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A Quiet Revolution in Social Policy?
A Case Study of a Community Work Programme (CWP) in rural South Africa ¹

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¹ This paper is drawn from a forthcoming edited volume on India, Brazil and South Africa, Building New Spaces: Responses to Insecurity in the Global South, edited by Khayaat Fakier and Ellen Ehmke (2014)
Abstract

This paper draws on a unique comparative study of the responses of the people and governments of India, Brazil and South Africa to the socio-economic challenges they face in the age of neoliberal globalisation. Through an in-depth case study of a public employment scheme in rural South Africa, we examine the argument that a “quiet revolution” in social policy is taking place in the global South. Does the rapid up-scaling of programmes and policies that combine income transfers with basic services, employment guarantees or asset building, mark a subtle shifting away from neo-liberal policies? Do these innovations amount to an alternative development path? We argue that although this public employment scheme, the Community Work Programme, provides a modest alleviation of the conditions of the poor, it does not enable the poor to escape poverty. Social assistance cannot be a substitute for decent employment and macro-economic policies that stimulate demand and raise wage levels.

A Quiet Revolution in Social Policy?
A Case Study of a Community Work Programme (CWP) in rural South Africa

Armando Barrientos and David Hulme (2009) suggest that a ‘quiet revolution’ is taking place in social policy in the Global South. They argue,

Social protection is now better grounded in development theory, and especially in an understanding of the factors preventing access to economic opportunity and leading to persistent poverty and vulnerability. The initially dominant conceptualization of social protection as social risk management is being extended by approaches grounded in basic human need and capabilities (2009: 439).

In practice, this has involved the “rapid up-scaling of programmes and policies that combine income transfers with basic services, employment guarantees or asset building” (Barrientos and Hulme 2009: 451). Many of these programmes and policies have been dismissed by the left as neo-liberal (Barchiesi, 2011; Satgar, 2012) and tokenistic (Bond, forthcoming). The question raised by our research is whether, as Ferguson (2009: 173) provocatively puts it,

Can we on the left do what the right has, in recent decades, done so successfully, that is, to develop new modes and mechanisms of government? And (perhaps more provocatively) are the neoliberal ‘arts of government’ that have transformed the way that states work in so many places around the world inherently and necessarily conservative, or can they be put to different uses? To ask such questions requires us to be willing at least to imagine the possibility of a truly progressive politics that would also draw on governmental mechanisms that we have become used to terming ‘neoliberal’.

The growing institutionalization of social assistance as a right through intense political struggle is the story in India, Brazil and South Africa. James Ferguson (2009: 167) suggests that
this, “redefines groups in poverty as citizens (social citizens). A deepening of democracy follows”. The Bolsa Familia programme in Brazil is thought to be the biggest social transfer scheme in the world, and presently covers some 46 million people at a cost of about 0.4 per cent of GDP (Cichon, Behrendt and Wodsak, 2011: 15). The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) in India entitles every rural household to one hundred days of work per year. The budget for this imaginative guarantee of employment in 2006–7 was 0.33 per cent of GDP (Chakraborty, 2007). The Community Work Programme (CWP) in South Africa provides two days a week of public employment, in a scheme similar to the MGNREGS in India.

These emerging welfare regimes are different from the European welfare state that was constructed around the equal contribution of three pillars: permanent full-time employment, a strong professional public service and the nuclear family. Instead, the emerging welfare regimes of the South, what Ian Gough (2004) calls informal security regimes, rely on informal work as well as a variety of livelihood strategies such as street trading, the extended family, and the villages and communities within which they are embedded. However, these schemes merely temporarily alleviate the conditions of the poor; they do not enable the poor to escape poverty. Unlike the social assistance schemes in South Africa and India, the focus of Bolsa Familia is not on providing jobs for the unemployed poor. Instead this scheme and its predecessors focus on a combination of income grant and means to enhance ‘human capital’ development. This means-tested cash benefit is attached to certain conditions, mainly school attendance and health checks for children.

Social Policy in South Africa

There have been a number of changes introduced in South African social policy since the transition from apartheid to democracy. The most recent is the Community Work Programme (CWP) which is an extension of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and its intent is to straddle the divide between social and economic policy. The emphasis is on providing regular access to a minimum level of work, on a predictable basis, as an employment ‘safety net’. The focus on regular work is intended to provide participants with a predictable earnings ‘floor’, because a sustained increase in incomes is more likely to contribute to a sustainable improvement in nutrition, health and school attendance (Philip, 2010).

