



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

# **The co-benefits of environmental job creation projects in Cape Town**

MPhil specializing in *Climate Change and Sustainable Development*

Leslie Ashburner (ASHLES001)

Supervisor: Dr Kevin Winter

Minor dissertation presented for the approval of Senate in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MPhil specialising in *Climate Change and Sustainable Development* in approved courses and a minor dissertation. I hereby declare that I have read and understood the regulations governing the submission of MPhil specialising in *Climate Change and Sustainable Development* dissertations, including those relating to length and plagiarism, as contained in the rules of this University, and that this minor dissertation conforms to those regulations.

*Signature:*

*Date:*

## **Acknowledgements**

I am indebted to a number of people for their kindness and support.

Thank you to Louise Stafford and Chandre Rhoda, of the City of Cape Town, for permission to interview the workers in the Kader Asmal Project.

Thank you to Joshua Gericke, of Zandvlei Estuary Nature Reserve, and to Jason Mingo, of the Liesbeek Maintenance Project, for allowing me to interview the workers under their supervision.

Thank you to Dr. Guy Preston of Working for Water, who first alerted me to the dangers that alien invaders pose to South Africa's water security, for his support.

Thank you to Dr. Bradley Rink, the ACDI Course Coordinator for directions on methodology and other technical aspects.

Thank you to my supervisor, Dr. Kevin Winter, who wanted to know what the workers experience as they clean and maintain the Liesbeek River, and who inspired me to find out. Thank you for your wisdom, your unfailing encouragement and your willingness to make time for my many questions.

Thank you to my friend, Catherine, for her insightful advice. Thank you to my mother, who supported my studies with her generous financial contribution. Above all, thank you to my husband, Bruce, for his generosity in so many ways. Thank you for allowing me the freedom to do this and for your constant enthusiasm and faith in me.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank the men and women I met working on the rivers, who contribute so much to conserving and enhancing Cape Town's waterways.

## **The co-benefits of environmental job creation projects in Cape Town**

### **Abstract**

The dual contribution of environmental job creation projects to sustainable development in South Africa is well known. Firstly, conservation efforts help to control alien invasive plants and protect biodiversity, thus preserving natural resources, particularly water. Secondly, the most marginalised members of our society are lifted out of unemployment to receive a wage, thus escaping the worst poverty. This dissertation examines a third set of benefits that have been under-recognised and underexplored: namely, the intangible co-benefits experienced by workers in these projects. This study utilises in-depth interviews with thirteen workers from three different sites in Cape Town in order to identify and explain these co-benefits. The findings reveal that in an urban context, working in nature conservation can yield significant co-benefits for individuals and society. This study proposes a new conceptual framework for categorizing these benefits, and suggests that, if recognised and promoted by urban conservation programmes, these co-benefits have the potential to increase the value and sustainability of future environmental job creation projects.

**Keywords:** sustainable development; urban environmental conservation; job creation; co-benefits

## Contents

1. Introduction.....	5
2. The Kader Asmal Project in Cape Town .....	6
3. Literature Review.....	7
3.1. Development, poverty and empowerment.....	7
3.2. The Working for Water programme.....	8
3.3. Intangible benefits.....	11
3.4. Summary.....	13
3.5. The research question .....	14
4. The study sites .....	14
5. Methodology.....	16
5.1. The pilot study.....	16
5.2. Specific objectives.....	17
5.3. The individual interviews.....	18
5.4. Liesbeek Team group discussion .....	19
5.5. Thematic analysis .....	20
5.6. Scope and concerns about the research process.....	22
6. Findings and analysis.....	24
6.1. Benefits for the individual.....	25
6.2. Benefits for society .....	38
7. Conclusion .....	41
8. Recommendations.....	44
References .....	46
Appendix A: Consent and Disclosure Forms.....	50
Appendix B: Liesbeek Team group interview.....	51
Appendix C: Transcripts of interviews.....	54
Ashwin.....	55
Carmen .....	60
Darion .....	64
Faqmieda.....	73
Klaas .....	78
Magdaleen.....	86
Neville.....	93
Octavia.....	99
Shafiq .....	101
Sivu .....	107
Siya.....	113
Yolanda .....	120
Zola .....	126

## List of tables

Table 1: Buch and Dixon's (2008) tangible and intangible benefits of involvement in the WfW programme.....	13
Table 2: Adapted framework of the co-benefits of urban environmental job creation projects.....	21

## 1. Introduction

In South Africa, water scarcity is recognised as a major environmental threat (Turpie et al., 2008). In response, the national Working for Water Programme (WfW) has creatively linked two of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Firstly, by providing work for the unemployed, WfW aims to assist with poverty alleviation (MDG 1). Secondly, by working towards the eradication of alien invasive plants that threaten water security and biodiversity, environmental sustainability (MDG 7) is enhanced (Turpie et al., 2008). This dissertation will examine a third set of benefits that have been under-recognised and underexplored: namely, the intangible co-benefits experienced by workers in these projects.

In Cape Town, a project similar to WfW was launched in 2011. The Kader Asmal Project (KAP) aims to address two problems: the degradation of the city's waterways and Cape Town's high unemployment rate. In a recent survey, Cape Town residents identified job creation as a priority investment for the city (CoCT, 2012b). At the same time, Cape Town is home to the fynbos biome, of which many species are under threat from alien invasive plants (UNEP, 2007). The fynbos vegetation provides various ecosystem services, including the mitigation of flooding (UNEP, 2007). Flood mitigation in Cape Town may become more important as the impacts of climate change increase (Mukheiber and Ziervogel, 2007). By removing alien plants and restoring ecosystems, the KAP therefore contributes to environmental sustainability as well as Cape Town's resilience to the impacts of climate change.

The KAP aims to clean and restore the city's rivers. An improvement in riverine environments enhances the multifunctional landscapes of the city, and provides vital 'green lungs' that reduce the pressures of urbanisation and densification (O'Farrell and Anderson, 2010). Trzyna (2010) is concerned that people in cities are becoming less and less connected to nature, and that this diminishes the quality of their lives. They have little knowledge of the benefits of nature and may unwittingly behave irresponsibly toward the environment. Urban people, including 'the poorest of the poor', need contact with biodiversity for their wellbeing. The converse is also true. Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) assert that many protected areas have limited future prospects without the cooperation and support of local people.

This dissertation seeks to explore the nature and extent of the potential intangible co-benefits of environmental job creation projects in an urban context. While the two key objectives of the KAP are environmental conservation and job creation, an additional set of unintended outcomes is examined while raising the question: Do environmental job creation projects provide workers with more than wages and hard skills?

