essentially mean participation of **the beneficiary community**. This community is usually a sub-community of a larger one e.g. The Tembalethu Township which is a sub-component of the town of George. The definition of "community" has been limited as such.

A community is not homogenous – there are differences among its members in terms of power, status, education levels, political affiliation, affiliation to particular organizations, employment or unemployment, gender, age, race and opinion. In the following section the community has been divided into different groups according to the way they participate in public works projects e.g. workers, non-workers, committee members.

6.3.2 Stakeholders in the CBPWP:

Plate 1 (overleaf) lists the stakeholders in CBPWP projects. These include stakeholders at national government level, provincial level and local level. This chapter focuses on the

PLATE 1 – STAKEHOLDERS IN COMMUNITY BASED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME PROJECTS

BENEFICIARY COMMUNITY LEVEL

Community Member
- Women
- Men
- Youth
- Over 60 years

Project Committee
- Chairman
- Treasurer
- Secretary
- Member

Worker
- Skilled
- Unskilled
- Sub-contractor

Non-worker
- Employed elsewhere
- Unemployed

Community Based Organisations

Local Government

EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS

Project Manager

Technical Consultants

Trainers

Community Liaison Officers

Regional Councils

Provincial Public Works Official

Provincial CBPWP team

Provincial Co-ordinator

Other Provincial Government Departments

National Government

NGO Sector

General Public

stakeholders at beneficiary community level. It uses data primarily from the CASE/.ILO database in order to get as local a perspective as possible. The role of local level institutions is discussed briefly, but the primary interest is how a member of a targeted beneficiary community gets to participate in a public works programme.

6.3.3 Profiles of the Local Level Stakeholders?

Beneficiary communities in the CBPWP projects varied enormously in terms of: size and population; urban or rural location; race group; and community needs and priorities.

Besides this variance between beneficiary communities there is also extreme variation within a community. It is obvious that not every single member of a community participates in a development project of this nature. Participation is voluntary and depends on the time available to a member of the community, whether a particular person is employed or not, to some extent on the age and sex of that person and of course on what they stand to gain from participating. If one looks at opportunities for particular kinds of participation a picture emerges as follows:

As a member of a CBPWP target or beneficiary community one has the opportunity of participating in a project in the following roles:

    i.   Purely as a member of the beneficiary community (who either directly or indirectly benefits from the project through the building of the infrastructure, or is affected by the development e.g. a stormwater drain being built across his/her property).

    ii.   As a committee member elected by the community to represent their interests on the project

    iii.   As a worker who gains employment (albeit) temporary on the project.

    iv.   As a sub-contractor who gets training in being a sub contractor as part of the project (e.g. someone who is trained to build bricks and sell them to the project and in the process trained in running a business)

v.   As a member of an institution which stands to benefit or is directly involved in the
project (e.g. a Councilor or local government official; a member or employee of a
CBO; a member of a school committee for a school improvement project)

(i)   Target/ Beneficiary Communities:

There are a number of different methods employed by public works throughout the world
to target specific communities and specific groups within communities. The most
common of these is "self targeting" and can be achieved through a number of means the
most common of which are: offering low wages so that only the very poor will accept
them; and offering food for work instead of wage schemes. Self-targeting can be quite
effective in reaching the poorest of the poor but it has its drawbacks. Self- targeting can,
for example, falsely represent the success of a project. The workers are generally no
better off after the PWP ends "Their status – having a full stomach while working but
being no better after the PWP ends" (Everatt, 1997). The project looks like a success,
having attracted the poorest of the poor, however, this may just be an indication of just
how starving and destitute the poor are.

De Bernis (1986, p 32) states that "Basic Needs represent the first phase of each social
group, the emergency situation, which when remedied by the group leads them to
effective participation in the social dynamics of development"

Self-targeting also does not address the inclusion of women and youth, for example, in
the benefits of the project. Except that where women are very badly off they will tend to
accept a lower wage than men. This does not really assist them at all, and can lead to a
simple doubling of their workload at no real benefit to them. Everatt, 1997 in
"Targetting of Public Works Programmes", quotes the case of a Community Road
Building Project in Botswana which "adopted self targeting and as a result, successfully
enrolled more women than men …… Were these women better off, after working a day
of hard physical labour, when they were paid wages that were below subsistence levels,
let alone market levels and where the unpaid labour of women was not accounted for?"

The CBPWP employed far more sophisticated methods of targeting. "South African experience of public works programmes suggest that a host of community based mechanisms for setting and achieving targets exist – these may differ from village to village but are far more effective than refusing to pay a money wage in order to attract only the most impoverished" (Everatt, 1997). There was some evidence of women accepting jobs that the men would not because of low pay, however, more particularly in urban areas such as Khayalitsha where market wages are slightly higher than those in rural agricultural areas.

The CBPWP used structured targeting methods to target both particular types of communities and individuals within communities. Its target group can be described as "the poorest of the poor". First the broad community targeting was achieved by examining SA census data to identify provinces and areas within provinces where the greatest poverty existed. Funds were allocated across provinces on this basis. It is not the brief of this dissertation to go too deeply into broader targeting mechanisms, however, we will take a look at more local level targeting mechanisms in the experience of projects. These included the setting of targets for women and youth as workers and committee members. The CBPWP Project Management System provided only broad guidelines to achieve this. Most targeting happened at local level with varying levels of success.

Members of beneficiary communities:

The CASE/ILO database contains the responses of 1766 workers and non-workers on projects. From the basic socio-economic data it is possible to develop a fairly accurate profile of the average community that the CBPWP targeted.

Of the sample interviewed, most (91%) were black, most lived in informal settlements or housing in rural areas, most had only primary school education (with 11% having matric and 19% having had no formal education at all. Most respondents lived in houses (22%

but a high percentage (16%) lived in traditional huts. 20% lived in shacks or in parts of other people's homes. 51% of households had between 4 and 8 members and 21%, 9 or more. Of the sample 48% said they were unemployed before the project began, with approximately 10% working full time away from home and 10% employed full time in the community. Of the other 30%, most were engaged in part time agricultural work in the area and a small percentage (5%) survived on disability pensions, retirement pensions or were students.

34% of this group had a monthly household income of between R 500 and R 999; 33% between R 200 and R 499; 14% between 1000 and 1999; 8 % over R 2000; 9% between R 1 – R199; and 3% had no regular income.

89% of people interviewed had lived in the community for more than 5 years, with 44% having lived there all their lives. Only a small percentage of workers (1%) had come from other communities to work on the project.

Perhaps a good indicator of poverty is how often people actually go hungry. According to the sample 25% said that members of their households went hungry often and 46% said sometimes. Only 30% said that household members seldom or never went hungry.

The following tables show: the type of power supply communities used in cooking, lighting and heating; and the sources of water in these communities.
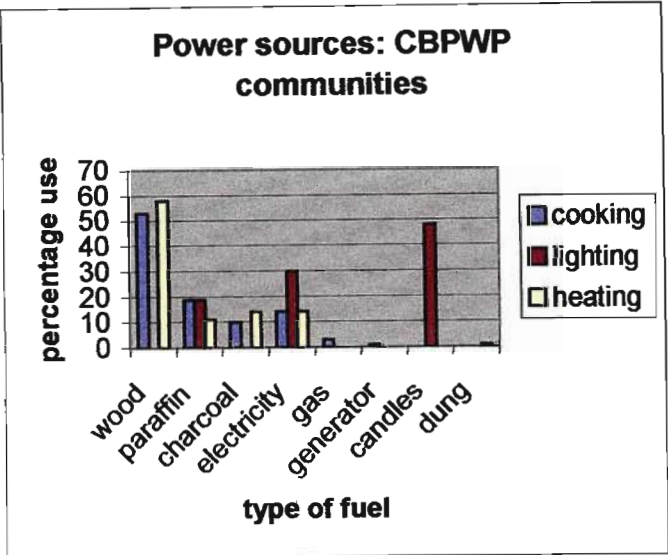
Table 11(a): Power Supply in CBPWP communities.
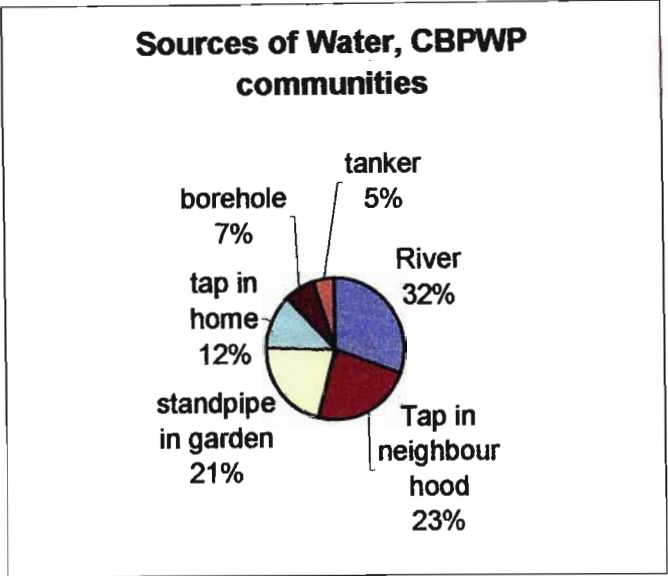
**Table 11 (b): Sources of water in CBPWP communities**
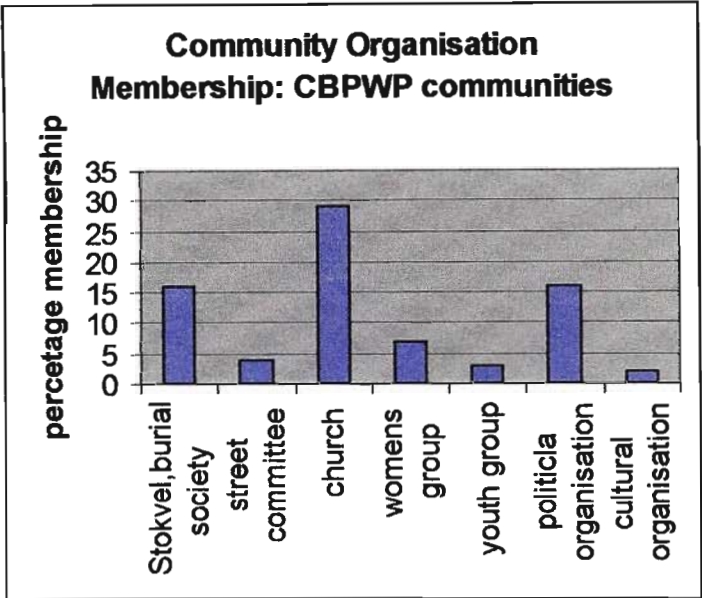
Table 11(c): Membership of community organizations:

In addition, only 1% of participants belonged to a trade union. People with matric were more likely to be trade union members than those without.

It was not possible to do a skills audit of participants but they were asked what skills were needed in the community to get jobs. Most responded that technical skills such as

bricklaying and plumbing were needed, followed by agricultural skills, administrative skills and financial skills.

In summary, communities that were reached by the CBPWP are mostly black; are generally poor; have high unemployment; low education; a low skills base; large household sizes; live mostly in informal housing; have a very low level of infrastructure and services (only 12% have running water in their homes and only 30% have access to some electricity); have a low level of community organisation and many of them often go hungry.

Photograph 3: Thembalethu, A typical CBPWP beneficiary community

Under the section on workers (iii), we will discuss targeting of specific groups within these communities, i.e. women and youth.

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Participants who did not get elected as committee members or chosen as workers participated mainly in the selection of projects, and to some extent were kept informed of project progress through report back meetings with the project committee.

(ii)   Project Committees:

A profile of this group was developed using the CASE/ILO survey which interviewed 74 committee members across 50 different CBPWP projects.

Appointment of project committees:
All respondents said that the committee was appointed by the community at a community meeting. 87% of these mentioned the fact that elections were held.

Age Group
Most committee members (56%) were between 40 and 60 years of age. 32% were between 25 and 40. 10% were over 60 years old and only 1% were under the age of 24.

Age Structure of project committee

(bar chart; y-axis "Percentage" 0–60, x-axis "age")
- over 60: 10
- 40-60: 50
- 25-40: 39
- under 24: 1
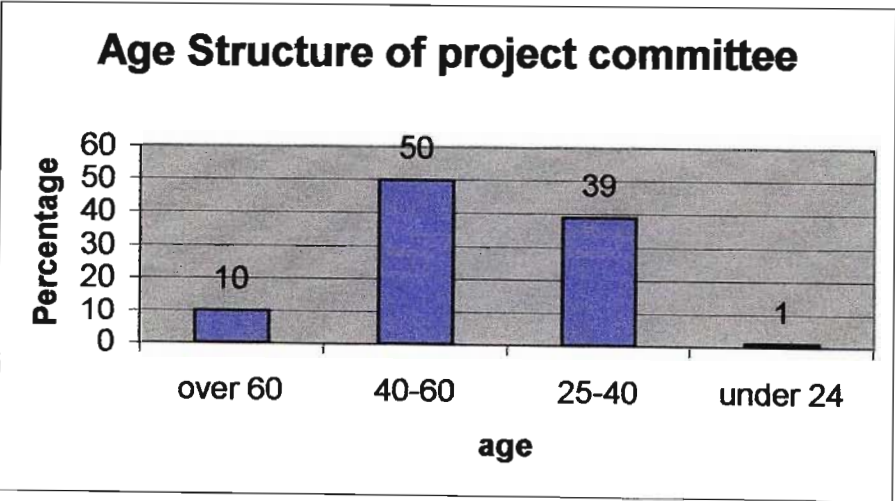
Table 11(d):Age Structure of Project Committee

Education:
To the question "What is the highest education you have completed?"
37% of respondents had secondary school education, 34% had tertiary education, 3% had no formal education and 23 % had only primary school education.

Size of project committee:

48% of respondents said that their committee had between 6 and 10 members, 27% had a committee larger than 10 members and 24% had a committee smaller than 5 members.

Gender representivity:

62% of respondents said that special measures were taken to ensure the representivity of women on project committees. These special measures included "affirmative action" in that at least two members of the committee had to be women and in some cases it appeared that women had automatically been elected as the men were busy elsewhere and did not show interest in the project. (this was not common, however)
Out of the committee survey 57% of the sample group were men, and 43% women.

The CASE/ILO Worker survey asked: how many project committee members were women. In 7% of cases the response was none; 47% of cases 1or 2; in 34% - almost half And in 12% - most of the members were women.

Representivity of youth:

30% of committee members said that special measures were taken to ensure representivity of youth. These measures were similar to those to ensure gender representivity, (i.e. targets of at least 2 youth on committee) but did not appear to have been as successful as only 1% of the sample of committee members was under 24 and this despite the fact that in many communities the youth is more literate than the older people. 42% of the workers said there was no youth present on committees; 26% said there were 1 or 2 members of the youth on committees. Only 15% said that committees consisted of more than 2 members of the youth. (Youth was defined in the survey as 24 years and under).