1. The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)

Alongside the expansion of social assistance, the South African government has come to realise that a developmental and employment absorbing economic growth strategy is required. It adopted the Expanded Public Works Programme in 2004 as a programme for “poverty and income relief through temporary work for the unemployed to carry socially useful activities” (Philip, 2004: 6).
EPWP was implemented in four sectors; Infrastructure, Environment, Social and Economic, drawing the unemployed into productive work and simultaneously providing work experience and training for the entrants. All government infrastructural projects are required to adopt labour intensive techniques. Opportunities are created in public environmental improvement programmes and in public social programmes such as home based care workers and early childhood development workers. The economic sector of the EPWP involves government’s active support for small-scale income generating projects and programmes.

However, ten years after its implementation, the EPWP has been criticised for not delivering on its aims. The work opportunities created by the EPWP amounted only to 1% of the total workforce by 2007. The majority of the participants are not absorbed into the mainstream economy as they lack necessary skills and training (HSRC, 2007). The prospect of saving the low wage which they get is dampened by the fact “that wage earners in poor households support about six people on average” (HSRC, 2007:15). The intent of the EPWP was to increase labour-intensity of existing government investments in social, physical and economic infrastructure. But Philip (2010: 8) argues, “it doesn’t constitute a crisis response and it cannot go to the scale implied by a guarantee except at relatively high cost: because most of the employment creation effects are tied to outputs that are not intrinsically labour-intensive… This is particularly the case for infrastructure, which is the backbone of EPWP, and where it’s main ‘numbers’ come from currently”.

In recognition of these challenges to the EPWP, the Community Work Programme (CWP) as an employment guarantee scheme was initiated by the Second Economy Strategy Project, an initiative of the Presidency located in the Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS); a policy research non-governmental organisation.

2. The Community Work Programme (CWP) in South Africa: At the Interface of Social and Economic Policy

In 2007, a CWP pilot programme to test the approach was implemented under of a partnership between the Presidency and the Department of Social Development (DoSD), who constituted a steering committee and provided oversight. As a result of initial performance during the pilot phase, the CWP was accepted in 2008 as a new element within the second phase of the EPWP, and provisionally located within its new non-state sector.

The CWP is structured as follows:
- Provides access to a minimum level of regular work: 2 days a week (100 days a year) at a wage rate of R67.00 per day.
- It is area-based and intended to be on-going, which allows it to target the poorest areas, where market-based jobs are unlikely to come any time soon.
- It uses community participation to identify ‘useful work’ and priorities
- Work is decided in Ward Committees or local development forums. It is multi-sectoral and contributes to public/community goods and services.
- Start-up scale: 1000 participants per site.
- The budgets for each CWP site are spent at a ratio of 65:35 on wages to non-wage costs.

A Case study of the Socio-Economic Impact of the CWP in Keiskammahoek

Keiskammahoek is a rural site in the Eastern Cape, one of the poorest provinces in South Africa. This community is a sending site on a migratory route to more developed areas in the country. Job losses in urban centres and economic policies centred on strengthening urban economies, has meant less migration from these areas and a simultaneous collapse of the rural economy. Unemployment is at 78% in this community.

1. A Basic Profile of CWP Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: General profile</th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>64.5% (71) Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>46.4% (51N) 36-50 year olds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>72.7% (80N) grade R-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment history</td>
<td>67.3% (74N) no regular/fulltime job before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73.6% (81N) Unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWP Sector</td>
<td>19.1 % (21N) Environment and agricultural programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 represents a typical CWP participant: the majority are women with little education and work in the environmental and agricultural sector, e.g. cleaning community areas and food gardens. In Keiskammahoek, the majority (46%) are between 36 and 50 years old. The age and gender cohort of the participants suggests that the social category which experiences the highest unemployment in South Africa, the male unemployed youth remains a challenge for CWP. South Africa’s youth unemployment is much higher than in most developing countries (ILO, 2010). In South Africa, 72% of long-term unemployed people are between 15-34 years. They also form 71% of South Africa’s discouraged work-seekers (Durieux, 2010).

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2 The survey was undertaken by Jacklyn Cock, Khayaat Fakier, Kay Jaffer, Mansoor Jaffer, Anthea Metcalfe, Edward Webster and Thembeka Zonke. For an outline of the methodology see Webster, et al (2011).
Youth unemployment is a matter of concern on a number of levels. The literature notes effects such as an increase in depression rates, crime, anti-social behaviour and transactional sex (Durieux, 2010). Other negative consequences are the loss of productive resources, and eventual wholesale deterioration of human capital (Kingdon and Knight, 2000). One of the attempts to deal with this national problem was the EPWP, and 40% of EPWP workers came from this target group, while in Keiskammahoek 36.4% of CWP participants were younger than 36 years. As Table 1 shows, nearly 63% in Keiskammahoek never had full-time work before.