In a World Bank study on human development, poverty and empowerment, 77 % of respondents identified their own initiative as the prime reason for moving out of poverty (Narayan et al., 2009: 20). Another finding was that 'self-confidence increases quickly as poor people experience some success' (Narayan et al., 2009: 27). In South Africa, poverty remains a major challenge, linked to high structural unemployment (CDE, 2011). The official unemployment rate is currently at about 25% (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Unsuccessful job seekers not only fail to acquire work experience, or tangible 'hard skills', but their continued inability to find or qualify for a job can lead to a diminished sense of self-worth and feelings of disempowerment. The means to enhance the possibility of securing permanent employment shifts from 'hard skills' to something that is more intangible but includes attributes like self-confidence and empowerment. This study focuses on environmental job creation projects at three sites in Cape Town, and examines the co-benefits that this work might hold for the workers and more broadly, for society.

## **2. The Kader Asmal Project in Cape Town**

The Kader Asmal Project (KAP) is a labour-intensive programme intended to maximise short-term job opportunities. It is based on the Expanded Public Works Programme model. Many of the beneficiaries were previously unemployed and marginalised members of society. They earn a wage of R80 a day, and are contracted for six months at a time, on a non-permanent basis. The scope of the work includes litter collection, repairing leaking sewers, identifying pollution hotspots and removing alien invasive plants. The project aims to create 400 short-term jobs (CoCT, 2012a) at about fifteen sites in the Cape Town area, and is funded by the City of Cape

Town. Most of the workers are selected from the City of Cape Town's database of unemployed people. Workers are assigned to sites close to where they live.

### **3. Literature Review**

The review begins by exploring the various international approaches to the concepts of poverty and empowerment as they relate to human development. The second section reviews three significant reports on the socio-economic impacts of South Africa's Working for Water (WfW) programme. This is followed by a discussion of the work by Buch and Dixon (2009) that deals with the conceptual framework for this dissertation. The authors identify unintended intangible co-benefits of the WfW programme, beyond the obvious tangible advantages of earning a wage. After a brief summary, the final section explains the emerging conceptual framework and the research design.

#### **3.1. Development, poverty and empowerment**

In 2000, eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were formalized by the United Nations. These included the goals of freeing people from extreme poverty (MDG 1) and preserving the environment (MDG 7). However, poverty itself has proven difficult to define. Some of the multiple manifestations include hunger and malnutrition as well as limited access to education, health, sanitation and other basic services (OPHI, 2011). In addition, many aspects of poverty are intangible (Buch and Dixon, 2009). Poor people lack information about services, about income earning opportunities and about markets. They may experience social discrimination and exclusion, as well as a lack of opportunity to participate in decision-making. In short, they experience shame and disempowerment (OPHI, 2011).

The United Nations' Commission for Social Development has identified productive employment as the most effective means of reducing poverty (UN, 2005). However, it was also recognised that strategies focusing only on the scale of employment are inadequate. It is imperative to address the qualitative dimensions of employment. Decent jobs should provide income, empowerment and social integration for the poor (UN, 2005). Thus, employment should address both the tangible and intangible dimensions of poverty.

Human development is closely linked to the concept of 'empowerment'. Buch and Dixon (2009) describe empowerment as an enabling mechanism, which gives marginalized people the power to make effective choices to improve their lives through skills and greater self-confidence. Similarly, Oakley and Clayton (2000) define empowerment as an increasing ability of individuals to bring about change in one's life. The authors refer to the notion of power in the sense of power 'to do', power 'to be able' and of having more control over one's life. The manifestations of empowerment include greater confidence in one's ability to undertake new actions successfully. In this sense, self-confidence is a manifestation of empowerment. Although empowerment is difficult to quantify or measure, Oakley and Clayton (2000) suggest that the most relevant criterion for understanding or measuring empowerment is the impact of an intervention - the change that has taken place - from the perspective of the people involved. The authors define this as a 'difference from the original problem situation', the 'consequences or end products' that result either directly or indirectly from an intervention.

### **3.2. The Working for Water programme**

South Africa's Working for Water (WfW) programme is internationally acknowledged as a successful example of an attempt to integrate two goals of sustainable development, namely, poverty reduction and environmental sustainability. Similarly, the Kader Asmal Project in Cape Town attempts to combine job creation with the restoration and maintenance of the city's waterways, and is in many ways based on WfW. The Kader Asmal Project, on which this study focuses, commenced recently, in 2012, and there appears to be no published academic literature about it as yet. It will thus be useful to examine some of the literature dealing with the socio-economic aspects of WfW. According to Magadlela and Mdzeke (2004), WfW initially focused its research on the environmental aspects of the programme and only began its social research in 2002.

In 2007, two in-depth studies on Working for Water were published: a national study by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry and an international study by the United Nations Environmental Programme. The terms of reference were significantly different, but both studies were based on empirical research and made substantial



use of primary sources, including interviews with workers.

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) is a South African research group that was commissioned by WfW to assess the programme's socio-economic impacts on households. The research took nearly a year, and made use of the following three research techniques: a survey of 1005 respondents, thirteen focus groups, and ninety in-depth interviews (CASE, 2007). According to their findings, the most tangible benefit of having a job is the income that workers receive. This income leads to substantial improvements in wellbeing, despite the low wage of public works programmes. Households of workers on the programme were found to have higher incomes than their neighbours, and enjoyed greater spending power, spending some of the money on clothes. Food scarcity remained a problem, however. The tangible benefits perceived by workers also included the skills training they received, particularly training that led to certification. Most workers were satisfied with the training they received, but requested that they be issued with certificates, so as to be able to apply for other jobs. The biggest problem identified by workers was the frequent long delays in payment of wages, but this could be addressed by administrative and technical improvements to the system. The research also yielded some significant social benefits. Workers were more satisfied with life in general, their self-esteem increased after a year on the programme, and they exhibited greater optimism. These findings were not further explored, however, and remained peripheral to the central question of the improvement in financial wellbeing of households. While the CASE study found that WfW was meeting the goal of short-term poverty alleviation, from a financial point of view, the study did not focus on the less tangible dimensions of poverty.