In summary, project committees were elected, committee members were mostly between the ages of 25 – 40, approximately two thirds of them had secondary education; and their average education was a lot higher than the education levels of the workers; committees

were representative of both genders (though slightly more men) and youth was not well represented. There were also slight differences in the type of responsibilities men and women committee members held. It is difficult to get actual figures for this but when asked what type of responsibility they had, female committee members responded higher for fetching and carrying and keeping records than for men and lower for supervision and management.

Project Committee members were sometimes paid for their contributions but most of the time were not paid. A significant number, however, were workers as well as committee members and paid as such. 84% of committee members said they did not get paid for the work they did on the project and only 16% did get paid. Out of those that did not get paid approximately half (49%) said that this was a good thing.

(iii) Workers:

The CBPWP targeted workers who were "the poorest of the poor", women and youth. Worker selection processes according to the worker and non-worker survey are described by the table below:

Table 11(e): Methods of Worker Selection

Method of selection	Percentage response
Interviews	7.2%
Selection through ballot or vote	18%
Rotation of workers	11%
Identified as needy	18%

In the Clanwilliam PRA workshop (part of the SALDRU evaluation), we conducted an interesting exercise on the selection of workers in public works projects: described in the box below:

Box 5: Targeting and Worker Selection: Clanwilliam-Sederville Stormwater project. (PRA exercise 4: Targeting and Selection of Workers)

In this exercise, the workshop participants (workers and committee members in the CBPWP) were asked to identify groups in the community who should be targeted for employment on public works projects, and to draw pictures representing these groups. Concentric circles were drawn on the floor and participants had to place their pictures in these circles – the most important target groups being placed in the center, and those considered less important being placed in the outer rings. Participants then needed to motivate to the group why those particular groups should get work preferentially to other groups. Pictures were then moved according to group consensus. Initially all groups were placed in the center.

Priority groups identified included:
- Elderly Men
- The group agreed that elderly women should be excluded as a target group
- Married people with dependants
- People who have been unemployed for a long time (6/7 years)
(there was some debate about the difference between unemployed people who want to work and those who don't)
- Young single men
- Single fathers
- Young men with children (married or unmarried, maintenance commitments were discussed)
- Single Mothers
- Families with a low income
- There was a clear distinction made between "widows with children" and single mothers" both were listed but consensus seemed to be that widows deserved jobs more.

This exercise produced very heated debate as to which groups should obtain priority.

Arguments included:

Some felt that work should be given primarily to married men because they had families to support. Others felt that young single men needed all the opportunities they could get in order to build lives and families. Some felt that giving the opportunity to a young man would keep him off the streets and away from crime. Single fathers were also brought out as a strongly deserving group.

A strong argument was put forward against the targeting of women. It was felt that one should rather let the men work and give the money to the women. "The man has to move his butt it is his responsibility."

It was felt that the long term unemployed would have to be taught how to work and that this was a lot of investment.

There was a strong case that when it comes to choosing between whether the man or the woman should do the job then the nature of the work should be considered. The difficult nature of digging in ground as hard as that of Clanwilliam was stressed.

A woman present said that it seemed as if the men were being placed before the women and that the women would not benefit from such projects, especially the single women who cannot depend on a man. She asked how this could be dealt with.

It was stressed that "You do get women who build houses and who can work just as hard as men".

(Comment: This was a very interesting exercise and its value was not so much in the results but in the fact that one could see that people were really beginning to understand other points of view besides their own.)

During the Sederville project there had been some conflict over who had been selected as a worker and who had failed to obtain work. This conflict had largely been initiated by somebody who had applied but been refused a job. Targeting for the Sederville project had happened at a local level, decisions being made by the project committee in consultation with the project manager and the community (following the broad guidelines of the CBPWP). During the above exercise important groups were identified for targeting in projects. Following this exercise participants were asked: So why are most of the workers on this project single men? Participants replied that if they had had more understanding of the need for targeting initially, this might have been different.

This is a very good example of how better quality participation at the outset of the project could have led to a more effective worker selection process and less conflict on site.

Most CBPWP targeting took place at local level (according to CBPWP guidelines) with women being targeted more in certain areas than others. For example, a project in the Northern Province to build an old age center specifically targeted mostly women workers.

When asked what methods were used to target women as workers or committee members, the most common responses were "affirmative action" and "the setting of quotas for women". Similar procedures for targeting youth were followed.

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Workers were drawn from the type of community described above in (i) beneficiary communities. There are no clear figures on the number of workers that were actually employed on the CBPWP and how they break down into sex and age groups. The closest way to consider whether women and youth were represented was therefore to look at the CASE/ILO database. This survey indicated that mechanisms to target women were successful and mechanisms to target youth achieved some, though limited, success. There was some evidence in the SALDRU workshops conducted that women had in some cases worked on the projects because the wages were not high enough to attract their menfolk.

Also, while interviewing some of the workers in Khayalitsha, many of the women indicated that they had got the jobs owing to targeting of women but that they had always been housewives and would have rather had their husbands or sons employed.

Workers were generally satisfied with the project. When asked "how do you feel about the project, 38% of workers said that it had uplifted the community; 31% said it had created job opportunities and 18% said they were completely satisfied with the project. There seemed to be some differences in the type of work that men and women did. The following table sums up the responses by committee members and workers to the question what type of work did women tend to do on the project? It seemed that a lot of the time women did the same work as men, although they scored very low on the supervision and managerial tasks and high on fetching and carrying.

Table 11(f): Jobs women do on project

Job	Committee response	Workers Response
Supervision	3%	5%
Financial	12%	2%
Managerial	5%	1%
Making tea, women's work	3%	6%
Fetching/carrying	64%	39%
Helping men	50%	35%
Same as men	28%	42%

The SALDRU study included a worker survey that looked at the previous work history of workers before the project and their employment since the project. The findings were as follows: "The proportion of individuals self-reported as working full time at some point in the year before the project is 22,3 %, with double that number – 44.6% reporting themselves as having some full time work in the year post project". This was an average response across all the Western Cape projects surveyed. The CASE survey found that "the before and after rates of full time employment vary by gender (for men it doubles, for women the increase is less than 10%) but for education levels no pattern is evident" (SALDRU 1998, p 268)

(iv)   Sub-contractors:

In the CASE/ILO study this group was not interviewed separately and there is no questionnaire to use to build a profile, however the SALDRU study interviewed a number of sub-contractors informally.

One of the ways that the CBPWP intended to build capacity in communities was by promoting the development of small business management skills in communities by supporting the involvement of community level sub-contractors in projects. An example of this is a road building project in Thembalethu where some of the workers received training as subcontractors to supply the material (bricks) to build the road. The sub-contractors were then given supply quotas for the project and some ongoing support. During the PRA exercises and the worker survey for SALDRU we tracked down some of the subcontractors from the project. Three of them had already operating small businesses before the project e.g. one was a taxi owner, another ran a spaza shop and another a community tavern and had used the income generated during the project to boost their business. They said that the Department of Public Works had identified workers with potential and trained them as sub-contractors. Training had included; management, administration and technical skills. Thembalethu sub-contractors had, however, fared better than sub-contractors on other projects as most of those interviewed

six months to a year after project completion, were still unemployed. (SALDRU report, 1998 p274).

Photograph 4: Sub-contracted community brick making for the Thembalethu Road

(v)   Local Level institutions:

Different Institutional Arrangements:

The involvement of local level institutions was quite varied in the CBPWP. There were a number of different institutional arrangements for the management of projects which included: CBO and Local Government partnerships; CBOs playing the management role, CBOs working with government and CBOs working with NGOs; and some projects did not include CBOs at all. In at least one case study, a prominent local CBO felt that it had been "used" by local government to access funds through public works. They had been

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named in the documents as partners but had not been consulted on any project decisions after the money had arrived. (from SALDRU local level interviews).

Community Based Organisations:

"One of the key objectives of the CBPWP was to build the capacity of communities to manage development projects, a social, second round effect. Envisioned, were new community organizations formed or existing organizations strengthened through their involvement with a public works project" (SALDRU report, 1998 p 259)

Most communities throughout the CASE/ILO and SALDRU samples had some form of community based organization involved in the project. These CBO's ranged from Street Committees in Urban Settlements such as Langa and Khayalitsha in the Western Cape, to School Committees, Church groups and RDP forums. In one of the SALDRU case studies, which was not a CBPWP but a Clean And Green Programme project in Langa, a community based NGO, Tsoga Environmental Centre played a large role in the project. This particular public works project laid the groundwork for a number of other projects by Tsoga and assisted greatly in the empowering of this organization.

Street Committees also played an important role in the selection of workers in Cape Town Townships. Hiring of workers is a highly sensitive issue in these areas and the process involved working with street committees to select two workers from each of their jurisdictions.

Local Government Involvement:

Local government was also involved in projects in different ways. When asked whether local government was involved the committee member questionnaire had the following response:

42% said yes, they were fully involved and a further 23% said they were slightly involved. 27% said they were not involved at all and the rest were not sure. When asked how local government was involved the response was as follows:

Table 11(g): Involvement of local government in CBPWP projects

How was local government involved	Percentage response
helped in fundraising	7
had to ask permission of local government for a site	2
members of committee also part of local government	15
local government provided some funds	5
Facilitated and monitored project	10
had to be informed of activities	13
needed approval of local government to start project	5
needed to consult with political groupings	2
they attend our workshops	20
supply water, land or electricity	18
local government explained the importance of the project to the community	2

Local Government in many cases holds information about plans for projects or funds already allocated to specific initiatives. When local government is involved, the more community participation there is, the less likely there is to be accusations of unfairness or favouring one constituency over another. These conflicts are bound to arise in areas such as Khayalitsha – where choices need to be made as to whether to build a road in one area or another. This did, in fact, cause problems for projects 2 known cases i.e.: Clanwilliam (where there was conflict over whether a stormwater project should be built in Sederville (the coloured township) or ablution facilities in Khayalitsha II (the new black informal settlement)) and Khayalitsha (SALDRU 1998 report, p 100).

This dissertation has not gone deeply into local politics, there being such a variance in dynamics between projects but political affiliation definitely had an impact on project delivery and perception of project delivery in the Western Cape at least. Where local government was National Party dominant it seems there was some conflict around the perception that the CBPWP was an ANC programme and that the ANC were using it to

win votes away from the NP in the Western Cape and therefore a perceived (among opposing councillors in some project areas mostly) (SALDRU Research, 1998) less of a commitment to project objectives than would otherwise be the case. This is an area that could be the topic for a whole new research project – impact of local politics on public works delivery.

Trade Union Involvement:

There was very little involvement of trade unions in the project with only 3% of workers and committee members indicating that they were members. The SALDRU research found that COSATU had objections to CBOs or Community Committees acting as employers. These concerns proved to be valid because of a number of indications of, at least perceptions of, favouritism and nepotism.

Other Stakeholders at local level:

The above section has looked at the main groups of local level stakeholders, the beneficiary community, committee members, workers, sub-contractors, CBOs and local government. In Chapter 7 the different power differentials between different individuals in a community are touched upon. The aim of the above section was to build a profile of the "participants" whose participation is being examined. Important non-local participants who would have direct bearing on this group in that they were directly involved on a day to day basis with the stakeholders mentioned above would include: the Department of Public Works Facilitator or "community liaison officer"; the project manager (although in some cases he was a member of local government or a local community member); technical consultants; engineering and service contractors.

6.3.4 General Comment:

Participation in public works projects (which require a high degree of community participation) in many cases required a huge transformation of the traditional ways of

providing infrastructure and delivering projects for local government, consultants, engineering firms, provincial governments and communities themselves. This transformation is discussed further in Chapter 7 but it is one of the most powerful arguments for the use of community based public works programmes in reconstructing post apartheid society.

6.4   STAGES OF A CBPWP PROJECT AND STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION IN EACH:

The project cycle is simplified in Plate 2 (overleaf). The activities outlined in purple are pre-implementation activities, those in blue, the project implementation activities, those in red the end of the project and those in green signifying activities that are ongoing throughout the project. Although this order is not strictly adhered to, and not necessarily correct, it is more or less the pattern observed when examining projects as part of the research. Monitoring and evaluation for instance should be ongoing processes and reporting to government happens at other stages during the project as well. Sometimes the project committee is selected earlier than at other times and this impacts on its responsibilities.

The Following is a summary of each project activity or stage and what sub-activities it consists of. Salient findings from the research are highlighted at each stage.

6.4.1. Design of Programme

Programme design occurs largely at National Level. There is a National Co-ordinator for the programme who reports directly to the Minister of Public Works and a small team of project staff responsible for implementing the programme. Programme design at the outset of the CBPWP in 1994 was influenced by international thinking on public works; the current situation in South Africa and the dire need to address poverty outlined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The new round of the CBPWP, which commenced in 1998 was informed by the CASE/ILO evaluation exercise.

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PLATE 2: PROJECT ACTIVITIES CBPWP

Design of programme

Advertisng of programme

Call for Proposals

Identification of Project

Selection of Project Committee

Basic Design of project

Project Application

Project ratification

Selection of Technical consultants and project manager

Project design –technical

Wage Setting

Ongoing Maintenance

Monitoring and Evaluation

Reporting to government

Hand-over ceremony

Completion of Project

Payment of workers

Conflict resolution

Selection & training of sub-contractors

Training of workers

Supervision of Workers

Purchasing of Materials

Selection of Workers

Beneficiary communities are not involved in design of the CBPWP programme as is the case for most public works programmes in SA. They do however participate in research and evaluation exercises such as the CBPWP evaluation by CASE/ILO and the SALDRU study which feeds back to the highest government levels. The experience of public works programmes internationally also informs policy making at the highest levels

Comment:

Community feedback into public works programme design could be improved upon by a more ongoing monitoring and evaluation process where communities themselves monitor the success of projects on an ongoing basis, including after the project is completed instead of just once off-evaluations which are managed and interpreted by outside research agencies. (see monitoring and evaluation 6.4.20).

6.4.2 Advertising of Programme

The most common methods of advertising the CBPWP are through the provincial department of public works and through local government. In the CASE/ILO survey the most common response by committee members to the question: How did you first hear about the CBPWP was "from a community member" (46%); followed by 32% "from the provincial public works department"; and 12% "from local govt". Other responses included 5% – "from the newspaper"; 4% "over the radio" and 1% "on TV". Workers mainly reported that they had heard about the project from "a civic meeting" (30%); from a committee member (25%); and from a friend"(16%).

The following table sums up the responses by committee members and workers to the question: "How did you first hear about the CBPWP?"

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Table 11 (h): Advertising of CBPWP

How did you hear about the CBPWP?	Committee Response	Workers response
From a community member	46 %	
From the Provincial Dept of Public Works	32 %	
From Local Government	12 %	
The Newspaper	54 %	
The Radio	4 %	
Television	1 %	
At a civic meeting		30%
From a committee member		25 %
From a friend		16 %
At a political meeting		4%

A lot of workers thus heard about the project at a stage when work was being offered and heeded the call to "come and apply for work" rather than one of "come and participate in a community development project". The above also indicates that advertising of the project by word of mouth was an additional responsibility of the project committee and that this opens a possibility for bias towards those that the committee members know or favour.