While economists usually focus on the economic impact, economic multipliers, of job creation, there are also social multipliers associated with job creation (Forstater, 2009). We have therefore separated the impact that the CWP has on the lives of participants into economic and social effects. As the discussion below illustrates, these effects cannot be disentangled easily in terms of the benefits of this programme.

**Economic Impact of the CWP**

1. **Regular and predictable income**

Participation on the programme ensures a consistent income of R480 a month for 8 days of work on the programme. For many households, this has become the main source of income. Table 2 illustrates that additional income constitutes for most of the CWP participants less than R500 a month, significantly accounted for by social transfers of which the Child Support Grant constitutes an overwhelmingly major contribution.

Although all respondents stated that the income of R480 a month was too little, the majority reported that with this income it was possible to plan their expenditure for the month and that it lessened their anxiety about how to procure food for themselves and their dependants. Having access to the produce of the vegetable gardens grown by the CWP, as will be discussed below, had been noted by CWP participants to contribute greatly towards their ability to stretch their incomes. Some participants reported the increased ability to save from this income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Income</th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CWP Income</strong></td>
<td>R480 per month for 8 days of work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Additional Income</strong></td>
<td>80% (88N) &lt;R500 monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Additional Sources of income (Social grants)</strong></td>
<td>51% (56N) grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Child Support Grants (R250 per month)</strong></td>
<td>96% (55N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Savings

Table 3 demonstrates the ability of a small segment of CWP workers to save some of their income. This ability is enhanced by the fact that all participants have bank accounts, which makes savings easier. In both sites, the biggest reasons for saving was for educational purposes, either for upgrading the respondent's own qualifications or that of their children. Keiskammahoek respondents saved for a ‘rainy day’. However, on the whole CWP respondents felt that their income from this programme was too small for savings.

Table 3: Savings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saving of CWP income</td>
<td>24.5% (27N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Amount Saved             | 44% (12N) > R 100  
                          | 41% (11N) between R101 and R200 |

3. Facilitating Work Searches

A small segment of the study sample also used some of their CWP income to look for jobs (12.7%). Follow up interviews show that respondents are aware of the local labour market; that there simply are no jobs available for those not qualified to teach, serve in the police force or able to start up cooperatives. Of those who did look for work, 50% and more used their CWP income for this search.

Table 4: Work Searches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Looked for work in previous 7 days</td>
<td>12.7% (14N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used CWP income to look for work</td>
<td>50% (7N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Transport</td>
<td>28% (2N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Food Security

By far the greatest positive impact of the CWP is in how it assists CWP participants to achieve food security. In Table 5 nearly 90% of participants had access to the produce of community vegetable gardens, while another significant segment of the sample had vegetable gardens planted and maintained at their homes.
**TABLE 5: Food Security**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communal CWP vegetables gardens</td>
<td>87% (96N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable gardens at home</td>
<td>77% (85N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily consumption of vegetables</td>
<td>69% (76N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption of meat</td>
<td>72% (80N), max 2x a week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the main, poor households in South Africa survive on low protein, high starch diets\(^3\). The households of CWP participants follow a similar diet. However, their reported vegetable intake is significantly higher than that of other poor households in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2008). An increased consumption of vegetables is significant in a country context where "one in 5 children in South Africa under the age of nine suffers from stunted growth as a result of malnutrition” (Labadarios, et al 2008). Chronic malnutrition, according to a matron at the local SS Gida Hospital in Keiskammahoek, is at the root of the high levels of diabetes amongst middle-aged and older people. This lifestyle disease is difficult to treat when sufferers are unable to afford healthy diets and, instead, worsens because their diets consist primarily of starches, such as maize and wheat\(^4\). Vegetable gardens, therefore, are a resounding success in these poor communities, even more so because they benefit communities as a whole through school feeding schemes, hospitals and needy individuals receiving produce from CWP vegetable gardens.

An important point which emerged in the research is that even though the literature on public employment schemes tends to focus on economic impacts, it is in its social impact that the CWP is more successful. CWP participants overwhelmingly reported a greater sense of belonging and commitment to their community, i.e. social cohesion. According to O’Brien (2008), social cohesion is the degree to which members of a society feel that they belong to that society, participate in its operation and work toward its well-being.