Also in 2007, the United Nations Environmental Programme conducted a comprehensive overview of Working for Water as a South African sustainability case (UNEP, 2007). This study, in four sections, was based on primary as well as secondary sources, and included interviews with workers and managers. The first section gives a broad overview of the programme's conservation and human development goals. The second section gives a cost-benefit analysis of the WfW programme, and draws attention to two important considerations: the opportunity costs related to labour, and the downstream effects on industries. The findings show

that the opportunity cost of hiring otherwise unemployed South Africans is equal to their productivity while unemployed, and is therefore close to zero. In addition, the downstream effect of WfW on industries is positive because of the increased supply of water. The third section looks at challenges to the programme, concluding that the conservation and human development goals are not always well matched, but commending the programme for its unique successes. The fourth section briefly reports on workers' perceptions, appreciation and complaints about the programme.

The findings of the UNEP study strongly echo the findings of the CASE study. Despite the low level of nationally set wages, and delays in payment, WfW jobs are sought after in rural areas. Workers value being employed, and they appreciate the tangible social benefits, such as health education. The intangible social benefits such as the camaraderie at work, improvements in the status of women and reduction in local crime levels are acknowledged by the study but are not examined further. The study also alludes to the 'symbolic' role of the programme, the significance of workers engaged in 'saving' ecosystems, but does not expand on what this might mean to the workers.

WfW falls under the mandate of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), which has characterised unemployment as a transitory phase through which the South African economy is passing (McCord, 2004). An 'exit strategy', obliging workers to quit WfW after two years, was therefore built into the programme, and an important goal of WfW was to equip beneficiaries to find work in the private sector. However, and for a number of reasons, the economy has not absorbed workers exiting from the EPWP, suggesting that there is a gap between the policy of the EPWP and the reality in the economy (McCord, 2004). Hough and Prozesky (2012) found that beneficiaries of public works programmes in South Africa become dependent on that employment, and are reluctant to search for alternative employment. They claim, furthermore, that the structure of job creation projects actually creates beneficiary dependence. They suggest that environmental job creation projects are seen as 'hand-out' welfare programmes and do not succeed in instilling a sense of self-development in the recipients. They argue that these programmes should therefore respond to beneficiaries' aspirations to permanent employment, rather than pursue the unrealistic goal of developing job seekers for the open market. The 'exit strategy'

is currently under review (Hough and Prozesky, 2012). The present study will challenge the notion that job creation projects necessarily create beneficiary dependence, and propose that environmental job creation projects, specifically, have the potential to increase beneficiaries' self esteem and belief in their ability. The inability to find work outside the programme is more likely due to the high level of structural unemployment in South Africa (McCord, 2004).

### **3.3. Intangible benefits**

It is with the concept of human development in mind that the present study engages with the research problem: What are the potential intangible co-benefits experienced by workers in urban environmental conservation projects? Before elaborating on this question, it will be helpful to clarify the concept of 'intangible benefits', as used in a paper by Buch and Dixon (2009) in the context of South Africa.

In a paper called *Searching for win-win outcomes*, Buch and Dixon (2009) were concerned that although the environmental benefits of the WfW programme were evident, the social development goals (namely, of enabling independent entrepreneurs) were overly ambitious and impractical. They therefore set out to explore the reality of people's participation in the WfW programme. Their paper was based on the analysis of interview transcripts gathered from semi-structured interviews that were conducted with managers, contractors and administrators of WfW. They found that all participants unequivocally valued the clear, tangible benefits of income generation and certified training that the programme provided.

There was also a range of problems that limited the effectiveness of the programme. Among these, an important criticism that emerged was a perception of WfW as a top-down organisation in which there was limited opportunity for those ostensibly being 'empowered', to contribute to the decision-making process or even communicate with management.

Despite these problems, however, what Buch and Dixon found most interesting was a 'much more nuanced set of outcomes overlooked by previous studies' (Buch and Dixon, 2009: 136). These intangible benefits included, amongst others, personal feelings of pride and confidence, teamwork skills, environmental understanding and

access to future opportunities. In addition, 'many had been drawn to the programme through concern for the environment, and this initial concern was enhanced and stimulated through the work itself. Many expressed pride in being part of a programme that focused on environmental conservation and alleviating the problem of water scarcity in South Africa'. The authors drew attention to the fact that many of the positive outcomes experienced by the people employed by the programme occurred almost accidentally, rather than as specifically targeted outcomes. Many of the significant benefits arise simply as 'fortuitous by-products' through 'the overall programme experience' (Buch and Dixon, 2009: 137).

Buch and Dixon concluded that previously unemployed people working on environmental conservation projects experience additional intangible benefits in addition to the tangible benefits of wages and certified skills. They created a conceptual framework for understanding the difference between these tangible and intangible social benefits (Table 1). This framework forms the basis for the following study.

Table 1: Buch and Dixon's (2009) tangible and intangible benefits of involvement in the WfW programme

<b>Tangible</b>	<b>Intangible</b>
Job creation Poverty alleviation (financial) Certified training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical</li> <li>• Life skills</li> </ul>	Pride Confidence Access to knowledge Knock-on skills <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership</li> <li>• Teamwork</li> <li>• Communication</li> <li>• Management</li> <li>• Responsibility</li> </ul> Knock-on knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business mindset</li> <li>• Environmental understanding</li> </ul> Future directions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work ethic</li> </ul>

### 3.4. Summary

Environmental sustainability and poverty reduction are inextricably linked goals of sustainable development, yet it has been difficult to integrate these goals successfully (Buch and Dixon, 2009). In South Africa, the Working for Water programme (WfW) has aimed to integrate these two goals in its environmental job creation projects. While the environmental outcomes have been regarded as successful, and the social effects of earning a wage are undeniable, the qualitative dimensions of employment, such as empowerment and social inclusion, continue to be difficult to attain.

Despite a great deal of literature about urban environmental sustainability and about the need for job creation projects in developing countries, it is difficult to find research that focuses on the synergy between these sustainable development goals,

or analyses the benefits for the workers on these projects. It appears that the biophysical aspects of conservation programmes attract more attention than the social development aspects. Those studies that do examine the social impacts of the programme focus on the changes that arise from earning an income and gaining certification skills. The research that considers the socio-economic implications of the programme is mostly concerned with the economic implications of earning a wage in the lives of previously unemployed people, and what it means to progress from abject poverty to having food on the table. On the whole, the personal experiences of workers in the WfW have been under-researched and underreported. In addition, the focus has been on rural projects, rather than urban ones.

The study by Buch and Dixon (2009) suggests that working in a natural environment has additional positive outcomes for workers and creates a framework of tangible and intangible benefits. The intangible benefits of working in environmental conservation projects have been under-recognised and underexplored, leaving a 'research gap'. Buch and Dixon recommended that these outcomes should be explored further. The contribution of the present study, therefore, is to elaborate on the intangible benefits suggested by Buch and Dixon and to develop their framework, in an urban context.