6.4.3. Call for proposals:

Communities hearing about the CBPWP can apply directly to the Dept of Public Works for application forms. Usually, however, an official from the Provincial Department of Public Works who has been appointed to manage the CBPWP in a certain region, visits a community who could potentially benefit from the CBPWP and discusses the process of application either with the local government, or with the development forum, or if a local community based organisation shows interest. A public meeting is then called (in most cases) to discuss a potential application. In most of the projects this process was followed, however, in some cases it was not. The ECCSBT, for example, used a process by which they looked at the Eastern Cape Department of Education List of Priorities for schools and "built the highest projects on the list that the Department could not afford to build". (CASE/ILO report, 1997)

6.4.4 Identification of Projects:

This occurred in a number of ways, the most common of which was that a public meeting was called and development priorities listed and prioritised with those community members who were interested. In some communities there was a fairly clear idea already what the most immediate needs were so this process was short and the rest of the meeting was spent producing the outline of a project proposal. For others it was a longer process. The CASE/ILO study found that 50% of people felt that the project that they wanted had been chosen. This is very high considering that communities are not homogenous and there would be some disagreement between people or groups within communities. For a high percentage of projects it emerged during both the CASE/ILO and SALDRU studies that there was a project champion, either a principle of a school or a member of a local organisation or a local councillor. It is remarked in the CASE/ILO report that this is not a bad thing as projects usually have a higher chance of success if there is somebody who is a strong champion of them. In some cases, it appeared that local government had played a strong role in using CBPWP funds to complete high priority projects that they could not afford (based on personal communication with a councillor in the Western Cape).

The CBPWP aimed to have communities involved with choosing the type of infrastructure to be built but also stressed that "the needs of the community must be reconciled with government planning" (Internal Working Document, National Department of Public Works, 1994)

What was interesting in the SALDRU study was that it found that a number of communities (4 out of 18 evaluated) did not, in fact, get the type of infrastructure they had identified as the highest priority project. The type of project chosen had been changed at some point, either in consultation with the community and local government or by local government itself. In some instances this was attributed to local government having knowledge that the general community did not have - on environmental factors or costs to health of not doing something else first - or a knowledge that other funding had already been allocated, or that need would most likely be addressed by other processes.

In some cases (evidence from local stakeholder interviews) there was not a lot of knowledge at community level as to why the project was changed. Quite consistent throughout the evaluations was a low level of information about decisions of this nature and how they were made. In Chapter 7, it is pointed out that for participation to be effective, the provision of sufficient information to all stakeholders is extremely important for effective decision making

In Clanwilliam, the project type was changed from ablution facilities in one area to a stormwater drain in another. Unless the rationale for this type of decision is clearly understood by communities, resulting conflict can be costly and accusations of favouring particular constituencies can be directed at local government.

The actual distribution of projects across project type is shown in table 10. What is interesting to note is the high percentage of community halls (over 10% of the projects in the CASE/ILO sample of CBPWP projects and 20% of the Western Cape SALDRU sample of projects across seven different programmes). The SALDRU research report remarks that it is difficult to know whether this was indeed the highest infrastructure need of communities or whether this decision was influenced by consultants. (SALRU report Chapter 7).

Power relationships also come into play in the selection of infrastructure. In the CASE fieldwork, for instance, I noted that in some of the school projects, the project was, for example, a storeroom for the school which (perhaps from an outsider perspective) surely was not the highest priority in a highly impoverished area but was motivated for strongly by an individual with some influence in the community e.g. the school principle.

In the CASE/ILO questionnaires, 36% of committee members, workers and non-workers said they were involved in deciding what kind of project should be chosen. This shows a fairly high level of community participation in this stage of the project. This is the stage in CBPWP projects which has, in fact, the highest level of community participation.

To the question " Who had the idea for this project?" responses to the CASE/ILO questionnaire were varied. Most people (57 %) said that community members had had the idea; 17% said that it had been the idea of the committee; 18% the idea of the school principal or a school committee; 3% leaders in the community and 6% by public works. The above breakdown shows a very healthy perception that projects were community driven as opposed to top-down interventions. This was backed up by the question:"who played the leading role, government or community?" to which an overwhelming 96 % of committee members responded "the community' and only 4% said that government had played the leading role.

To the question "in your opinion, why was the project chosen?" 57% of committee members responded that it was in response to a strongly identified need in the community.

The following table provides a summary of the responses to the question "Who decided the project should start?"

Table 11(i): Who decided the project should start

Who decided project should start	Committee Response	Worker Response
Community members	56%	33%
Project Committee	17%	20%
School Principal	18%	
Project officer		2%
Induna	5%	
Dept of public works	6%	
Technical consultants		2%
The Chief		5%
The contractor		1%
Government officials		8%
Community facilitator		3%
Community leaders		25%
Project Manager		3%
Workers		2%
Don't know		20%

It is clear that there was meaningful community participation in the selection of projects including in the decision making around what type of project should be embarked upon. The fact that so high a percentage (almost half) of the workers and non-workers survey expressed satisfaction at the choice of project indicates a high level of participation. However, what is important to look at here is the power relationships within communities. In the absence of being able to attend a priority setting workshop it was not clear whether those who could better articulate their ideas managed to convince the rest of the participants on the importance of a particular project. School committees were definitely a powerful influence judging by the large number of school projects that were implemented (50 % of the total no. of projects). In an exercise which monitors participation there would need to be records of who attended workshops and an indication of whether the opportunity for everybody (including marginalized groups and women) to voice their opinion was created.

Choice was also limited to the 6 types of infrastructure the CBPWP was providing.

The process of broad community participation in the choice of infrastructure is also limited by the fact that it is generally only practical to have one workshop to decide on priorities. Often this workshop is the first that most community members hear of the programme and certain individuals who have heard beforehand have time to prepare to present their ideas.

Choice of infrastructure and community participation in this is very important. Cases in the international literature (e.g. de Bernis, 1986) are cited where the choice of infrastructure, particularly if that infrastructure has an economic spin-off (e.g. a road leading to better access to markets), can entrench local inequalities and power relationships. A road can, for example, lead to an economic boost for the wealthier members or landowners in a community while at the same time, through a public works project, be based on the exploitation of very badly paid workers who are as always providing the labour upon which the rich get richer.

It is important that the process of choosing a project type is participatory and that all stakeholders have a chance to voice their opinions (World Commission on Dams (WCD), 2000). Often this requires a thorough process to identify all the stakeholders and some monitoring to ensure the process is fair, and perceived by all to be so.

It is also very important that community members are provided with enough information to make an informed choice (WCD, 2000). There were instances where beneficiary communities did not have full information on the impacts of the project, for example, in Murraysburg, the community chose a project which involved the construction of standpipes in their yards, however, were not aware of (or able to afford) the cost that they would have to pay for the use of the water.

Photograph 5: Murraysburg Water Provision Project

6.4.5. Selection of Project Committee

As mentioned in 6.3, this was most often done by means of an election at a public meeting. People were nominated and then voted for to lead the project process.

It is very important that the committee is elected as they need to be seen to be representing all interests and not only certain groups. It can be a cause of conflict in a community if development agencies work through CBOs that don't have the support of the community or certain groups in that community.

In SA identification of stakeholders is fairly neglected in development projects, mostly because of a rush to get the project started. Sometimes developers choose any group in the community (even a women's sewing group, for example) to be their connection with the community. This group participates willingly because of the expectation of reward such as work, money, or development. This can cause problems for the group who is seen to be favoured by the rest and a lack of broader community support for the project owing to resentment. (Relf, Undated). There was not a lot of evidence of this in the CBPWP but nevertheless, it is important that the participating CBO has general community support and acceptance.

Measures to include Women and Youth on project committees were taken in most projects as discussed in section 6.3.2.(i).

Clearly there was participation by the community in the choosing of a project committee. Was this the last time that the community itself participated in the project and from here on were they represented by the committee? Could the committee represent their interests adequately and what was the conflict between this, and other responsibilities?

Once selected, the committee from then on formed the main point of contact between the community and the development agency, in this case government. They took primary responsibility (with varying degrees of technical support) for completing the project application forms and thus took the project from a community priority project idea through to a detailed conceptual project plan.

The duties of this project committee are listed in the following section on project management.

6.4.6 Project Management:

In the beginning of section 3 the different institutional arrangements were listed. What this section is concerned with is the delegation of project management responsibilities to stakeholders within the community, particularly the project committee. The question is to what extent the community, either generally or as represented by the committee participated meaningfully in decision making around ongoing project management.

In general project management was shared by the project committee, the project manager, consulting engineers and local government (if involved).

The duties of the project committee were many and included:

- Selection of technical consultants and the project manager;
- completing application forms for projects (usually with the help of consultants or the community facilitator),
- selection of workers,
- payment of workers,
- selection of sub-contractors,
- selection of workers for training,
- general project management,
- financial management,
- dispute resolution;
- financial management , and in addition to these,
- the holding of report back meetings to the community and
- ensuring that ongoing community participation took place.

The extent to which the committee had power in all of the above activities was varied and is touched on in other sections. Sometimes they had real decision making power and felt empowered from the exercise of these powers during the project. In other projects their participation was more token than anything else. (i.e. they did not have real decision-making power but were used in order for the developers to have legitimacy and acceptance in the community). In some cases they went on to manage other projects. (One member of a project committee for the CBPWP project in Clanwillam went on to become the project manager for the next big project in the community which happened to be a working for water project so his experience of being on the committee was a positive life enhancing one.)

The SALDRU study found that project committees were most active in: selecting workers, liasing with community and conflict resolution and representing workers. "Professionals in the development process also viewed these as appropriate roles for project steering committees" (SALDRU, 1998, p 116)

Most workers (79%) felt that the committee had done its job well. 24% of them did not know how the committee was chosen. Most workers (94%) said they knew someone on the committee.

With regard to the provision of facilities, 45% of committee members said that the CBPWP provided adequate facilities for the committee. 52% said they did not. There was a more favorable response from school and preschool projects then for other types of infrastructure and a reason for this is that in many cases the school already had telephone and fax facilities which the committee could use.

Asked what else the CBPWP needed to provide 70% of the committee members listed stationery and telephones as the most important priorities, followed by venues at 15%, tools (12%) and computers (2%).

With regard to whether the committee members had sufficient guidance to fulfill their responsibilities, they were asked to list which procedures had guidelines laid out by the CBPWP. Their responses are listed in the following table (11(j)).

Table 11(j) Procedures provided by the CBPWP

PROCEDURES provided by PWP	Yes	No
Recruitment	65	35
Administration	64	36
Financial management	70	30
Training	61	39
Other	5	95

97% of committee members said they kept records of their activities and 93% said that the committee functioned well or very well.

With regard to the relationship between committees and their communities, when asked "how does the committee account to the community, 54% of committee members said that regular meetings were held, 29% said that meetings were called only to discuss relevant issues, 1% said by letters and publications. Its interesting that 12% of committee members responded "I don't know" and 3% said that there was no accounting as the community was against the project.

One check mechanism was that committee members could be removed and replaced from committees at community meetings or if they did not attend meetings regularly.

When asked whether it was a good thing to have a committee, 90% of workers said that it was. Approximately half of the workers felt that they had adequate report back from the committee.

The committee members were asked: "How could the committee be helped to do its job better?" The most common response was more training (59%); followed by "committee members could be paid (12%) ; more monitoring /inspection by public works (5%) Other responses (between 1 and 4 %) included: more regular meetings, more unity, committee members should get work on the project, better facilities, the provision of an

office to be run by the community, more exposure to NGOs and CBOs and getting stakeholders to work with committee timeously

Committee members spent an average of 3 to 4 days per week working for the committee. From the table below we can see that this varied considerably from " days per month" to "every day".

Table 11(k) Time spent working for the committee.
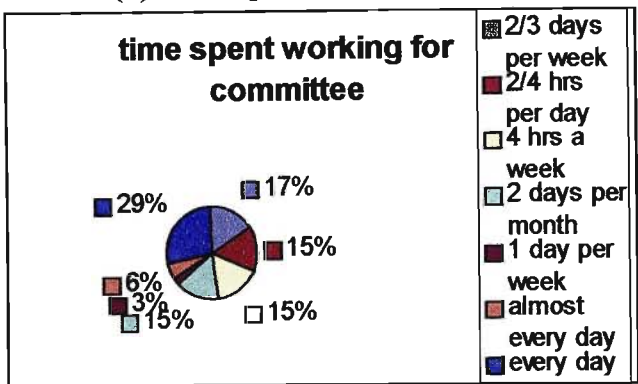
6.4.7   **Project application**

The project committee in most cases was helped to complete project application forms by either the project officer (public works); the technical consultant, the project manager if appointed by this stage or a member of the local council (look at survey results)

First a project submission form was submitted to the Provincial Department of Public Works who generally provided assistance thereafter to projects which they initially approved of. The project application was submitted to them, screened and commented on and then forwarded to National Government for ratification. The CASE/ILO report strongly recommended that this ratification should happen at provincial level, provided the capacity existed here. Although not looked into in this project, the participation of a number of stakeholders is important here. There were instances, for example, in the Eastern Cape where a school or crèche was built by public works but the Department of Education did not have the funds for books, staff or furniture to put the infrastructure to

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use. Again, the identification of stakeholders is important here. In this case Inter-departmental co-operation was lacking.

Part of the reason why one of the CASE/ILO report (December, 1997) recommendations was that there should be more provincial level project approval was that it would be easier to facilitate intergovernmental cooperation and cooperation of other regional players such as district councils in this way.

6.4.8. Project Ratification:

Responses to the question: How long did it take for these forms to be processed by government? Are displayed in the following table. In most cases it took from 3 to 9 months for project approval to be received.

Table 11(l): Time taken to approve projects.
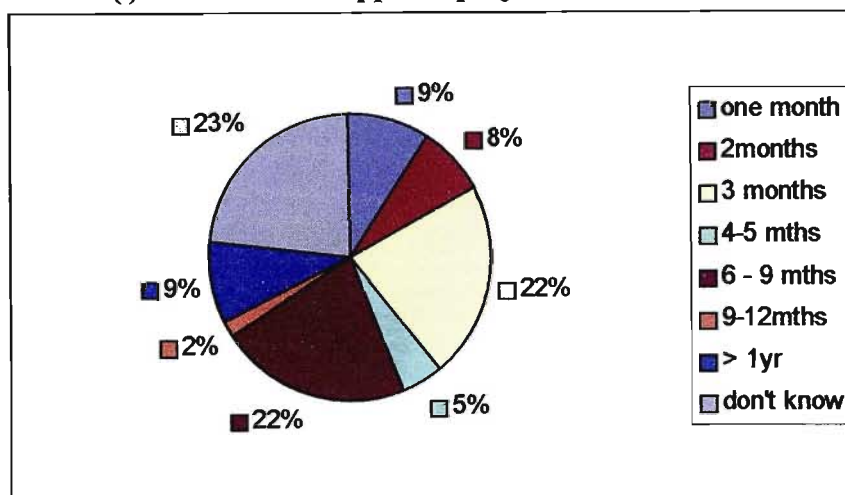
In the CASE/ILO survey (Dec 1997), there was a poor response to the question: Do you know what criteria were used for the approval of your project? Participants listed random selection, community initiated projects, projects where there was a good chance of community skills building and underprivileged communities as reasons but most were unaware what criteria were used.