**Social Impact of the CWP**

Social cohesion has been described as “the degree to which members of a society feel that they belong to that society, participate in its operation and work toward its well-being” (O’Brien, 2010). It has also been argued that “we must prioritise community building over the next two decades as foundations for a robust and lasting democracy” (Njabulo Ndebele, 2010). The CWP

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\(^3\) See Fakier, K and Cock, J (2009)

\(^4\) Interview: SS Gida Hospital, 16 February 2011, Keiskammahoek
goes some way towards building social cohesion as noted by one of the Keiskammahoek participants, “CWP is where we build each other”.

1. **Friendship and Support in the CWP**

Table 6 demonstrates how the CWP has changed the general quality of personal relations in Keiskammahoek. Most significantly, the quality of daily life has been improved with increased, deeper relationships with others in their communities. In response to questions about sharing problems and getting advice from new friends, the most common shared problems were domestic, financial and work-related issues.

**TABLE 6: Friendship and Support**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Making new friends</td>
<td>73.6% (81N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share personal problems and grievances</td>
<td>78% (86N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in the number of people they feel they can trust since CWP was introduced</td>
<td>69% (76N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that with regard to personal relationships, the CWP has made a significant difference. In addition, even though increased trust was not statistically as significant as other social indicators, the figures for increased trust are quite high for a low trust society such as South Africa and could also be attributed to the improvements in safety and security the CWP has facilitated.

2. **Safety and Security**

Table 7 shows a sense of improved safety reported by CWP participants and in interviews with school principals and the head of the police station in Keiskammahoek. Collaboration with Community Policing Forums (CPF) is one way in which the needs and active involvement of community members were integrated into the work of other institutions (e.g. police force) and civic associations (Community Policing Forum). The democratic process of deciding on ‘useful work’ is discussed in greater detail below, but in relation to safety and conflict resolution, community members were especially grateful that the removal of overgrown vegetation by the CWP participants had provided greater safety. The seemingly simple task of clearing bushes obscuring the view of motorists in some areas, and, in other areas, preventing parents from watching their children going to school or running errands, was one which neither the police nor local municipal services had addressed in the past.
### TABLE 7: Perceptions of Safety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improved safety due to collaboration between CWP and Community Policing Forum</th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68% (75N)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Improved community services and infrastructure due to CWP? | 97% (107N) |

### 3. Solidarity and the ethic of care

Solidarity and the ethic of care have been strengthened in these communities through the support provided by vegetable gardens to institutions for the needy and the frail, such as crèches and old age homes. An ‘ethic of care’ refers to a connection to, and involvement with, extra-family others that has a significant influence on the quality of collective social life (Cockburn, 2005). We accompanied CWP participants to the homes of a couple in their late 70s caring for their mentally disabled daughter and her children, a grandmother working on the CWP caring for 14 other dependants, and a woman in her 80s who was found living alone in a state of severe malnutrition and neglect. Support for households such as these entail cooking and cleaning, collecting medicines for those who are bedridden, and food parcels and clothing for child-headed households and other needy individuals.

### TABLE 8: Solidarity and Ethic of Care

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support for the vulnerable in the community</th>
<th>Keiskammahoek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables from CWP gardens</td>
<td>72.5% (79N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83% (89N) said they are used to cook for school children and crèches, given to sick, orphans and elderly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The CWP has been supporting the activities of volunteers such as that of a group of six unemployed women who operate in Rabula, one of the villages in Keiskammahoek, on an entirely voluntary basis, i.e., for no compensation instead using their own resources to care for others in their village. Members of the Rabula Volunteers Association (RVA) go into the homes of the frail and child-headed households and bathe, dress and cook for them. They even adopt youth offenders upon their release from penitentiaries hoping that ‘simple, village life’ would prevent them from returning to lives of crimes and drugs. With their own meager financial resources they help people with the process of applying for social grants, give them money for

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5 See Fakier, K. 2014 for a discussion of how the existing ethic of care in communities is enhanced by the CWP.
transport to schools and hospitals and even act as interlocutors for many illiterate people with impersonal government departments.