### **3.5. The research question**

The research will attempt to answer the question: What are the potential co-benefits experienced by workers in urban environmental job creation projects? The research design relies on semi-structured, narrative-type interviews to elicit the experiences of workers from their own perspective, providing workers with the freedom to discuss any issues that occur to them. It is important that workers raise issues about the work spontaneously, and are given the opportunity to talk about both positive and negative aspects. The present study uses Buch and Dixon's framework to create a new framework that focuses on the intangible benefits of the conservation work.

## **4. The study sites**

The KAP operates at about fifteen sites around greater Cape Town. The following three study sites were chosen, partially through a network of contacts and as matter

of convenience: Liesbeek River, Bokramspruit Oceanview, and Zandvlei Estuary Nature Reserve. In fact, the sites provide some diversity in terms of workers' proximity to site, affluence of the site area and environmental state of the site.

### **The Liesbeek River site**

The Liesbeek River flows from the eastern slopes of Table Mountain through the relatively affluent suburbs of Newlands and Rondebosch to Observatory, where it joins the Black River. The Liesbeek Maintenance Project (LMP), launched in 2004, is a joint initiative between Friends of the Liesbeek and the City of Cape Town, which provides support by mowing and removing all waste. The LMP team keeps the river clean and user-friendly. In early 2012, the four, permanent Liesbeek Team members, privately funded, were joined by ten temporary workers, funded by the KAP. A total of six workers were interviewed for this study. The following LMP members were interviewed: Ashwin, Klaas (the supervisor), and Sivu. The following KAP members were interviewed: Faqhmieda, Octavia, and Zola. Most of the KAP workers live in the less affluent neighbourhood of Maitland, within walking distance of the Liesbeek River.

### **The Bokramspruit Oceanview site**

Oceanview, in southern Cape Town, was established in 1968 as a coloured township by the apartheid government. It is an impoverished community, offering only microscale businesses, and many of the inhabitants are unemployed, despite the proximity to bigger businesses in the neighbouring suburbs of Noordhoek and Simonstown. The Bokramspruit stream starts from the nearby mountain slopes, and runs through the suburb, where it has been canalized, continuing down to Kommetjie Beach. A KAP team was assigned to the Bokramspruit in early 2012. The team is managed directly by staff from the Environmental Resource Management Department of the City of Cape Town. The following three members of the KAP team were interviewed: Darion, Magdaleen (the supervisor) and Shafiq.

### **Zandvlei Estuary Nature Reserve site**

Zandvlei Estuary Nature Reserve is a 200-hectare reserve situated on the Cape Flats, with its outlet at Muizenberg Beach. It is characterised by numerous seasonal wetlands and is host to a large number of freshwater and marine species. A small Education Centre, open to the public, is also available to the staff. In addition to a full-time staff of four, occasionally augmented by student interns, the Zandvlei staff is currently overseeing the temporary employment of ten members of the KAP. The following four members of the KAP team were interviewed: Carmen, Neville, Siya and Yolanda (the supervisor).

## **5. Methodology**

The research design was exploratory, qualitative, empirical and unfolding. Workers were interviewed using semi-structured 'narrative' interviews, in order to reflect their own perspective as much as possible. The aim was to have four or five volunteers per site, and to obtain an understanding, from the perspective of the workers, of what this conservation work entails, and whether or not the work has any benefits for them, beyond official certification of their skills and the financial benefits of earning an income. Furthermore, the research aimed to explore the nature of these intangible benefits, and to discover the extent to which they occur.

The narrative aspect of the design was influenced by the recommendations of the WfW CASE (2007) study, which suggested a method that would lend itself well to assessing the social impact of the WfW projects. The Most Significant Change (MSC) method, developed by Davies and Dart (2005), is an evaluation technique that involves collecting significant change stories from beneficiaries. Without following the technique prescriptively, the idea of Most Significant Change stories supported the notion of using a very open-ended, conversational type approach to the interviews, allowing the interviewees, where possible to tell their own story about what working in nature meant to them.

### **5.1. The pilot study**

A brief pilot study with two volunteers was conducted in August, several months before the main body of the research, to test the relevance of the following open-ended questions:



What does your work involve?

Which aspects of the job do you enjoy/ dislike most?

Which parts of your job are most important/unimportant?

Which species of animals/ plants can you identify?

What work would you like to be doing in five years' time?

The pilot study revealed that the workers had plenty to say in answer to the questions and that there were likely to be significant links with the theoretical framework. Therefore, the formal interview questionnaire was based substantially on the pilot study questions. Gaining advance insight into the daily routine of the workers through a pilot study helped to give the researcher a more credible stance, as the framing of the interview questions would be critical in engaging with the workers and drawing out the most descriptive, honest and insightful replies.

## **5.2. Specific objectives**

The study posed several specific questions in addition to the general question: What are the potential intangible co-benefits experienced by workers in urban environmental conservation projects? The specific questions were each paraphrased as indicated below.

### **What personal benefits of the job do workers describe?**

Which aspects of the job do you enjoy/ dislike most?

Do you think other people would enjoy this work too?

### **What social benefits do workers describe?**

Which parts of your job are most important/ unimportant?

What could be done about the river/ wetland where you live?

### **What skills developments (other than certification skills) do workers describe?**

What does your job involve?

What training would you like to receive?

### **What gains in knowledge do workers describe?**

Which species of animals/ plants can you identify?

**How have workers' feelings of self-esteem and empowerment been affected by working for the Kader Asmal Project?**

This question was explicitly explored in the group interview.

The following, additional question (based on Ibrahim and Alkire's (2009) proposal for internationally comparable indicators of agency and empowerment) was asked of only one interviewee:

Imagine a ten-step ladder, where on the bottom, the first step, stand people who are completely without free choice and control over the way their lives turn out, and on the highest step, the tenth, stand those with the most free choice and control over their lives.

- On which step are you today?
- On which step are most of your neighbours today?
- On which step were you five years ago?

**5.3. The individual interviews**

After an initial meeting, to introduce the researcher and the process to the workers, volunteers were called for. The interviews were conducted on site, very informally, with the volunteers from the work teams. It was made explicit that there would be no rewards or negative consequences from agreeing to participate (see Appendix A), and also that the interviewee was free to refuse any question and free to end the interview at any point. All the participants, in the event, proved willing to answer all questions, and, in addition, were willing to have their names used in the study. Notwithstanding this agreement, it was decided to use participants' first names only in this paper.