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6.4.9. Selection of Technical Consultants and Project Manager:

Involvement in this varied greatly between projects, mostly however, the project manager was assigned by the local government, was a member of local government or was assigned by the provincial department of public works. The committee was not as active as they could be in this regard.

With respect to consultants, the departments of public works in most provinces has a shortlist of consultants the tenders from which the committee and project managers could choose from. In at least one province, consultants were allocated to projects by the department and in the case of the Eastern Cape Schools Building Trust (ECCSBT) (one of the NGO implementing agents), the same consultants were used for all projects.

6.4.10. Project Design - Technical

This is one area of the CBPWP where there is a lot of evidence to suggest that projects would have benefited more from more community participation. Technical project design seemed to mainly be the responsibility of the technical consultant with limited input from the committee.

During the SALDRU project I asked a number of community members whether they had felt that they had input into the technical design of projects. In most cases the answer was "no" and in many instances people felt that they should have. Either certain aspects of project design were not what people felt was needed or people simply did not understand the reasons why projects were built in that particular way. In Khayalitsha, for example, one of the project committee members told me that "the road was built with the pavement on the wrong side. We wait for taxis on the opposite side of the road." They said that they had not had a satisfactory answer either to the question of why the road built was a cul-de-sac and not a through road. A conversation with the technical consultants revealed that there were sound legislative and financial reasons why the road was designed in that particular way. Simply sharing this information would have made

the community happier with the project. A further example was that Thembalethu residents wanted to put speedbumps in the road to protect children and in Khayalitsha the concern was expressed that a brick road would be vandalised to obtain building materials for houses.

Communities are often not given the opportunity to participate in technical design because of:

- a perception amongst project managers, government officials and development professionals that communities are not very interested in complicated technical issues; and
- communities don't show interest in this aspect as they are not fully informed of all the information they need to participate in this.

Another issue in regard to participation is the power that communities have in influencing decision-making. In Thembalethu, for example, there were severe soil erosion problems as a result of lack of proper drainage for the road. Community members and workers said that they had raised this issue over and over again in meetings and had been ignored.

Photograph 6: The Completed Thembalethu CBPWP road

The CASE/ILO report discusses the technical quality of the assets provided. This dissertation does not go into this aspect. One point worth mentioning in the context of community participation however, is the use of standard designs. Most government delivery of schools, for example use standard designs wherever possible. (e.g. all school windows will be to the same specifications). The logical reason for this is that it makes repairs and maintenance easier and more cost effective. The trouble with this however, is that it gives preference to major suppliers over local ones as they can produce a higher quantity of window panes, for example, at a cheaper price, and that it does not always allow for climatic differences and building to suit local conditions. A more participatory process of determining technical aspects of the projects, might enable local entrepreneurs to argue for more locally available materials and designs in order to boost local economic initiatives.

6.4.11. Wage Setting

In a community based public works programme a guiding factor is to set the wages slightly below the given wage in a particular area. During the workshops with SALDRU, workers had a lot to say on this issue, indicating that the rationale for this was not fully understood or explained to them. The rationale is that setting wages too high might result in people leaving established jobs in the community to obtain temporary employment on the project and thus be left worse off than before at the end of the project. The validity of such an argument, is questionable in view of the fact that low wages could possibly become the justification for a poverty relief project instead of a normal building project that would hire just as many workers at a trade union approved rate. The issue here however is that the rationale for the setting of wages was not understood by the workers. In some of the CBPWP projects, there were strikes for higher wages despite the fact that workers had originally agreed to the wages set for the duration of the project. Strikes and work stoppages are costly to projects and more sharing of information in this regard could save time and money in the long run. There is also an issue of power relationships indicated in the fact that workers went on strike for higher wages after they were employed. Once they had employment they were in a stronger position to negotiate. The different levels of power between poor unemployed community members and

development agencies need to be kept in mind during participation exercises as well as the extent to which people feel entitled to make certain demands.

Comment: In rural areas this point has relevance to a number of initiatives. One of the more noticeable ones – the land claim process. Certain communities are in a catch 22 situation. They are being asked by government to negotiate around the future use of land that they have not been granted yet. Their argument being that they do not want to enter negotiations around land use until their land claim is granted and they have better bargaining power. Yet land claim are often settled much faster if there is agreement beforehand on how the land will be used. (A good example is the Mbangweni Community in Northern KwaZulu-Natal where the community not entering into agreements on future land use prior to its handover has resulted in a land claim settlement being delayed for four years). (This information was obtained from an interview with a community member while visiting the area).

During the PRA workshop in Clanwilliam it was explained to workers that there was a set budget for wages and increasing wages could mean less people employed. The response by one worker was "they can employ everyone in the community at R 1 per day and how will that help us?" (notes from the SALDRU workshop in Clanwilliam, March 1998).

Wage setting was often done at local level by project managers and committees according to Public Works guidelines and budget limitations and required in some instances trade offs between number of workers employed and wage levels. Without the community understanding and accepting this process there can be both increased conflict during projects and perceptions that budgets are flexible and wages can be increased.

6.4.12 Selection of Workers
This was one of the most difficult tasks of the project committee given the high rate of unemployment, particularly in areas such as Khayalitsha where there is a high population and much conflict over who gets jobs.

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84% of workers in the CASE/ILO survey said they were selected by the project committee. To the question "How were you selected?" 34% of workers responded that they were targeted as poor or unemployed; 21% responded that it was on the basis of skills; 14% that it was according to a draw. Other responses included; from community, interviews, on merit, first come first served, swopped around to give everyone work (7%) random selection, and targeted women and youth (2%).

To the question "why did some people not get jobs? 67% of workers and non-workers said there weren't enough jobs. Other responses included: "some people didn't want them to get jobs" and "they did not know the people running the project" as well as "they did not live close enough to the site".

Most workers (82%) were happy with the way the workers were chosen, but only 55% of non-workers were satisfied with the process of worker selection.

To the question: "Was there equal opportunity for youth" – 57% of non-workers and 78% of workers said yes and 21% of non-workers and 18% of workers said no. There was a very similar response to the question of whether there were equal opportunities for women.

70% of workers indicated that project committee members were also employed as workers on their projects

The committee took responsibility for worker selection. In some projects there was further participation by CBOs and street committees. Some of the responses to the questions on worker selection indicate that it was difficult for committee members to have this responsibility as they were open to accusations of nepotism, favouritism and of employing themselves.

The participation of women as workers on projects was limited in terms of the type of work that they had (see section on workers 6.3.2 table 11(f) on Jobs women do on the project) (indicating that they were not placed in positions of authority); and also by the need for childcare for workers. Only 3% of workers indicated that child care was provided by projects.

53% of workers and non-workers felt that there could have been more labour used on the project.

Working conditions were far from optimum. 82% of workers said that there weren't any safety measures, 21% said that accidents had happened on site (machinery, tools, falling materials), 88% that there was no first aid available on site, there was no medical aid or insurance, no maternity benefits and no sick leave.

Photograph 7: Targeting of Workers – PRA exercise, Clanwilliam (see Box 5)

6.4.13. Purchasing of Materials

With regard to participation in this aspect, it seemed that communities were excluded as they were for technical input. Opportunities for community participation were limited by a lack of information sharing on options in this regard. Technical aspects and materials

were never discussed in community workshops. Valuable opportunities for additional second round effects or local economic empowerment were lost through this omission. For example: a high percentage of the budget in building projects goes towards materials and often communities are not aware of this. The use of locally available materials or materials that could be produced locally could be argued for by community members if they were aware of the technical options. Using bricks instead of tar, for example, to build a road, can also create opportunities for sub-contractors. These opportunities were provided in some cases but it was because of the awareness of project managers and engineering consultants rather than because the communities were given opportunity to maximise the benefits to them through participation.

6.4.14 Supervision of Workers

This was done mainly by project committees and by project managers. It was identified by the SALDRU study as one of the areas where the committee was most active. Supervision and hiring of workers can be in conflict with the committee's function of "representing" communities and workers.

6.4.15 Training

Training was a large benefit of participation as a worker or a committee member and is one of the main ways in which people were empowered. Unfortunately this dissertation does not have the space to go into training and how it empowered people. This is covered fairly thoroughly in the SALDRU report (1999), especially with regard to the future opportunities of people who were trained on the projects.

Most training was technical (bricklaying, plumbing etc).

With respect to participation 52% of workers said they had had no say in the type of training they received. 35% of workers said the committee had picked people for training.

Most training occurred in the early stages of projects and lasted between one and three weeks.

The second round effects of training (i.e. future prospects for workers) are particularly important. In the CASE survey, 24% of workers who were trained said they had had the opportunity to use these skills elsewhere. 74% had not.

6.4.16 Conflict Resolution

21% of workers said that there had been labour disputes on their projects. 46% of these workers said that these were not resolved.

The following table sums up the responses of workers to the question: "who was involved in conflict resolution?"

Table 11(m): Involvement in conflict resolution

STAKEHOLDER	PERCENTAGE INVOLVED IN DISPUTE RESOLUTION
Project Manager	18
Project Officer	4
Contractor	5
Workers	5
Project Committee	56
Trade unions	1
Professional mediator	1

Clearly conflict resolution was largely the responsibility of the project committee.

52 percent of committee members said that there were no clear procedures to follow when disputes arose.

6.4.17 Financial management:

With regard to community participation in financial management, the project committee participated in most projects. This varied enormously between projects from 'just signing cheques" to real decision- making (i.e. making decisions such as choosing consultants, selecting suppliers, defining terms of employment, etc)

Responsibilities named by committee members in the CASE/ILO survey included: spending money (50%), keeping funds to maintain projects, bookkeeping, signing cheques, paying workers, paying for transport to meetings; paying workers and keeping records (26%), and none (5%). None of the responses included: decision-making. The highest responses were for spending money and for keeping records and signing cheques. Some personal interaction with committee members during the SALDRU study also revealed some frustration at "committee members just being there to sign cheques and not much else".

Something which came through strongly in both studies was that there seemed to be a fairly low level of knowledge about issues such as "who is paying for this project". In the survey, when asked whether national government pays for the project, only 16% of committee members said yes. 63% said that the CBPWP paid for the project but there seemed to be a lack of awareness that this was a national government initiative. There was even less of a basic understanding of where the money was coming from among workers and non-workers.

To questions around whether the project would remain in budget; total costs to date, total costs ongoing, the amount of the total cost going to wages, there was a high (60%) "I don't know response". This lack of knowledge of this type of information indicated that committees were not given very much responsibility when it came to financial management.

Monitoring of spending of money was mostly done (according to 44% of committee members) by the project facilitator or (18%) the project manager or in 15% of cases by no-one.

68% of committee members felt that they should control the day-to-day finances of the project.

With regard to involvement of the general community, a quarter of committee members said that the broad community were involved. When asked how? The response was 44% "at community meetings"; 31% "they were kept informed" and 18% "consultation and negotiation with the community".

Responses to the worker and non-worker survey were different. Only 6% of workers and non-workers indicated that they were involved in financial decision making. 77% said they were not involved in project financial matters.

Workers were asked whether there had been problems with the way money is managed. 33% responded that there had been problems. The main reason cited for this was "corruption", followed by "workers do not have enough control".

Problems experienced by workers included: they were not paid on time (28%); they didn't get pay slips (81%); they did not get paid the correct amount (22%); and 1% said they had to pay an application fee to work on the project.

Transparency in financial management is very important. The increasing of budgets, going over budget, how money is being spent can lead to distrust in a community. This "makes if difficult to work with them the next time around" (SALDRU report, 1998, p 106). "Communities are aware that a large sum of money has been given for their benefit and they want to know how it is being used. Large sums of money can breed distrust in resource poor communities, and people often have an assumption that someone is benefiting unduly. A simple financial report given at intervals can help communities to feel more involved and confident" (SALDRU. 1998 p 105).

6.4.18 Completion of project and hand over ceremony.

Community members and workers from a road building project in Thembalethu (part of George in the Western Cape) were interviewed in the SALDRU study. The road had been completed one year prior to the interviews and had not been maintained since

completion. This had resulted in severe erosion dongas forming on either side of the road. One of the reasons sited for poor maintenance of the road was lack of clarity over who's responsibility this was. The main reason for this lack of clarity was a perception by community members that, as there had been no "hand-over ceremony" to date. Because of this community members felt that the road was still the responsibility of the government until it was officially handed to them. Hand-over ceremonies are traditional in community building projects in South Africa and communities expect them. Ideally the community needs to feel ownership of the project from the start and not need this type of ceremony, nevertheless, lack of consultation on whether there should be one or not can lead to confusion over ownership and responsibility which can have costly effects

6.4.19 Monitoring and evaluation

This was the weakest aspect of the CBPWP. The CASE/ILO evaluation argued that this was largely because there was no dedicated team with skills to implement a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation programme and they strongly motivated for one to be included in further CBPWP phases. Records were kept mostly by the project manager, the consultants and the project committee on things such as number of work days and wages paid but sometimes these records were not available and it remains impossible to tell exactly how many jobs were created.

Ideally, Monitoring and Evaluation should be done in a participatory manner, including communities and workers on an ongoing basis from before commencement until after completion and even on a long-term programme which includes second round effects.

The PRA workshops that were held with communities as part of the SALDRU project were valuable to the Department of Public Works as they provided feedback on the performance of projects. However, they had another value and that was to the participants themselves. It was interesting to listen to participants debating issues and listening to other points of view. A lot of understanding about projects was built as part of the evaluation exercise and having that understanding at an earlier stage (or during the project rather than after completion)

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would have been far more beneficial to participants and helped to iron out certain problems owing to lack of information and communication.

What is monitored is also important. "Changing incentives are important in bringing about institutional change. In the past incentives have been based in achieving technical and economic efficiency standards - to these must be added new performance criteria linked to the achievement of RDP objectives (jobs created per rand, use of emerging contractors, training given and community participation processes)." (SALDRU report p 78). If these could be measured in a participatory manner throughout projects then there would be better communication, better understanding, possibly less conflict, more feedback to the CBPWP and more community input into the design and management of future projects.

6.4.20 On-going maintenance

A big question in the evaluation of the CBPWP was, "Who's responsibility is maintenance of completed infrastructure". There were numerous examples of projects where maintenance was obviously inadequate or lacking completely. One example is Thembalethu where erosion was actually causing severe damage to the community and placing members (who had to cross an enormous donga on makeshift plank bridges to get to the road). Other examples included: a school in KwaZulu-Natal near Stanger (one of the CASE/ILO case studies) where toilets had been built but footpath erosion from a bank above the project was starting to bury them with sand. The problem in this regard was lack of clarity on who was responsible for maintenance. The CBPWP makes broad statements about the community having increased ownership of infrastructure and therefore increased pride and participation in maintaining it, however, this aspect seemed to be seriously neglected in the project process.