Through members’ involvement in a HIV/AIDS support group, which comprises nurses and social workers at the SS Gida hospital, members of the RVA and CWP workers who are living with HIV/AIDS or caring for people living with HIV/AIDS, the RVA uses the social infrastructure laid down by the CWP to improve their ability to help the needy. The CWP’s involvement allows the support group to sell some produce from their vegetable gardens to fund their activities. SS Gida hospital also gets vegetables for use in its kitchens from the CWP. This situation allows the manager of the CWP programme to get the matron and social worker of the hospital to run a training programme for the RVA to improve their skills in helping the needy.

In addition to the support for caring for people, the research team noted the great care for the environment and natural resources undertaken by CWP participants. More than 80% of work identified by the CWP programme as ‘useful work’ is in the environmental sector. Activities such as tree planting, creating parks, community clean-ups, removing alien vegetation, bush clearing, preventing soil erosion, fixing dam walls have contributed greatly to environmental improvement especially in drought-stricken areas such as Keiskammahoek.

4. Deepening Democracy

CWP uses existing ward committees in the different sites (or agreed-upon development forums) to identify ‘useful work’. One of the main outcomes of the CWP broadly, has been that it has from inception focused on social dialogue at the community level. While structures for local democracy exist in South Africa in the form of ward committees, the CWP has brought them closer in terms of the actual needs of people in extreme poverty. In each site there is an active Reference Group for the CWP, which draws in councillors, officials from the local municipality, relevant government departments, ward committee representatives and other community leadership.

At a very practical level, the CWP strengthens the ward committees and local government. Through the Reference Group, alignment with local government and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is enhanced. The IDP is a yearly plan by local municipalities to deliver their goals. However, it often goes off track soon after the beginning of the year and community involvement is seldom sustained. Alignment with the fortnightly meetings of the CWP energises local structures and ensures year-long involvement and implementation of the IDPs (Luvhengo, 2010). At the same time, the CWP itself is also strengthened and benefits both from an institutionalized link to the structures and budgets of local government and the insights and expertise of reference group members.
Conclusion

Shaping the debate on whether cash transfers – in the form of social grants and public works programmes – could lift people out of structural poverty, Ghosh (2011) is emphatic that social assistance on its own will not adequately deal with the poor. Instead, she argues, by attempting to eradicate poverty with a single instrument such as cash transfers, a static view of poverty is assumed. Inspired by Ghosh, Razavi (2011: 1) points out that instead of social assistance being the magic bullet to cure the inequality caused by poverty, what is needed is an alternative ‘broad’ agenda, because social assistance cannot be “a substitute for decent employment, which needs a different macroeconomic policy agenda and the strengthening of labour market regulations (e.g. on minimum wage) ... [nor] for pro-active public care services and other social provisions (e.g. infrastructure to reduce the drudgery of domestic work) that are essential for women to access labour markets”.

In South Africa, while care work has been taken into the public sphere as ‘voluntary’ work performed by women, the ethic of care as practised by women on the CWP remains in the private sphere. The CWP does this by reducing the costs of nutrition and has the potential to facilitate training of community care providers and provide the organizational infrastructure for care. However, the CWP still has some way to go toward fully answering the intense need for care in poor communities.

A crucial question raised by this research is whether policies such as the CWP are subtly shifting away from neo-liberal policies by introducing innovative social policies. Do these innovations amount to an alternative development path? Such a path will require an alternative set of economic policies. COSATU (2012: 40) clearly believes that Brazil has these policies and has “defied conventional economic prescriptions” to achieve them. “They asserted a central role for the state in the economy” in terms of driving and financing development... They put redistribution of incomes and stimulating demand at the centre of their approach, especially through raising wage levels and social protection (COSATU 2012: 40)”. This led to 17 million new formal-sector jobs, minimum wages rose by 67 per cent and labour law was enforced by the Department of Labour (Seidman, 2013 and CHI, 2014).6

The question posed by Lula’s second term of government is whether Brazil is breaking with neo-liberalism and beginning to build a social democratic path in the Global South. Romano-Schutte (2013) calls it a neo-developmental state and focuses on the way it has begun to reconcile the needs of achieving growth through globalized markets with extensions of political, social and economic rights7. Whether it is possible to speak of social democracy in a context of high unemployment and a large informal sector must be left to another occasion.

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6 A Lula Moment for South Africa? Lessons from Brazil (2104) A collection of essays by experts from Brazil and South Africa considers the similarities and differences in the development paths of the two countries. Published by the Chris Hani Institute, Johannesburg

7 Sandbrook et al. (2007) identify four cases – Chile, Costa Rica, Mauritius and Kerala (India) – in which they believe governments have embarked on social-democratic paths.
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