The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder. The interviews were loosely structured around the planned questions. The aim was to allow the interviewee as much opportunity as possible to raise his or her own issues. The advantage of an in-depth, semi-structured interview, as opposed to a questionnaire, is that it provides the opportunity for a much more detailed, nuanced understanding of the participant's point of view. What is told, and what is omitted, while directed by the open-ended

questions, is to some extent the subject's choice. Speakers select, organise, connect and project what is meaningful to them, and use storytelling to make sense of their lives (Riessman 2008). In many cases, the interview questions were used only as a rough guide. By means of a dialogue and an open-ended, conversational interview technique, the interviewees were encouraged to talk about who they are, their daily work and their physical, social and environmental experiences at the river. In most cases, this indirect approach provided answers to the research question: what are the intangible benefits of working in urban nature conservation?

The manner in which the interviewing proceeded was important, as the value of this research depends above all on the validity, honesty and frankness of the interviews. The mode of questioning would play a large role in the validity of the process. The researcher had to make a conscious effort to remain neutral and to exclude her personal perspectives, interests and opinions. There were, however, occasional lapses, where the researcher found herself pre-empting answers and asking leading questions. The responses obtained when this occurred were excluded from the analysis.

### **Transcribing the interviews**

The interviews were then transcribed for each participant. An issue that became apparent during the transcription process was the presence of the interviewer. As this was not an ethnographic study, a decision was taken to limit the interviewer's presence in the transcriptions to the bare essentials, in order to focus on the words of the interviewee.

### **5.4. Liesbeek Team group discussion**

After the completion of all the individual interviews, a group discussion, focusing on two questions, was held with the entire Liesbeek Team, including those previously interviewed individually. The Liesbeek Team was chosen because their individual interviews had yielded interesting and useful answers to the research question. This was, however, the first time that the researcher met the entire team. These results provide an additional context for interpreting the results obtained in the previous section.

Question 1: 'What have you learned in this job?' was directed at all the Liesbeek workers. The responses were captured on a chart. Comments on the responses were not recorded, but, once all the responses had been captured, the group was asked to indicate their agreement with the responses, by a show of hands. It was important to create a distinction between new knowledge, which had been acquired through the job, as opposed to knowledge that the participants had possessed prior to the work.

Question 2: 'How have your feelings of self worth been affected by working for the KAP?' was only for the KAP workers. The goal was to gain a fuller understanding of one of the most important questions for the research, the question of whether or not, and to what extent, workers' self-esteem was increased by the work. Furthermore, it was important to discover whether this was an isolated benefit or something that applied to most of the group.

### **5.5. Thematic analysis**

A thematic analysis approach was chosen because it is more useful for theorising across a number of cases (Riessman, 2005). According to Riessman, thematic narrative analysis, as opposed to structural analysis, focuses on the content of a text, on 'what' is said, more than 'how' it is said, on the 'told' rather than the 'telling'. Analysis of formal and structural properties of the responses is not attempted. The analyst interprets what is said by focusing on the meaning that any competent user of the language would find in a story, bearing in mind the context of the interview. It is assumed that the meaning of the stories lies in the words. Language is used as a resource; it is not under investigation. The data was therefore categorized according to the themes in the adapted framework (Table 2). Each comment that was judged to be either a positive, additional benefit that the respondent had not enjoyed prior to working in the project, or an enhanced response, was linked to a relevant theme. No comment was used in more than one category.

The new framework emerged in response to benefits mentioned by the interviewees. Certain variables from the original framework were retained, and were examined in more depth, while others were replaced by variables that seemed more relevant. An important change from the original framework is the categorization of benefits into

personal and societal benefits. While there is much overlap between these benefits, the distinction was made because, if societal benefits are indeed occurring, they add significant value to the impact of urban environmental job creation projects.

Table 2: Adapted framework of the co-benefits of urban environmental job creation projects.

<b>Co-benefits of urban environmental job creation projects</b>
<p><b>Benefits for the individual</b></p> <p>Joy of working in nature</p> <p>Increase in environmental understanding and knowledge</p> <p>Pride in one's contribution to the environment</p> <p>Skills development (other than certification skills)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Practical skills</li> <li>• Leadership skills</li> <li>• Teamwork skills</li> <li>• Communication skills</li> </ul> <p>Growth in empowerment</p> <p>Expansion of personal horizons</p> <p><b>Benefits for society</b></p> <p>Development of work ethic</p> <p>Decrease in gender stereotyping</p> <p>Decrease in racial stereotyping</p> <p>Increase in pro-environmental behaviour</p>

An important additional personal benefit is 'growth in empowerment'. Although Buch and Dixon (2009) do not list 'empowerment' as a benefit, they describe it as an enabling mechanism, giving marginalized people the power to make effective choices that improve their lives, through new skills and greater self-confidence. It was in this sense that the concept of empowerment emerged, in the individual interviews as well as in the group interview. It was therefore added to the adapted framework in this study. Another concept that was added is the 'expansion of personal horizons', in the sense of an increased understanding of the limitations of a particular socio-economic context that an individual finds him or herself in. Through the work, individuals gain

new knowledge that broadens their understanding of their own socio-economic context, and how they might begin to change that context.

An increase in environmental knowledge and understanding is classed as a personal benefit. Traditional thinking in the field of environment education held that knowledge about the environment and its associated issues enabled people to become more aware of the environmental problems and that they would therefore become motivated to act for the environment in response. Increased knowledge would lead to favourable attitudes, which in turn would lead to pro-environmental behaviour. Hungerford and Volk (1990) disagree, and argue that observed environmental behavior does not match the validity of this linear model of behavioural change: pro-environmental behaviour is not an automatic consequence of increased environmental information.

If an increase in knowledge and understanding translates into pro-environmental behaviour, it becomes a social benefit. Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002: 240) provide a limited definition of pro-environmental behaviour as *'behaviour that consciously seeks to minimize the negative impact of one's actions on the natural and built world'*. Stern (2000: 408) provides a more useful generic definition of pro-environmental behaviour as *'behaviour that is undertaken with the intention to benefit the environment'*. It is in this broad sense of *'intention to benefit the environment'* that pro-environmental behaviour is considered as a potential social by-product of environmental conservation work and an important component of the adapted framework.

## **5.6. Scope and concerns about the research process**

The focus of this research was on the intangible benefits of environmental job creation projects, and not on the tangible benefits, such as the financial implications of earning a wage or the benefits of Certified Training Courses. The scope of this research did not include ascribing causal factors to these benefits. Neither did it include an evaluation of the Kader Asmal Project, or the management thereof.