In the CASE/ILO workers survey, when asked, "do you know how the project will be maintained?" 80% of workers and non-workers said "NO". 57% of workers and non-workers said that there was a plan to maintain the project, but hardly any of them knew the contents of that "plan". When asked "are you involved in the maintenance of the

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project 50% indicated that they were, however, they were not sure of their responsibilities in this regard.

Responses by workers and non-workers to the question "Who is involved in maintenance of the completed project? Are listed in the following table.

Table 11(n): Responsibility for project maintenance

STAKEHOLDER	PERCENTAGE RESPONSE (WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS)
Community leaders	12
Project committee	16
Community facilitator	2
Workers	2
Technical consultants	1
The community	34
Whites	1
Farm/land owners	2
Older people	1
The chief	2
Contractor	1
Project officer	1
Project manager	1
Local govt	7
CBPWP	3
Don't know	35

In the above table, 34% of respondents said that the community was responsible, but only 2% said workers were responsible and 16 % said the committee was responsible. There was a general sense that the community was responsible but no sureness of who in the community would do what.

6.4.20 General feelings about projects:

80% of workers and non-workers in communities said that the project was suitable for community needs. 90% said that it was suitably situated and 85% said the Department of Public Works was the right organisation to implement projects.

When asked: Has anything changed in your communities as a result of this project?" responses from workers and non-workers were as follows: 34% - better living

conditions; 30% - no change; 14% - improved community services and 3% - better government involvement in community development; 7% - more empowered community; 8% - more employment opportunities and 1% - decreasing crime.

When asked "What would you do differently on another project, workers and non-workers responded as follows: 4% said - more democratic administration or less nepotism, more accountability; 20% - create more jobs; 20% - provide more community facilities; 14% - provide better pay; and 14% - provide more training

Responses to the yes/no questions outlined in the following table by workers and non-workers were as follows:

Table 11(o): Perceptions of Projects

Statement (The project......)	Percentage "Yes" response
Brought more income to household	51
Brought more income to community	73
Increased employment chances in household	56
Increased employment chances in community	81
Provides a useful service to my household	67
Provides a useful service to my community	78
Made no difference	16
Intensified divisions in community	78
People with new skills will move away to get jobs	61

71% of workers said they were financially better off than before working on the project.

There was general feeling amongst community members that projects were a good thing and that communities benefited from them in the short and the long term.

6.4.21 General comment on the overall contribution of participation to project performance

The SALDRU study asked the question (SALDRU Report, p112) "does community participation lead to enhanced project performance?" To answer this they did regression models looking at the level of CBO participation and controlling for other factors such as

type of project. They showed that there was not a significant difference in project performance by level of community involvement.

When they looked for examples using both the variables of "CBO participation" and "type of asset built", they concluded that projects that had more community involvement were more likely to:

- be in rural locations;
- reject task based over daily wages;
- have a similar level of SMME use;
- have a lower cost per day of employment generated;
- have more labour disputes;
- have a similar labour intensity;
- allocate more funds to training;
- have a similar percentage of women employed;
- have actual number of days of employment less than projected; and
- have actual project costs greater than projected.

The differences varied greatly between projects and these differences are based on averages. There is enormous difficulty in making the above observations as: community participation in this regression analysis was based solely on institutional arrangements and level of CBO involvement, and did not take onto account other aspects of participation. They should be read as a generalisation rather than a fact.

6.5   Summary of chapter

The above sections 6.3 and 6.4 have painted a picture of the stakeholders and the different stages of a typical CBPWP project, incorporating quantitative data from the CASE/ILO worker and non-worker survey as well as qualitative data collected during SALDRU and CASE/ILO fieldwork. This section provides a tabulated summary (Table 12) of community and project committee participation in each stage of a CBPWP project. The first column lists the project/programme stages; the second – the primary role-

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players in each; the third – whether the community and the project committee participated and the fourth – the level or type of participation that occurred. The fourth column is linked to Paul's Continuum of participation described in Chapter 3 (Table 6) which describes increasing empowerment with increasing levels of participation from information sharing (lowest empowerment value) through consultation, decision-making and to initiating action (highest empowerment value)

Table 12: Summary of Community Participation in Project Stages of the CBPWP.

STAGE OF PROJECT	PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITIES	COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION	LEVEL/TYPE OF PARTICIPATION (by community)
Design of program	National and Provincial Public Works Departments	Workers, non-workers, committee members only participate in evaluations which inform the next round of projects.	Information sharing only Feedback from evaluation exercises provided to National Government by researchers
Advertising of program	Provincial Public Works, local government and councilors, regional councils, media		
Call for proposals	Public Works facilitator committee	Community members or members of local CBOs are encouraged to submit ideas	Information sharing Initiating action (some capacity building i.e assistance provided to committee by public works in preparing for projects)
Identification of projects	Community Local government	Community active in decision making - final choice is at public works (sometimes in consultation with local government	Information sharing consultation and decision making
Selection of project committee	Community	Community active in elections	
Project Application	Project Committee	Community represented by project committee	Information sharing Consultation Decision making (to varying degrees Empowerment (varied) – depends on what level of responsibility

			committee gets and is trained for
Selection of project manager and technical consultants	Project Committee in consultation with Public Works (usually according to approved list) or in some cases no participation of committee, consultants chosen by pubic works	Committee participates to varying degrees – scope for more involvement	Varying degrees of consultation and decision making, from none to shared decision making power by committee
Project design (technical)	Technical Consultants in consultation with project committee	A very low level of community and even committee participation	Insufficient information sharing. Very little consultation
Wage setting	Project Committee, Project Manager, public works	Committee has limited power as wages are set provincially according to average minimum wage.	Insufficient information sharing with community on rationale for wage setting
Selection of workers	Project committee Project Manager	Primarily responsibility of committee according to targets. Can conflict with their responsibility of representing community interests and can expose them to accusations of favouritism	Not sufficient participation of community (although in some cases CBOs played a role e.g. street committees). Insufficient information sharing on targeting
Choice of and purchasing of materials	Project Manager and Project committee	Insufficient community participation. Purchasing – sometimes committee had decision-making power but too often they were there just to sign cheques.	Low level of information sharing. Low consultation. Almost no sharing of decision –making with communities
Supervision of workers	Project Manager and project committee	Primarily responsibility of committee. Can conflict with their responsibility of representing community interests.	Decision making by committee
Training	Project Manager and	As for worker	Insufficient

		selection – selection of workers for training primarily responsibility of committee – can cause conflict	participation by workers in what training they received. Process of consultation left to committee.
Financial management	Project Manager and Committee	Varying level of participation by committees – from signing cheques to making decisions Varied level of transparency	Varied participation of committees. Insufficient report back to community. (causes dissatisfaction)
Project management	Project Manager and Project Committee		
Hand over	Project Manager, Committee, Dept Public Works		
Monitoring and Evaluation	Committee keeps records, public works keeps records Evaluation largely by outside agencies e.g. CASE		
Ongoing maintenance	Community	Community expected to take main responsibility for maintenance	

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

> **Box 6: Participation in the US War on Poverty**
>
> The American War on Poverty, an extensive public works programme in the US in the 1960s) stipulated that individual initiatives should be conceived, planned and implemented with the maximum feasible participation of the programmes' inner-city target groups. In practice, however, those who were sufficiently aware and articulate to find their way onto local level committees had their own political agendas – often some way removed from the pressing concerns of the inarticulate poor. The one-time head of the office of Economic Opportunity, DP Moynihan, resigned in disillusion. He wrote a book describing his experience entitled "Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding", where he concluded that "neither participation nor empowerment are social goods that can be delivered in the way that health and education can".
>
> The above is quoted in the CASE/ILO report as an illustration of the difficulty of including public participation in development initiatives and of how, against this background the "*CBPWP has done well – perhaps better than might have been expected of a programme both financed and implemented by a government with absolutely no prior experience*". (Relf in the CASE/ILO report, 1997)

7.1 Purpose of Chapter 7:

Chapter 6 has provided a picture of the community level stakeholders in public works programmes and looked at the stages of a typical project and the nature of participation in each. This answered the first two of the corollary question identified in the introduction (section 1.5). That is "Who are the local level participants?" and "What are the opportunities for their participation in programmes and projects?". Chapter 3 "Participation" raised a number of important aspects of participation including: that participation can be top-down and prescriptive and needs to be considered in the context of its relationship with the internal development process; how inequality affects the process; how successful participation depends so much on the adequate provision of information, access to resources and understanding of local level dynamics; how participation can be both a means (to improve project performance) and an end (to empower communities to participate in their own development); how beneficial participation is to both better project performance and community development; that participation is not without costs and needs to be considered in terms of cost

effectiveness; and that participation varies from purely information sharing, through consultation, decision-making and the initiation of action.

These issues are now considered in the context of information from the case study and used to answer the rest of the questions outlined in Chapter 1 (section 1,5) as follows:

- How do people participate at local level?
- What are the incentives for participation?
- Are participants provided with sufficient information and resources to participate effectively?
- What are the costs and benefits of participation and to whom?
- Who is responsible for ensuring that community participation happens and are those responsible for carrying out responsibilities in this regard capacitated and resourced to do so?
- How can participation be measured?
- How does participation in the CBPWP measure up to international theory of participation?

The Chapter ends with a summary list of important aspects to be considered in designing, implementing and monitoring community participation in public works projects and lessons learned with respect to them.

7.2   How do people participate at local level?

Firstly, although this chapter is relatively critical and highlights problems in the participation process and lessons learned from evaluating community participation in the CBPWP, there are significant positive things to be said in this regard. One of the most positive findings is the high degree of community participation in the selection of project type. Although only half of the project committee members, workers and community members interviewed in the CASE/ILO study got the project type that they wanted (this was understandable in the light of community heterogeneity and compared to international experience shows a high level of satisfaction), over 75% indicated that the project originated in the community itself. This is, indeed, "a very healthy perception that projects were community driven as opposed to top-down interventions" (Section 6.4.4 of this report). In addition, a participatory development model did not exist in South Africa during apartheid, when the majority of its people did not have a vote. It is a concept with barely six years experience in South Africa to learn from and, quoting from Box 6, at the

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beginning of this chapter – The *"CBPWP has done well – perhaps better than might have been expected of a programme both financed and implemented by a government with absolutely no prior experience"*. (Relf in the CASE/ILO report, 1997). It has required a fundamanetal and complete transformation of the way development agencies work and in their approach to infrastructure and service delivery.

To consider the results chapter, we can see that the main areas of participation by beneficiary communities are in: the decision that a project should start; the selection of a particular type of project; and the selection of a project committee. Beyond this, the broad participation of a community seems to occur only by proxy through the elected project committee or by their participation as workers (selected by the project committee). The project committee then has the responsibility of ensuring ongoing community participation and keeping the community informed of progress. The question with regard to this is whether this is adequate. Could projects potentially have more benefits if there was more general community participation in issues such as worker selection and technical aspects of projects and, if so, would this be worth the additional cost involved?

As for project committees, they seem to participate, on behalf of the community in a whole range of project activities from project application through to the completion of a project. The question here is not so much: are they given the opportunity to participate in all stages of a project but more around the quality of their participation, whether it is purely a token exercise (i.e. a way of developers gaining acceptance in the community by having the project "managed" by a committee but not giving the committee sufficient powers to make important project decisions) or whether committees are able to make a more meaningful contribution.

In dealing with the broad community, examples can be found where more participation would have been beneficial to the project; and certainly the communities could have benefited from more information provision, more clarification of responsibilities and of the participation process and their rights in this regard.

Decisions around "how people participate at local level" is, in itself, an area in which there is insufficient participation. Clarity of responsibilities was clearly not a strong point in the CBPWP programme at project level and the process of deciding who should participate in what aspects of projects was determined in a top-down manner (by local government or the implementing agent). "Development professionals" (technical consultants, project managers, and public works officials, for example"), retained decision-making power in certain aspects, such as the technical design of projects and choice of materials, and agreed amongst themselves that communities and, even in some cases, project committees would not be interested in complicated technical decisions of this nature.

The issue of rights and power differences in the participation process was not sufficiently addressed. That is, if people in a community participated, there was no guarantee that the concerns they raised in this participation process would be considered or taken seriously. Examples of this include:

- the fact that a number of communities (4 out of 18 in the SALDRU study) did not get the infrastructure they themselves identified as the highest priority project but the project type was changed without the reasons for this being made clear; and
- The fact that people felt that issues they had raised (such as the problem of soil erosion due to inadequate drainage in the Thembalethu road project) were continually ignored.

The clarifying of roles and responsibilities was not always properly done and agreed to by all involved as evident in the issue of maintenance of completed infrastructure. Everyone assumed that the community would participate in this aspect but most people were unsure of what this meant in terms of responsibilities. On a large number of projects maintenance of infrastructure was inadequate and in some cases this posed a danger to community members (e.g. erosion dongas in Thembalethu). The project would have benefited substantially, from a financial perspective, from more participation and agreement on the nature of this participation , and a clear delineation of responsibilities

Decisions about the extent of participation were externally made (by local or provincial government or the implementing agent) and responsibilities for implementing the process were delegated to community members. That is, the project committee was charged with a lot of responsibility for an ongoing participatory process and not adequately resourced to do so. This will be discussed further under section 7. 6.

Insufficient attention was paid to the identification of stakeholders. The meeting to select the highest priority project was usually an open meeting attended by community members in general. There is little evidence, in any of the projects evaluated under the CASE or SALDRU studies, to suggest that effort went into identifying particular groups in the community and ensuring firstly that they attended the workshop, and secondly, that they had the opportunity to voice their opinions. This is evident by the dominance of school principals and school committees in determining project priorities and being strong champions of projects. (This is not to say that school projects were not the highest priority in all of these cases). The danger of this is that it exacerbates existing power inequities within specific communities, and marginalised groups such as women, the aged etc. are further marginalised.

In summary, the community participated largely as a single entity (referring to shortcomings in the identification and targeting of stakeholders in the participation process); had their participation limited by having the process of participation determined externally (i.e. the aspects in which they could or could not participate); were not always sure of their roles and responsibilities in this regard; did not always have their rights acknowledged in the process and were sometimes not provided with adequate resources or information to participate effectively.

7.3 What are the incentives for participation?

These are presented in the following Table 13, showing the incentives for participation for different levels of stakeholders. It deals mainly with local level, core participants but includes some external players in brief. The purpose of this table is to summarise the motivation at programme level for both participating in, and including a participation

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component, and the motivation at community level for getting involved. This is related to the issue of the recognition of rights and risks. Acknowledging these incentives for participation and the different interests of various role-players can bring potential conflicts into the open to be dealt with and can provide substantial information on local level dynamics.