Several difficulties and concerns arose during the research process. While the research goals were explicitly clarified at the outset of the fieldwork, certain of the

participants might harbour the hope that this research could in some way influence the management of the KAP with regard to increasing the wages or extending the contracts of the beneficiaries.

Another concern is that the participants were not interviewed in their First Language. All except one of the interviews were conducted in English (Carmen's interview was conducted in Afrikaans). This resulted in occasional language difficulties.

Nonetheless, this researcher feels that the respondents' ability to understand and reply in English was adequate for the validity of the process, and that, in most cases, the respondents were able to articulate their replies extremely well.

A more significant concern with the interview process was the subjectivity of the questioning technique. Because of the decision to allow the participants to direct the course of the conversation with issues that they perceived as important, certain aspects of the project were covered in some interviews and not in others. At times, this felt unscientific, but in the subsequent transcriptions of the interviews, it was apparent that, on the whole, the technique had been successful, and had achieved the aim of capturing what was important to the participants.

An important difficulty that arose during the analysis of the data was the difficulty of establishing the additionality of some of the benefits. Many of the respondents may have brought to the job innate qualities of self-esteem or attitudes of pro-environmental behaviour, for example. The researcher thus had to rely on her subjective evaluation of whether these qualities had been increased by the experience of working in nature.

A significant issue was that different sites yielded very different results. Most of the Liesbeek interviews were concluded first, providing many positive responses to the research question. Three interviews were then held at Oceanview, yielding mainly negative replies. It was therefore decided to leave the Oceanview site, as the workers there appeared to be experiencing fewer of the anticipated intangible benefits, and to focus more on the other two sites, in the hope that more useful answers to the research question would emerge.

## 6. Findings and analysis

The open-endedness of the questions and the narrative style of the interviews was intended to give interviewees the opportunity to express what was important to them, and the results were diverse and complex. This is illustrated by the following quote by Shafiq, from Oceanview. *I feel fine if I come to work here in the mornings, and to do the work. It's good work to clean my place that I stay in. But the people here don't see what we're doing; Some, the children, throw the stuff again in the river, and stuff like that.*

Nonetheless, some issues were clear-cut with similar views being expressed by all the participants. Such an issue was the need for job-security. The over-riding wish of all participants, in the individual interviews, as well as in the group interview, was for their contract to be renewed.

For Darion, the contract is about providing for his children: *And Christmas is around the corner, my kids is looking at me, Daddy, what we gonna have for Christmas? And I can't say, I'm gonna have something for you... The other team signed a 5-month contract, going on into the new year, but we are going to have to wait and see if we get a new contract ...I'd prefer to be on the other team, because I mean here, just say for instance, we lose this contract...?*

Octavia is very grateful for the renewed contract at the Liesbeek. *I'm very glad my contract got extended, because it's not nice to be on the road. There's no future there. I pray God to keep on with the contract.* However, she would leave if she had the option of a better paying job. *It will be very nice if they pay us R100 (per day). But I will miss my people, the Kader Asmal team.*

Siya feels pressure from the uncertainty. *The 'under pressure' is, we get 2-months contract, or 3-months contract. That's why I'm very under pressure... if you could get a contract or a permanent job, or get more money, that would be good to me.*

Yolanda, the supervisor at Zandvlei, longs for the security of a permanent job.



*We would just love to, me, myself, the other workers, we're just hanging onto hope, if there's a possibility, maybe they can keep us a bit longer... Can't they just make us permanent?*

Even Zola, who holds a diploma in Human Resource management, and dreams of being the CEO of a security company one day, hopes that the KAP contract will be renewed, as she cannot find any other work at present. *I go to the Internet cafe when I come to work early, and when I get home in the afternoons. Nothing! I finish my diploma, 2010. I graduate last year. Nothing yet.*

## **6.1. Benefits for the individual**

The study found that individuals benefit, in a number of ways, from working on urban environmental job creation projects. The personal benefits discussed below do not occur independently, but are all interlinked. And the degree to which they occur differs from site to site and is related to the context in which the worker finds him or herself.

### **6.1.1 Joy of working in nature**

The joy of working in nature was raised spontaneously by eight of the respondents. It is a term that is difficult to define but may perhaps be best understood by comparing the sights, sounds and smells of working in nature with work in a different setting, such as an office or a factory. In addition to being outdoors, like, for example, council workers who cut the grass verges in Cape Town, the work also includes variety and the opportunity to engage deeply with nature. KAP workers become familiar with a particular ecosystem, and learn to understand it. The joy of working in nature is illustrated by the following examples.

Carmen previously worked as a shop assistant for many years, but, having young children, she found the long hours and weekend work overly demanding. She values the natural surroundings as well as the variety in the job. *I like this work a lot because there's lots of variety. You work with animals. You go out. You go to other places. It's not boring. You walk in nature. It's very nice, this work. Even if I were to get another job, I wouldn't go. I wouldn't go. Lots of people would enjoy it if they could see how we*

*work, and how enjoyable the nature is, and so on; they would come and work here. I wouldn't change this for another job.*

Siya travels across Cape Town, from the north to the south, to work at Zandvlei each day. *As my dream, I like to work all like here: water, bush and mountain also, to include all of it. And animals also, I like. I like to stay with this job, all my life, if it can. I would like to be a nature boy, that is all. I'm still young, to praise that. I want to work with it, nature.*

Zola is from the Eastern Cape. Working in nature conservation has helped her to reduce the disconnection between the city and the rural area. *The best thing is that we're working with nature, and I love nature. It feels like I'm at home.*

Working in nature also has its disadvantages. Participants mentioned problems such as the lack of toilet facilities, as well as exposure to harsh weather conditions. In the case of Zandvlei, workers were able to do inside work on rainy days, however, while at the Liesbeek site, there was an environmental centre that could be used for semi-formal education on rainy days.

### **6.1.2. Increase in environmental knowledge and understanding**

Apart from the certified training courses, the project provides no formal instruction. Nonetheless, during the Liesbeek Team group discussion, there was unanimous agreement that the group members had acquired new knowledge and skills. All felt that they had gained some new knowledge about different kinds of plants. Indigenous plants that were mentioned by various participants included the fig plant, agapanthus and 'siprus'. Alien plants that were mentioned included baboon vine, poplar tree, ginger, canna and nasturtium. Several of the participants said that they had never planted anything before starting the job. Nearly all of the team felt that they had learned how to clean a river. One of the participants concluded that nature is important, and that we cannot live without it. Everyone agreed heartily with this statement, but none could give a clear explanation of what this meant. Various explanations involved aliens, which don't belong in South Africa, and indigenous plants, which do, as well as the oxygen that we breathe, and the food that we eat.

The KAP workers enjoyed the fact that they were learning continuously through the project, despite the lack of formal education. Not everything that has been learned is necessarily correct, however, despite the desire for knowledge. According to one of the workers: *I came to learn here about alien invasions when I started working here. We must take that out ... because that aliens is eating the roots of the other plants.*

In addition to new information, many of the participants in KAP demonstrate increased understanding of environmental issues that affect Cape Town. Carmen is aware of the needs of the next generation. *The goal of this work is to keep nature clean, so that you can attract more children. So that children can (learn about) animals.* Klaas has learned about the value of an urban river and the loss of living creatures and biodiversity that canalization has brought to Gugulethu. *We are trying to keep the (Liesbeek) river natural. Where we are coming from (Gugulethu), there is cement underneath; it's canalized too much. There is nothing that's living there; it's just water that's running down the street. It's canalized too much.*

Trzyna (2010) suggests that outdoor experiences are more relevant than conventional education for helping city dwellers gain appreciation for nature. Similarly, Pitt and Boule (2010) argue that it is necessary to experience an emotional shift as a precondition to creating environmental awareness. The way in which an experiential shift can lead to cognitive change is demonstrated by the following examples.

Klaas' experiences with snakes have brought new understanding. *We're all afraid of the snakes, all of us; we jump each and every time we see the snakes, we jump and run away. It also runs away, because I think they are scared more than us, especially the mole snakes. But we are getting used to them a little bit, because we know now, because we've been told, that they're not poisonous.* Klaas values his increase in environmental knowledge and understanding. *I like it because I'm learning a lot, and there's a lot to learn, about animals, special species.* He also understands the problem of alien invasive plants. *Some of the aliens, they are using a lot of water, like the poplar trees, they are sucking a lot of water. That is why we try to remove them.*

Neville never really took note of his surroundings, despite living close to the 'bush' all his life, and he was not taken on environmental outings when he was at school. Then, when he was 20, Neville got a temporary job at Zandvlei Nature Reserve. There he discovered a passion for nature, and for wildlife in particular. *Really, I became very, very interested, and since now (from now on), I want to learn more and more about nature.* It started with the pet snake in the administration buildings that he was helping to renovate. *'It was in summer I came here, I first met the snake there, inside, and I first got to feed him... I love it, I enjoy being with him...I never know they was so calm to people'*. Catching snakes on the reserve and bringing them in for identification became his favourite part of the job. Subsequently, Neville became involved in bird counting too. *'Every time, I asked, What kind of bird is that? How do you identify it? So he said to me, Do you want to do the bird counting?'* Neville jumped at the invitation, and so began his self-education. *'And now, I've got a few books myself, also now, ja, and snake books'*. Neville feels that he has gained a new awareness through being exposed to nature, and learning more about it. ... *the community, ...They don't know what they miss out when they throw the litter in. ... Like I was, when I was still in the community. Now I've learned. Now I think those people, they don't know. They haven't learned about nature. I think it's education, like the younger children, they must only be educated.*

Before Sivu started working for the Liesbeek Team, he lacked any appreciation of nature, other than as an exploitable resource, or as a threat to humans. *When I started, I have no clue about nature. Even trees, I could see trees to make firewood; snakes, I could see snakes as an enemy. When I see snakes, I would want just to kill it.* Since working with the Liesbeek Team, Sivu's attitude towards snakes has changed significantly. *But now I've been learned (taught) some few things about snakes. That they won't hurt me, they're just here for their thing. They won't come and chase me.* He is passionate about the work he is doing. *Conserving the nature, I like it. I like the kind of work we're doing here, taking out all these aliens, putting in the indigenous stuff, and rehabilitating the river.* He now considers himself one of the most knowledgeable members of the team. *We try to educate them (the other workers), what's what, and what's not.*

### **6.1.3. Pride in one's contribution to the environment**

Linked to the joy of working in nature and an increase in knowledge and understanding is pride and belief in the work one is doing. Workers experience pride when they see their work in the broader context of nature conservation, and understand the significant role that the environmental site has for the city (Pitt and Boule, 2010). They know that they have made a difference.

Faqhmieda feels that she has made a difference to the Liesbeek, and as a result, she experiences pride in her contribution to the site. *In a few years time, I can bring my children here and show them, This is what Mommy did a few years back, this is the kind of work that I did.*

Klaas has made a personal investment in the restoration of the Liesbeek River: *But I'm telling you, we have been working very hard. We have made a lot of changes. That whole bank was full of ginger and stuff. And you can see from down there, we have just done a massive job.* This translates into pride, commitment, and environmental passion, to the point where he would prefer not to leave the Liesbeek. *Because I've been working on this one (the Liesbeek River), I am very interested in this one. I can see it's going well. Each and every job I'm doing here, I want to see in many years to come, I want to see that tree is planted by me. The more I plant more trees here, I want to, in years to come, say, That was me!*

Octavia feels that she makes a difference and is proud of what she does. She tells her son, *Mommie did plant and Mommie did rake, and pick up papers, every Thursday, litter picking.*

Neville is very clear about his contribution. *I know I can make a difference of picking out aliens 'cause they're not indigenous. So I know I do something good when I remove aliens.*

Sivu relates the impact of what he is doing to the bigger context of South Africa and tourists from abroad. *Because, if you get a few years back, this river was like a dumping place. At least now, we're trying our bit to change that. Even if there's*

*someone coming from overseas, to come here... so we're trying to fight that (alien invasive species). I love Liesbeek a lot. I would love to see it grow to a bigger thing.*

Siya also takes pride in contributing to South Africa's reputation with tourists. *When someone can come here to tourism, it must look nice, so to give more interest to the person who's coming here. He need to come back again, ja, ja, ja.*

When workers feel that their team does not make a positive difference to the environment, however, feelings of pride are replaced with negative feelings of despondency. Shafiq is prepared to do the work: *I feel fine if I come to work here in the mornings, and to do the work. It's good work to clean my place that I stay in.* But he feels despondent because: *I don't see a change, because the things is getting thrown back in the river. I don't see a difference.* Darion also feels despondent and frustrated: *We've cleaned there, but the stuff is worse than ever now again. There's hardly anyone that's comes around to check up on the work we do. Whenever they do come here, they just see, ugh, the place looks like this. But they don't know what it looks like yesterday.* The context in which the work occurs is therefore of vital significance.