Table 13: Incentives for participation

Stakeholders	Incentives for participation
Community members	Poverty-stricken and unemployed people will participate: because of the potential rewards of work and wages AND/OR because of the possibility of securing a project which will have a positive impact on their lives AND/OR because of the possibility of enhancing their status in the community if elected as a committee member AND/OR because of the possibility of obtaining training or capacity building which will enhance their future job prospects AND/OR because the project poses some risk to them AND/OR because of the possibility of increased ownership of and access to community assets OR simply because of boredom.
Community Based Organisations	The possibility exists for them to secure much needed infrastructure. The possibility of their status being enhanced in the community. The possibility of securing involvement in further projects through the development of a relationship with government or other development agents and through experience and training.
Local Government	Obtaining of funds and support to implement urgent community projects. For councilors aligned with national government (ANC Councilors), projects are a boost for their support. For opposed councilors this can be a risk (see costs section 7.5)
Consultants	To get contracts and income. To gain experience of working with communities. There are also costs to consultants- discussed in 7.5 to do with penalties for extending time

	deadlines and in non-payment or delayed payment.
Provincial Government	To meet aims and objectives of government policy To win votes. Increased acceptance at local level.
National Government	To win votes. To meet aims and objectives of government policy. Increased acceptance at local level.

7.4. Are participants provided with sufficient information and resources to participate effectively?

With regard to the provision of information, what stood out strongly in both the CASE/ILO and the SALDRU evaluations was the lack of knowledge at local level of project details at both community and committee level. For example, responses to questions of: what the budget size was; whether projects had remained within budget; total costs to date; the amount of the total cost going towards wages; and whether the project would remain within budget, indicated that there was at least a 60% response by committee members in the CASE/ILO survey of "I don't know". Although 63% of committee members said that the project was paid for by the CBPWP, only 16% of them were aware that this was a National Government Programme. In the SALDRU PRA exercises it was apparent that there was a basic lack of understanding at worker level of such aspects as why wages were set lower than local market wages, etc. This lack of knowledge at community level points to both a lack of transparency and inadequate training of the community committee.

Conflict was experienced in projects (initiated in some cases by people who had not received jobs) because of a lack of information and understanding of the rationale for certain decisions on issues such as targeting of workers. This was particularly evident during the SALDRU PRA workshops where during the targeting exercise (illustrated in Box 5) people both: indicated that this was the first time they understood the elements of a worker selection process; and, for the first time, began to discuss this issue and start to understand other people's perceptions of who should be targeted. It may not have been appropriate, or cost effective, for them to participate in the actual final selection of

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workers (although in some projects worker selection was done by means of a draw and this was perceived to be fair) but they could have participated in the setting of targets.

The participation of community members was also restricted, in some cases, by lack of information leading to choices e.g. options for technical design and the possible use of alternative materials or standards which could be produced locally and boost SMME development. (for example: the use of local materials (e.g. clay bricks) presents a opportunity for small business development within that area. If community members were unaware of this technical option they lost potential opportunities).

With regard to resources necessary for participation, the issue of power is important. This is tied to the recognition of rights. Respondents, for instance said that issues they had raised in the participation process had been ignored. Workers also went on strike for higher wages after they had agreed to wages initially, and protested about working conditions (for example the quality of ablution facilities available to workers) that they were not empowered to protest initially. It is important to both acknowledge differences in power among groups (desperately poor unemployed people might agree to worse conditions than people who have, for instance, been working for three months) and to clarify channels of dealing with concerns raised, early on in a participatory process. The World Commission on Dams process (World Commission on Dams 1, 2000) , has been very progressive in this regard in recognizing the rights of local communities to, effectively, veto developments as they have to demonstrate their acceptance of the project before it can be approved (referred to in Chapter 3). Communities are, in this way, assured that their concerns will be addressed.

Other restrictions on community participation included:
- that the provision of information and ability to discuss and understand issues was limited substantially by **time** constraints. For instance, there was generally only a one- (or half-) day workshop to determine priority projects and provide upfront information about the CBPWP. This workshop was often the first time that some community members had heard of the programme and this limited their equal

participation. This time constraint is a very real concern as it has strong financial implications. A way to reduce costs is to discuss the process at the beginning of the project, make the budget limitations clear, and agree on which aspects are most important in their ongoing participation. Ways of reducing costs are further discussed in section 7. 5;

- **Assumptions**, for example, of "development professionals" that communities would not be interested in technical details. This is an area where people were not lacking in information but did not have the opportunity to share it. Assumptions made in the CBPWP included: that the community would participate in ongoing maintenance; that the committee would report back to the community; that the committee would deal with certain responsibilities adequately (e.g. not practice nepotism in the selection of workers or trainees); and that project managers would understand the dynamics of participation.

- **Financial restrictions** (discussed in 7.5)

7.5   What are the costs and benefits of participation and to whom?

"Some suggest that within the RDP there will be a trade off between participation and delivery. That is, extensive consultation and community involvement will take longer than solutions effected by government or the private sector with the help of experts ....however, this argument is flawed if we accept that only integrated development is sustainable. That is, only development which simultaneously addresses basic needs, job creation, economic growth, environmental protection and human resource development will lead to viable communities able to move beyond state subsidy ....Integration is only possible where local people are able to analyse and prioritise their needs, control their development and manage local resources. Thus 'people driven' is a pre-requisite for "integrated" which is a pre-requisite for "sustainable". (Connie September, "Capacity Building in the RDP, Not just an afterthought", 1997).

Whether integrated or people driven development is generically essential for sustainability is an ongoing discussion. It has, however, been severely lacking in South Africa and it is particularly important to increase the extent of it in the interests of transformation, and to improve sustainability in certain spheres. This research does not prescribe that participation is important no matter what the costs, the expressed opinion being that participation and efficient project delivery are not necessarily in conflict and that it is important to focus on

how participation can improve project efficiency, while remaining aware of cost limitations and focussing on maximum output for minimum necessary input.

The question: "What are the costs and benefits of participation, and to whom?" is answered by means of a table (Table 14) which shows costs and benefits to different stakeholders which need to be taken into consideration. Participation can be a very costly exercise and this must be taken into account when determining a strategy. It is very important in this regard to not get tied up in the process of participation but to focus on the result, that is, to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the project and to build capacity and empower communities. Following this table is a discussion of ways of minimizing costs and maximizing outputs of participation in development projects.

Table 14: Costs of participation

Participants	Costs of participation	Benefits of participation
Community members	Time Travel Frustration Time away from home (home labour – particularly for women with child care and housekeeping responsibilities) The stress of having to voice opinion publicly when it is not something you are accustomed to doing (again, particularly refers to women in respect of traditional practices and taboos against women participating in public debate. Also refers to people previously denied a "voice" by apartheid.) Has the potential to exacerbate conflict in a community and exacerbate feelings of alienation	Increased ownership of infrastructure. Infrastructure more suited to the actual needs of the people. Capacity Building. Empowerment. Increased responsibility (can be cost and benefit). Possible enhanced status in the community. Better relationships with government. (See 7.3, Table 13 - incentives for participation.) Can enhance community cohesion if done effectively, and encourage a sense of belonging as the community works towards common goals
Contractors/developers /consultants	Time Change in approach and thinking RDP projects to provide infrastructure to previously disadvantaged communities Community based projects are not	(See Table 13) To get contracts and income. To gain experience of working with communities.

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	very lucrative to contractors or consultants and in order for them to maximise profit it is in their interests to ensure delivery of infrastructure as soon as possible. This seems to be opposite to the ethos of participation which needs to be done thoroughly and is time consuming. Labour intensive construction methods used in the CBPWP are also typically slower than those used in mechanically intensive construction. Time delays pose risks to contractors in terms of penalties for late delivery. Pressure on consultants and local government and the project manager to complete the project on time is often in opposition to a community desire to not rush the project as "a longer project means more employment days" (SALDRU report p 110)	Participation is becoming an industry in itself with more and more consultants specializing in it.
Facilitators/ Community Liaison Officers (within government departments)	Transformation of historical patterns of service and infrastructure delivery. Increased time spent in communities in less than comfortable conditions – often involving overtime work	Meeting departmental objectives. Capacity building and improving efficiency and understanding of community needs
Government departments	As for facilitators above + Difficult to plan for outcomes. More difficult to budget. Challenge of cost effectiveness (Perceived conflicting targets of cost effectiveness and participation). Change.	As in Table 13) To meet aims and objectives of government policy To win votes. Increased acceptance at local level. (benefits to local government also applicable here)
Committee members	High time and labour costs Particularly when committee members are not paid – time away from home and own microbusinesses. Need to learn and build capacity. Need to take responsibility for processes, sometimes not adequately resourced, and be exposed to criticism (or suggestions of e.g., favouritism, nepotism) In the CBPWP – sometimes	(As for community members above)

	conflicting responsibilities.	
Local Government	Empowerment of local people Empowerment of local institutions Change in ways of working Local or provincial government can feel threatened, particularly in provinces or local authorities not aligned with National Government Politics (i.e. Western Cape and KZN) by programmes perceived as being ANC programmes providing jobs and winning votes for the opposition. This can also be a problem for minority councilors. "Community participation brings local politics into projects which can increase conflict" (SALDRU report p 108) – this can lead to vandalism, stay aways, opposition to people not joining stayaways. The Khayalitsha and Thembalethu case studies both ran overbudget partly owing to community conflict.	(See Table 13) Additional benefits include: Better, more cost effective maintenance of infrastructure (reduced demand on local government and reduced possibility of vandalism with increased ownership at community level) Reduction in "Welfare spending" (in the long term) through empowered communities contributing resources, knowledge and time. Improved use of local infrastructure. Second round effects (economic and social spin-offs of empowerment) (also applicable to government departments)

As listed above, the costs of participation are much broader than financial costs. They include: time costs, money, change, challenges, discomfort, increased responsibility and exposure to criticism. Benefits are similarly multiple, linked to social and economic empowerment, status, ownership, capacity and information sharing.

Possible ways to reduce costs and maximize benefits:

These include:

- Reaching agreement upfront on the process of participation, the responsibility of stakeholders in this regard and the priority areas for their participation. In the following section, 6.5, the lack of a dedicated budget for participation is discussed. Time constraints on projects are often increased by delays in e.g. the transfer of funds. Before the funds come through, there is essentially some "dead time" in many cases and this could be used for more information-sharing, consultation and the reaching of agreement on process. This could be facilitated if, for instance, there was a dedicated budget at provincial level for "participation"

and this could be accessed separately from the main project funds and at an earlier stage.

- Maximising the use of local/indigenous knowledge in project design and technical aspects could possible save money spent on consultants.

- The CASE/ILO research showed that conflict on projects can be extremely costly in terms of work stoppages, stay-aways and time lost in trying to resolve it. Much of the cause of conflict in the CBPWP was lack of understanding and information-sharing especially around the process for decision-making. An example of this was an assumption that project budgets were flexible. Some provinces made allowance for a "contingency budget" which was aimed at addressing technical problems such as material shortages owing to difficult conditions of weather-caused problems. Workers understood that projects, for instance in Sederville had a budget range of e.g. R 500 000 to R 520 000 and did not understand that this flexibility was not available for wage increases.

- Clarification of responsibilities can also save considerable time in reducing duplication, conflict, the need for consultation and uncertainty.

- If everyone is informed of e.g. budget details and participates in planning and in monitoring and evaluation of costs and benefits, the costs of participation may be reduced.

- Linking to, or adding, to already existing participatory processes in communities can build better relationships, save on duplication and reduce costs in terms of time, effort and money. (see Box 1)

- Remaining focussed on outcomes and benefits of participation (maximising second round effects and economic and social empowerment and project performance) instead of the process.

The problem with all of these is they are difficult to measure (How does one measure, for instance, reduced conflict?). This is exacerbated by the experience that the benefits are often less tangible than the costs which are measured mostly in financial terms.

This section ends with two quotes from the SALDRU fieldwork in 1998.

> *"If you don't have community participation you run a large risk of having your project blocked. To get a project done on time you must get acceptance of the project by community leadership, provide assurance that labour will come from the community, but also agreement that some can come from outside. You may spend a bit more up front in getting this participation, but if you don't you may end up with the project stopped or having to bring people from outside which costs more* (SALDRU report p 109 – interview with a technical consultant).

<p style="text-align:center">and</p>

> *"People may be prepared to forego participation in some aspects if delivery is faster and saves money - but participation has values but also costs- requiring a constant balancing of priorities, itself conducted through a participatory process."* (SALDRU report p 94)

Clearly it is not cost effective to include community participation in every aspect of a project. The costs of including participation have to be weighed against the potential benefits of this and against the potential threats of not including participation.

7.6   Who is responsible for ensuring that community participation happens and are those responsible for carrying out responsibilities in this regard capacitated and resourced to do so?

Responsibilities for community participation processes are shared by: the Provincial Department of Public Works (which has the obligation of ensuring targets of the program are met); the Community Liaison Officer (CLO) or facilitator of the implementing department or NGO (who has the responsibility of liaison between the agency and the community); the project manager (who is responsible for ensuring efficient project management and delivery) and the Community Project Committee. This section is most concerned with the responsibility for participation at community level.

In some cases, the responsibilities at provincial level, CLO level and project manager level with respect to an ongoing participatory process (after the project type is selected)

extends only to delegating this to the project committee, and then, without monitoring this, assumes that it is happening.

With regard to whether the committee was capacitated and resourced to carry out this responsibility, in terms of resources:

- Information was sometimes lacking (e.g. the committee did not have adequate guidelines or procedures);
- Financial Resources were often lacking. There was no dedicated budget for participation and more than half of committee members were not paid to be on the committee; and
- Facilities were lacking in some cases where committee members reported insufficient access to telephones, fax machines, office space and transport.

Further threats to the ability of committees to effectively conduct ongoing community participation included:

- Problems in clarifying responsibilities and decision-making power;
- Numerous responsibilities which sometimes conflicted with each other. For example, worker selection, trainee selection, selection of sub-contractors, dispute resolution could all potentially be in conflict with the responsibilities of ensuring a fair and equitable consultation process and representing community and worker interests; and
- Capacity constraints at committee level coupled with uncertainty around standards (e.g. of reporting). This was evident from the fact that a far higher percentage of committee members than workers and non-workers expressed satisfaction with the process of reporting back to communities. In addition, nearly all committee members said that they kept adequate records yet record keeping in respect to even the number of work days created, let alone decision-making processes, was poor.
- This "record keeping" also relates to accountability and transparency as well as to the need for adequate information-sharing. It is important that community members can

establish how and why certain decisions were made (especially around budgets) in order to reduce suspicion.

7.7 How should participation be measured?

For future development to be fully participative, it requires some demonstration/analysis of the worth of this participation. This is a daunting task.

Important components of a monitoring and evaluation strategy include: that it should be a participatory process in itself with input from at lease the core stakeholders; that it should take place at all levels; that it should begin before the project starts and continue after the project is complete (if it is to measure the long term benefits of participation).

Once off evaluations like this one, and the research conducted by CASE/ILO and SALDRU have an important place in that they build a good overall, and independent broad, multi-project picture of public works programmes, but they generally happen after projects are completed and do not get to witness and measure an ongoing process.

The CASE/ILO research found a lack of capacity for monitoring and evaluation at all levels and recommended that a dedicated team of monitoring and evaluation specialists be incorporated into the CBPWP programme.

Important elements in a monitoring and evaluation strategy are listed in 7.8.

7.8 How does participation in the CBPWP measure up to international theory?

The main principles of participation, as described by the International Association for Public Participation (http://www.pin.org) are:
1) The public should have meaningful and continuous voice in decisions that affect their lives and their participation must influence or have an impact on those decisions;
2) The public must speak for itself;

3) The public participation process must seek out and facilitate the involvement of those potentially affected;

4) Public participation must address the process needs of all participants; and

5) The public participation process must provide participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way.

Section 3.5 also identified the important elements in public participation processes (varying with the aim of a particular participation exercise) as: identification of stakeholders; information dissemination and sharing; consultation; communication; facilitation; listening; documenting; learning; shared decision making; monitoring and evaluation; the recognition of conflict and acknowledgement of the rights and risks of stakeholders.

All of the above issues, have been revealed in the research as important areas where problems are experienced in the CBPWP. These are listed in Table 15, overleaf in the form of a summary of the lessons learned in this critical analysis of the nature and extent of community participation in public works programmes in South Africa. This table serves as a checklist of important aspects to be considered in monitoring and evaluation of public participation in public works projects.

Table 15: Lessons Learned

Issues to take cognisance of in designing, implementing and monitoring the community participation aspects of development.
Acknowledge the incentives for participation of different stakeholders
Identify stakeholders as part of a process which includes the recognition of rights and risks and the identification of specific groups e.g. women. Linked to this is: • Take cogniscance of local politics and whether participation in various aspects will increase conflict or improve relationships in communities • Be aware of local dynamics such as race, gender, power differentials, education levels, different approaches to decision making, alignment with political and other organisations and credibility of CBOs • Be aware of limitations to participation for certain groups e.g. women with childcare and home responsibilities, transport problems etc.
Try to obtain agreement on the process of participation amongst stakeholders and on the process to address concerns raised in this process
Don't make assumptions about which stages people want to participate in or their interests
Clarify responsibilities
Recognise power relationships i.e. recognise power constraints in the negotiation process (e.g. unemployed poor people desperate for work will have low bargaining power) and make sure particular groups such as women, youth, the very poor have adequate opportunity to voice their concerns. Be aware of traditional processes with respect to women and if necessary facilitate their participation separately from the men's.
Ensure that adequate information is provided and that sharing of information occurs. Often the argument is between bottom-up and top-down approaches to development, adequate sharing of information can lead to more horizontal and informed participatory community development.
Have respect for local/indigenous knowledge and create opportunities for its use. This can save on costs in the long term, particularly if potential climatic, environmental and social problems are identified early in the process
Be clear about aims of "shared decision-making" and agree with all stakeholders on the extent to which this will occur. Delegation of responsibilities around, for instance, finance, must be accompanied by ensuring capacity, or building it at the relevant level as well as clarifying expected performance standards.
Keep records of decision-making and make sure the rationale and process for decision-making is clear. This assists greatly in the building of trust and reduction of conflict.
Provide opportunity for the sharing of opinions as well as information. This is valuable in increasing the understanding of processes and the rationale for policy and decision-making. (Strongly evident in SALDRU PRA exercises)
Bring conflict out into the open so it can be addressed and managed. If conflicting responsibilities cannot be avoided, make sure they are addressed. E.g. If a committee selects workers, ensure that checks are put in place to prevent nepotism and favoritism.

Be aware of areas where more participation could be beneficial to the project and where they would have additional benefits such as the promotion of local SMMEs
Dedicate resources to participation
Keep focussed on the outcomes of participation and not on "participation for participation's sake" (Don't get tied up in the process)
Establish how the participation process for a particular project links to already operating internal and external development processes
Include a long term ongoing participatory monitoring strategy which is arrived at in a participative manner and which addresses the above concerns

7.9   Summary of chapter

This chapter analysed the results from Chapter 6 against the theory of participation in Chapter 3 and the key research questions outlined in section 1.5 of the Introduction. It listed the important elements of community participation processes. It summed up problems with regard to community participation in the CBPWP, including: that participatory processes were: determined externally; uncertainty of roles and responsibilities, lack of dedicated resources, capacity and information constraints; unclear definition of rights and processes to address concerns raised in the participation process; conflict; power relationships and lack of ongoing monitoring and evaluation. It provided a summary of the incentives for participation and stressed the value of recognising these incentives, and a cost-benefit analysis of participation.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it provided a summary of the key lessons learned with regard to participation issues which must be taken into consideration when designing, implementing and managing the community participation aspects of development projects. It is these that, if implemented, will go some distance towards mitigating participation failures and maximising project benefits.

CHAPTER 8:   CONCLUSION

> *"Politics, conflicts of interest, struggles over resources and drawn out processes of consultation, consensus, and even new consensus post-conflict is part of the landscape of community based development. If community empowerment remains an objective, then all role-players must take the realization of this objective seriously through allocating the necessary training, time and patience to see the process through."* (Adato, M. In SALDRU Report, 1998)

The aim of this research was to conduct a critical analysis of the process of community participation in public works programmes in South Africa and to highlight important issues that should be included in the design, implementation and monitoring of participatory development processes. The first phase (1994 to 1997) of the Community Based Public Works Programme (CBPWP) was used as a case study to do this.

This dissertation contains the information from this research. The methodology used in this research and in the collection of the base data used in it was written up in Chapter 2. A literature review was conducted on both Public Works Programmes and on Participation. Chapter 3 of this report contains a summary of current thinking on participation, and Chapter 4 provides the reader with background information on public works projects. Chapter 5 described the case study for this research, the CBPWP: its nature, scale, aims and objectives and its context in post-apartheid South Africa. It also summarized the projects that were conducted for CASE/ILO and SALDRU and which provided baseline data for this research. Chapter 6 presented the research results in the format of profiles of community level stakeholders and a step-by-step outline of the stages of a CBPWP and how these stakeholders interacted with it.

Chapter 7 is an analysis of the lessons contained in Chapter 6, related to the theoretical background of participation and public works in Chapters 3 and 4 and the list of key and corollary research questions in Section 1.5.

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With regard to whether this project reached its objectives please refer to the evaluation overleaf which outlines its successes and constraints as well alternative approaches that could have been used and recommendations for further research.

Important points from this research include the following:

- Public works programmes are multi-purpose and range from strategic, long-term economic interventions to emergency relief programmes. They are instruments through which public spending can be directed towards the poor and range from community-based, labour-intensive infrastructure building programmes to programmes to address natural resource management goals. In post-apartheid context of South Africa in the 1990s they are intrinsically tied to transformation and reconstruction and incorporate objectives of the empowerment of communities in the development process and the transformation of development institutions and top-down development processes. Many of these programmes in South Africa, including the CBPWP, recognise community participation in particular as an essential component of meeting their objectives.

- Successful community participation depends on the adequate provision of information, access to resources and understanding of local level dynamics. Participation can be a both a **means** (to improve project performance) and an **end** (to empower communities to participate in their own development); It is not without costs; and the nature and type of community participation varies from purely information sharing, through consultation, decision-making and the initiation of action.

Key findings of this research include:

- That significant areas of concern about the community participation process in the CBPWP included: external determination of participatory processes and the stages of projects where communities are given the opportunity to participate; uncertainty of roles and responsibilities, lack of dedicated resources, capacity and information constraints; unclear definition of rights and processes to address concerns raised in

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the participation process; conflict; power relationships and lack of ongoing monitoring and evaluation.

- That community participation has significant costs and that there needs to be some assessment of these costs, and maximisation of benefits based on agreement by all stakeholders on the most important elements, awareness of budgetary constraints at all levels and a focus on objectives of community participation.

- That development processes have stated goals of empowerment, capacity building and participation, and yet (i) they do not dedicate resources (sufficient information, time and money) to the participatory process; (ii) ensure that community committees have the capacity to carry out responsibilities in this regard and (iii) measure the attainment of these goals (at least not in a participatory fashion, but only by once –off external evaluations like this one).

- That a participatory process should include the informed selection of stakeholders (with regard to community dynamics, different levels of power; alignment with organizations, different education levels, traditional practices relating to gender, weak bargaining power of certain groups, etc) and especially to recognize their rights and risks of these stakeholders in this process. For participation to be meaningful it has to be accompanied by rights and the recognition of these. If community stakeholders raise issues in participation processes, this is meaningless unless there is a defined process to acknowledge and deal with these concerns.

For more key findings of this research, please refer to the sections 7.2; 7.4; 7.5 and 7.7. For recommendations on improving the cost effectiveness of participation processes please see section 7.5. For recommendations on what should be included in the design, implementation and monitoring of participation, please refer to table 15.

For possible ways to implement these research findings please refer to the Table on page 133.

EVALUATION:

This section provides a visual representation (in the form of a table) of positive and negative aspects of this dissertation; possible alternative ways approaches that, in hindsight, might have been more effective; and recommendation for further research into community participation in development programmes.

Positive Aspects	Negative Aspects
▪ With the approach used, it was possible to consider a broad range of data across a wide spectrum of CBPWP projects and thus develop a generic view of the concerns and problems of community participation. This data has a very broad and general application. ▪ The combining of baseline data collected from two different projects(one more quantitative and the other qualitative) enabled a broader, more objective view of the subject	▪ The fact that there was so much baseline data available in raw form made its interrogation very difficult. It required a strict focussing on research questions and it was easy to get sidetracked. ▪ The assumption is made (see 1.5) that community participation in public works projects actually leads to both empowerment and equitable and sustainable development. The dissertation recommends that, in a monitoring and evaluation, exercise it is important to link the measurement of participation with the achieving of its goals. It, in a sense, does not do this itself, but focusses on the process without understanding the outcomes and objectives of participation sufficiently. ▪ The research does not contain very detailed information relating to women and youth and their participation in the CBPWP
Alternative Approaches	**Recommended Further Research**
▪ It might have been more revealing to look at data from only one or two local projects and examine the specific relationships, activities and results of community participation instead of incorporating data across a spectrum of over 100 projects. The application for this, however, would be narrower as it would reflect very local results. ▪ It might have been useful to examine only one group at community level, e.g. women or "the project committee" and their participation (it would not have been possible to use the questionnaire data in this approach)	▪ Research on the extent to which community participation contributes to empowerment, and what are the other elements that contribute to this. ▪ Research on women's participation in public works programmes, to consider their role and potential in the development process and limitations on their participation ▪ Research into local level politics and how this effects the community participation process. ▪ Research into sources of conflict in labour intensive community based programmes and how these can be managed

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

This section provides suggestions for possible ways of implementing this research. The actions are listed, the target group and the objective of this action.

ACTION	PURPOSE
To write a paper summarising this research and have it published in a publication such as the "Land and Rural Digest"	**Target group:** The "Land and Rural digest", for example, has a circulation of over 5000 subscribers from government, private sector, academia and the NGO sector. **Aim:** to influence thinking amongst policy makers.
To compile a pamphlet or short manual on issues to be considered when designing, implementing and monitoring community participation in environment and development projects	**Target group:** People working with communites e.g. community facilitators, and project committee members in ongoing public works projects. NGOs and Government Departments, (National, Provincial and Local) who are implementing public works programmes – specifically: Dept. Water Affairs and Forestry (and the Working for Water Program); The Dept.of Agriculture (and the Land Care Program) The Dept. of Public Works (CBPWP, Clean and Green program, Community Employment Program) **Aim:** To raise awareness about the potential problems in community participation exercises.
To publish this paper on the International Association for Public Participation Website (http://www.pin.org)	**Target group:** People interested in community participation internationally. **Aim:** To share information, particularly from a Third World Perspective

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Personal Communication

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Annex 1:   Condensed extract from the CASE/ILO Project Committee interviews: Questions relating to participation of the community and the project committee in CBPWP projects.

CBPWP - In depth interview with Project Committee.

General questions:
Please tell me how old you are?
What is the highest education you have completed?
How many people are on the project committee?
How many of these are men/ women, youth?
Please describe how members were appointed?
Were any special measures taken to ensure that women / youth were represented on the project committee?
What were they?

Before the project began:
What was the main problem in your community before the project started and what is it now?
How did you first hear about the CBPWP?

Project Development:
Who had the idea for this project?
In your opinion, why was the project chosen?
Who played the leading roles?
Is local government involved?
How?
Are unions involved?
Please describe the structure of your project committee. Title, function

Who is responsible for the following jobs: Contact CBPWP; Negotiating contracts
Selecting workers; project administration; financial administration
Payment of workers?

Did the committee complete the following forms: project application form/ Project Submission form?
How long did it take for these forms to be processed by government?
Do you know what criteria were used for the approval of your project?
What criteria were these?

How often are project committee meetings held?
In your opinion what are the two main responsibilities of the project committee?
How effective is your communication with the following role players: trainers, project planner, provincial coordinator?

Project officer, facilitator, project manager, technical consultant?
Why do you say this (for each)

In your opinion, how well do the various role players do their jobs?
Project committee
Trainers
Project planner
Provincial coordinator
Project officer
Project manager
Technical consultant
Facilitator
Why do you say this (for each)
What do you think could be done to improve the way these role-players
Work (for each)?

Responsibility of the project committee

How often does the committee meet?
Who calls the meetings and why?
How often do you work for the committee? (days and hours)
Do you get paid to be on the committee?
Is this a good thing or not?
Does the CBPWP provide adequate facilities for the project committee?
Which facilities should be provided by the CBPWP and why?
What are the main responsibilities of the project committee?
Does the committee have procedures laid out by the PWD to help you do your job
Does the committee keep records of its activities?
In your opinion, how well does the committee function?
How does the committee account to the community?
Can members of the committee be changed and how?
In your opinion what could be done to help the project committee to do their jobs better?

Finance:
Who pays for this project?
What kinds of financial responsibilities does the committee have?
Is or has their been any external help with financial management?
How well does the committee manage financial matters?
How much involvement does the community have in financial management of the project
What is the total cost of the project?
How much is accounted for by workers wages?
Does anyone monitor or check how the project money is spent?
In future project who should be in control of day to day financial matters?

On the job:
What jobs did women tend to do
Who selected workers to work on the project
How were workers selected?
What is the total number of workers to date on this project?
Are any kinds of workers specifically targeted?
For those workers who did not get jobs, what were the reasons?
What criteria were used to describe rates of pay/ wage levels?
Who decides on what basis workers should be paid?
Do workers sign an employment contract before they start work on the project?
Are you employed on this project as a worker as well as a committee member?
What kinds of skills do people in this community need to be able to get jobs elsewhere?
What kinds of training have committee members received?
If trained, did you pay for training?
If trained, was the training adequate?
How long did the training last in total?
If not trained, do you think you need any training, if so , what type?
What are the main things you have learned from being on the committee?
Have you used any new skills, learned on the project, anywhere else apart from this project?
Do you have a say in deciding on whether workers should be trained?
How do you choose which workers should be trained
What kinds of training do project workers need?
Do you know anyone who has got employment as a result of skills learned during the project?

Technical:
Is technical advice provided?
Who provides the technical advice?
Who selects the technical advisors?
What role do the technical advisors play?
Is the design of the project suitable for the needs of the community?
Is material produced on sit for the project?
If no, could local materials be used?
Is the building/project in the best location?
Is the project being built on communal land?
If the project is not being built on communal land , how was this land obtained and from whom?
Please rate the overall technical quality of the project?
Is the job being done according to the original technical plan?
Why was the technical plan not stuck to?
Was the alternative plan approved by a technical expert?
Is there a plan for the development of your whole community
What kind of impact will the project have in the community when it is completed?
Has anything changed in the communities life as a result of this project?

Maintenance and Sustainability?
Is there a plan to maintain the completed project?
Are you involved in the maintenance of this project?
Who will maintain the project, now that it is finished?
Is the community in general interested in maintaining and keeping the project going?
Do they see it as part of their responsibility?

What key lessons about involving communities in these public works have you learned from your involvement in the project so far?
If you were in charge of a new project in your community, what would you do differently?
Is the role of local government important in any way?
If so, how is it important?

Overall impressions:

	Strongly agree	agree	Don't know	disagree	Strongly disagree
Labour intensive methods lead to poor quality work					
When the project is finished the community will own it					
The project will really change people's lives for the better					
The national govt doesn't care what happens to this project					
The community has no real control over the project					
The CBPWP was expensive and should be stopped					
The project will make no difference to people's lives					

How would you rate the overall value of the project to the community?
What recommendations do you have for future projects?

ANNEX 2:   EXTRACT OF THE MINUTES OF THE CBPWP EVALUATION WORKSHOP — CLANWILLIAM STORMWATER PROJECT B MORRISON — 14 MARCH 1998

PURPOSE OF THE WORKSHOP

The purpose of the evaluation workshop was to assess the experience of workers, committee members and beneficiary communities with respect to a stormwater drain project that was built under the Community Based Public Works Programme in Clanwilliam in the Western Cape. It assessed their general perceptions of the project; their expectations of the project and whether they were met, the training they received; safety aspects, skills acquired; and targeting of workers.

BACKGROUND TO CLANWILLIAM CASE STUDY

Exercise 1:   Introductions

Participants were requested to pair up and each person had to introduce his/her partner and say why they were present at the workshop.

Responses included:
He is working at the nearby Rooibos Tea factory and came to see what was happening
He came to learn in order to take the lessons back to the community.
He came to learn from the researchers experience.
He worked hard on the project and was interested to learn what would come out of the workshop.
He came to discuss the problems that occurred on the project and to see if a solution could be found for them at the workshop.
He has previously been interested in such projects and came today to learn more.
She came to listen to problems and he was a worker on the project.
He has a few things to raise about the project.
He came to see what is happening here today

EXERCISE 2:   EXPECTATIONS

During this exercise people were asked to write what their expectations of the project had been on cards. These cards

were then grouped according to their similarity into the
following headings:
Training
Income
Skills
Capacity Building
Benefits to the community

Participants were asked to vote on whether these
expectations were met by placing smily faces or sad faces
in pouches under each heading, The number of negative and
positive responses were counted and a discussion was held
around each of the topics.

Training:
Comments included:

- It was the first time that I worked on such a project
  and received such training, I was taught how to build
  a manhole.
- I am very happy with the training, the training was
  not that good, but it enabled us to lay pipes which we
  could not previously do.
- Some workers did not receive any training. There was
  racial discrimination, in that the black workers on
  the project never received any training.
- This was because the training was only offered later
  on in the project when these workers had already left
  the project.

- According to the black workers only the coloured
  workers were chosen to receive training.

- Training was not given at the beginning of the project
  but closer to the end.

- Many of the brothers were complaining that they were
  busy doing work for which they were not trained. The
  training only came later on in the project- and they
  were very disappointed about this.

- The foreman on the project did not like me much and
  for this I am not satisfied.

- We worked very hard on the project, with rocks and things and this one worker was very lazy...

Income

Many workers voiced strong dissatisfaction with the wages paid on the project. Comments included:

- Workers were fired months before the end of the project without reason.

- This specific worker had not received a formal notice but rather a note was included in his pay packet that his services were no longer needed.

- Money was subtracted from the wages and workers never received blue cards

- This is a very big problem with the wages- there were men working on the project with wife and children, it is a project that helps a bit but if you had seen the working conditions one would have at least expected a bit more money than this.

- After the other workers were fired we were only 8 men and we had to do double the amount of work, we had to move between digging trenches, helping with the building of manholes, making of slabs- but still we were receiving that same amount of money and for this I am highly dissatisfied.

- And also, and I speak under correction, money came in (R16,000 or R20,000)and still our wage did not increase....

- People's fences were removed to dig the trenches, so afterward they replaced our wire fences but they put up concrete fencing for the white residents.

Working Conditions:

Comments included:

- There was a lot of repetion of work because children played in trenches and let sand fall back into

trenches. Sand had to be removed again which was a
waste of money. This was because of technical lapses
and lack of community cooperation.

- The engineer was acting like a foreman coming onto the
site and telling us what to do.

- The was an accident on the site where a child fell
into a hole filled with mud because there was no
safety fence around the hole and only afterward they
did this and up till now they have not given the child
anything.

- The was eight men left on the project and we wanted a
statement of expenses, so the engineer brought us
this, and on it was things purchased from the chemist,
but no-one on the project used anything from the
chemist.

- The project started with 20 men and eventually there
were only eight.

- There was a lot of us on the project then there was
almost a week of conflict on the project. After this
many workers were fired.

- The engineer came on-site in the morning showed the
levels and left, he did not care whether the pipes had
to be laid over the big rocks.

- The engineer earned maybe R6,000 a month and took
money that had to go to the workers.

- Monies were subtracted from workers wages which would
have been paid back to them at the end of the project,
but because these workers were fired before the end,
they did not receive this money.

- I feel that people from government have to come here
themselves and see what is happening here at
Clanwilliam, it is one thing laying the water pipes
but the ground conditions with the mud makes it
difficult, they can then set the wage.

Skills

Most people expressed satisfaction with this aspect:
Amoung the comments were:

- I feel happy because we did not how to do the building
  work, pipe laying, setting levels, etc but with the
  training we now know how to do this and we also now
  have the certificate.

- We were happy with the skills, but we already had
  these skills- referring to some workers - we actually
  wanted these workers to have received a medal.

- When the people from Boskop came and asked us to cast
  a slab of concrete they were well pleased with our
  work- the training was only to formalise the skills
  (bricklaying) that we already had and to add to the
  skills we already had.

Infrastructure:

- This aspect was about whether the project improved the
  conditions in the community as well as the personal
  circumstances of community members. Comments included:

- Before they project they sent in a team to investigate
  the problem. People had been complaining that their
  children were ill because of polluted water and
  mosquitoe. It was felt that by laying the pipes these
  problems would be alleviated.

- The project was a benefit for the community but we
  have a very fussy community. People looked at how the
  workers on the project were working saying "he is not
  working so why is he getting money" . Also, with the
  dynamite people were complaining of about cracks in
  their homes and wanted money from the project. Wire
  fencing that was already laying on the ground - people
  wanted it replaced after the project- photos were
  taken by the engineer of what was to be taken down.

- These are some of the disadvantages, but we benefited
  from the project, and we worked well on the project.

**Participants were asked whether the community was better of
than before.**

Discussion on the project as a whole included the following comments:

At the beginning it looked impossible for us to lay the pipes because of the water but at the end we made a success of it and up till today no-one has complained about it.

The shooting of the rocks was a big problem, because the person who did the shooting was not doing a proper job and he took a lot of money from the project- if he blasted here today, he had to blast there again the following day as well.

We worked well on the project but there were a few faults. They told us they would get toilets and water for us, the workers, but we had to get water from other people as well as using other peoples toilets. I had to go home if I needed a toilet because I did not like to use other people's toilets.

The weather was hot but no water was brought up for us to drink.

There was also a political thing. (this referred to tension between the ANC and the mainly NP local government).

We were not paid for rainy days, and if it was raining there was no shelter for us.

I once got so wet that I was ill for a whole weekend and after this I came to work in this sickly condition.

When certain workers came late or went home monies were deducted from their wage but the foreman could walk around all day and still get booked for a full day's work.

Exercise 3: Profile of Clanwilliam

The participants constructed a timeline of other government funded project sin Clamwillaim, from 1988 to 1998. A discussion was held about the extent of community involvement in terms of jobs and choice of infrastructure

Where is this - look in SALDRU report

EXERCISE 4: **Targeting:**

The participants were asked to identify groups in the community who should be targeted for employment on public works projects, draw a picture representing this group. Concentric circles were drawn on the floor and participants had to place their pictures in these circles - the most important target groups being placed in the center, and those considered less important being placed in the outer rings. Participants then needed to motivate to the group why those particular groups should get work preferentially to other groups. Pictures were then moved according to group consensus. Initially al lgroups were placed in the center.

Priority grouos identified included:
Elderly Men
The group agreed that elderly women should be excluded as a target group
Married people with dependants
People who have been unemployed for a long time (6/7 years)
(there was some debate about the difference between umemployed people who want to work and those who don't)
Young single men
Single fathers
Young men with children (married or unmarried, maintenance commitments were discussed)
Single Mothers
Families with a low income
There was a clear distinction made between "widows with children" and single mothers" both were listed but consensus seemed to be that widows deserved jobs more.

Thos exercise produced very heated debate as to which groups should obtain priority.

Arguments included:

Some felt that work should be given primarily to married men because they had families to support. Others felt that young single men needed all the opportunities they could get in order to build lives and families. Some felt that giving the opportunity to a young man would keep him off the streets and away from crime. Single fathers were also brought out as a strongly deserving group.

A strong argument was put forward against the targeting of women. It was felt that one should rather let the men work and give the money to the women. "The man has to move his butt it is his responsibility."

It was felt that the long term unemployed would have to be taught how to work and that this was a lot of investment.

There was a strong case that when it comes to choosing between whether the man or the woman should do the job then the nature of the work should be considered. The difficult nature of digging in ground as hard as that of Clanwilliam was stressed.

A woman present said that it seemed as if the men were being placed before the women and that the women would not benefit from such projects, especially the single women who cannot depend on a man. She asked how this could be dealt with.

It was stressed that "You do get women who build houses and who can work just as hard as men".

(Researchers Comment: This was a very interesting exercise and its value was not so much in the results but in the fact that one could see that people were really beginning to understand other points of view besides their own.)

RESULTS:

There was no clear concensus reached but the following is how the circle looked after the exercise.

Inner Circle (highest priority)
Married people with dependants
Families with low income
Families unemployed

Second Circle: (next in order of priority)
Unemployed people that want to work
Unemployed generally

Third Circle: (lowest priority)
Single men
Single men with dependants
Single women with dependants

Longterm unemployed

After this exercise, the question was asked — "So why were nearly all the jobs on this project given to single young men". The response was that the type of thought that had just occurred had not gone into the initial project planning.

EXERCISE 5: Snakes & Ladders

This exercise was conducted in the form of a variation of the game of snakes and ladders in order to make it more interesting. The participants were divided into two groups and each time they landed on a snake or ladder they had to identify and discuss a problem experienced on the project. If their response was satisfactory to the other team they were allowed to progress up a ladder, if it was not they had to go down a snake.

Problems discussed included:

Breaking of machinery resulting in long waiting, waste of time, no production, but wages having to be paid. This led to people in the community making comments that we were not working but were getting paid when it was not our fault. The community were getting a bad impression of the project and the workers on the project.

How was the above problem solved?
Loss of time due to machine breaking was unavoidable-
The hire of the machine was thousands of Rands per hour.

Management of the project: People who did not work for the whole day or week were given full pay.

How did you deal with this problem?
The management problem was beyond our capabilities-
When there was a complaint one person went down to the office and after that we never heard anything.

Type of work: Workers on the project were assigned to do certain jobs like bricklaying or pipelaying but at times workers were taken from their work to do other kinds of work on the project.

There was other work to do at the time when the machine was broken,

But it was a different type of work of work that could be done.

If the management of the project was better then management could have worked better with us and could have provided us with better guidance.

Safety:

There was no red band to keep children off site- this was due to negligence.

A machine operator was working irresponsibly with heavy machinery around workers and endangering their lives- machine operator often drunk.

No provision was made for helmets and safety boots only water boots were provided. We were informed at the beginning that we would not receive safety boots but only water boots, no mention was made of the need for helmets and things.

Other problems listed included:

If we wanted to raise our problems were told that we could then stay at home.

When we wanted to strike we were told that this was a RDP job creation project and that we could not strike.

When workers wanted to raise their problems they were intimidated and threatened that we would be fired.

We did not have any say in who was in the management of the project, rather when we came onto the project we found them already in place.

No facilities on the job like toilets and cold water.

Money was deducted from our salaries, no UIF.

Workers understood that because this was a community based project the Industrial council could not play a role, but monies were deducted towards the council. They were treated as ordinary workers and not as participants of a community based project.

The management committee on the project became the boss on the project. In other words the project committee took over the dirty work.

Other monies were also unfairly deducted but when we spoke about this it came to an end.

The project managers were saying that the computer was not working properly.

The council would not have used their own workers to do this kind of work.

There must be a financial statement - I still want to see how the money was spent

Money management- things were purchased over and over-there was a lot of wasting of funds.

Tools- a spade was purchased for each worker and after the project these and other tools that were purchased for the project were kept with the municipality. Some workers felt that these tools could have been given to the workers on the project and that the municipality had no right to these tools.

I believe there was any problem with the women on the project- maybe only the problems that they had with the men on the project.

GENERAL: Questions and Answers:

What was your actual role in the project, were you just workers or could you have a say in the management of the project.

All that we had to do was to work and nothing else and if you talked too much you received a note in your payslip saying that you were fired.

About the Steering/Project Committee?

The steering committee was selected before the workers.
The workers had representation on the steering committee.

(Sounded as if workers were very unhappy about this-however could not clearly pick up the conversation.)

About the wage - task/daily wage?

We were paid a daily wage

The foreman was not equipped for that role, he had to see that everyone did their work.

Task work is the best, because then a person gets paid for the amount of work that the person had done but then the foreman has to do his job properly in supervising the workforce.

Better to work daily, even if the people on the job are not doing the same amount of work, but if the person had worked every day he should get full pay at the end of the week.

The worker must be paid for the amount of work that he has done because otherwise if two people are working together the one that is doing the least work will be a parasite on the other worker.

Bricklayer: There were occasions on this project when we were not doing any work but we were getting paid for that time- we should only be paid for the time that we are working. Those times when I had to sit and wait for work were frustrating.

Some workers were happy with the sitting and waiting for work

What if one considers the type of work?

With this type of work task work was not possible because of soil conditions and the blasting that had to be done.

And also the person who did the blasting did not come every day, so task work would not have worked on this particular project.

In principle it was agreed that the task-based pay system was best but that this depended heavily on the nature of the work and whether it allowed for a task based structure. It was also agreed that it was really important for workers and employers to agree on the size of tasks, but that this did not always happen.