#### **6.1.4. Skills development**

Several of the workers in the KAP feel that they are acquiring new skills that may not lead to certificates, but are nonetheless worthwhile. They include practical skills, leadership skills, teamwork and communication skills. These skills are, however, not formally inculcated; they arise as incidental by-products of doing the work. Workers are frequently left to figure out solutions by themselves, not always successfully.

#### **Practical skills**

For the first three weeks, Faqhmeda found that *'the physical part was very difficult'*, but now, she enjoys using a garden fork, a rake and a spade, and feels confident that she is strong enough for the physical requirements of the job. *You must be fit for this kind of work, you must be, otherwise you's not going to do the job the way Jason (the manager) wants it to be done.*

Klaas, while he has been taught several new skills in his work on the Liesbeek, understands his limitations. *That's a poplar tree, straight there. It's big, too much for us. There are trees that we can't cut ourselves. We still have to go on a course of to do a chain saw. So we haven't gone yet. We can't attack that one; it's out of our control for now. So we try to take those that are still very small. ... I know the side of practical too much.*

Siya reveled in the multiple skills he learned while working at Zandvlei. *Ja, we paint, the Education Room, and outside of the office; we paint it, we builded some blocks, to fix the roof. And when you put a pole, you working with concrete, using concrete, sand, all of stuff like that.*

Yolanda, too, is proud of the various new practical skills she has learned since working at Zandvlei. *I don't know if you've seen the fence at The Mond? We built it. We worked at Zeekoeivlei, put up an electric fence for the hippo. We put up two fences there.*

### **Leadership skills**

Klaas was recently promoted to the position of supervisor of the Liesbeek Team, comprising fourteen workers. He has no special training for this leadership position. In his opinion, his greatest qualification for the position is his understanding of the physical reality of the work, based on his own experience as a general worker. *I know exactly how it feels to do this and this and this.* His leadership style is to lead by example. *When I work, I never say, 'Guys, do this!' I always say, 'Let's do this and this!' I'm always there. I know how hard the job we're doing is, how tiring it is.* However, at this stage, he still lacks confidence in his abilities as a leader and is aware the complexities of his new position. *It's quite a challenge, quite challenging, like to deal with the guys we have here. They are all sweet when you see them. They are sweet, especially during lunchtime. When it comes to time when we have to work, then some of them, they have to like, argue a lot.*

Despite the difficulties, Klaas feels confident and trusted by the manager. *I enjoy the work. I really enjoy it because I feel free. I know that I have my duty for the day. He*

*[the manager] trusts me.* Yet, for Klaas, there appears to be a cultural gap between the project manager of the Liesbeek Maintenance Project, and 'the different guys like us'. He has to accommodate this different management role model. *Sometimes I get like very, very upset (with the team), sometimes, that's where I need him to intervene. And then, he doesn't do it the way I expect him to, and I ask him to do. He's always being a nice guy, and he say, Guys, can we please...? That's not the way I want it to be. But because he's a nice guy, and I can see he's also learning to be in charge of the different guys like us.* Klaas is sensing a spectrum of different management possibilities and styles, and it seems his social understanding of the world has been enlarged. Above all, Klaas wants to continue on a growth path: *I'm still learning a lot, each and every day. I learn from all the challenges that I get.* He hopes to rise in his profession, but is aware of the difficulties ahead. *Yes, definitely, I do, I do, but we have our own challenges in life, so it's taking too slow sometimes.*

It appears therefore, that Klaas is learning leadership skills, but more through his own initiative and having a positive role model than through any formal training. His learning is therefore dependent on the context in which he works. In the case of the Oceanview site, this is not happening. Magdaleen, the supervisor, feels that her position is stressful. *I don't even feel like coming to work anymore, because I have to talk to them over and over again, Do this, do that, do this, do that. It's stressful to be a supervisor, really stressful.* Her leadership style is very different to that of Klaas. *I mostly supervise the guys, I tell them, Guys, right, this morning, I want you to do this for me, and you must do that for me.*

Yolanda, the supervisor at Zandvlei, takes her leadership role in her stride. *It's mostly the way you are with people and the way you yourself build yourself. You just have to be there for people. You just have to interact. Just be yourself.* The biggest challenge is *when the workers get a little grumpy, but that's all in a day's work. Just work around that. Just work around that.* She is inspired by the project at Zandvlei and has a clear vision for her team: *The way we see it, we would love to build Zandvlei more up, stay here, maintain the place; for the community to come in and see.* She doesn't see the work as difficult: *I don't see it as hard. For me, it's my job. I must do it. I'm here to earn my money, so I must work. I have to do my job.*



It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to isolate or explain the factors that enable or disable leadership candidates from developing greater leadership skills. But it appears that in certain contexts, urban environmental job creation projects have the potential to enhance innate leadership qualities.

### **Teamwork skills**

The KAP teams draw together a fairly disparate group of people who initially share little in common, other than that they are prepared to work for the low public works wages and that they live in the qualifying area for the public works programme. The teams therefore include people from very diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, who frequently do not even speak the same language. Developing teamwork skills such as collaboration, communication and shared decision-making is therefore important (Nielsen et al., 2009). Increasing perceptions of team efficacy by individuals in the group leads to better motivation, goal commitment, and performance by the group, but may also contribute to individual job satisfaction and provide skills that are useful in other areas of the participants' lives (Nielsen et al., 2009). Urban conservation work provides opportunities for participants to experience teamwork, and to master some of these skills.

Ashwin appreciates the collaboration, communication and shared decision-making in his team. *So it's the people you work with, and the work. If the people don't treat you like they must, then you not going to do it, even though you like it. So it's actually the team and the work. And the people I work with now, I don't think you will get any other people that's like them. They really help me. Sometimes you don't know if it is an alien plant, then you have to make sure, then you ask them, then they tell you, It is an alien plant, or maybe it's not an alien plant.*

Klaas is aware of the value of teamwork and companionship. *That's what's keeping us together and happy, working with the group, and having chats while we're working. As a supervisor, he feels that his duties extend to the welfare and happiness of his team. And I hope, I really hope, that they are happy, I want to keep them happy, working happy.* He recognises the connection between the workers' wellbeing and their

productivity. *Because if they are not happy, I don't think we are going to go far. We will never work the way we do if we are not happy.*

Siya values the relationships he has built with Zandvlei staff and team members during the course of the year. *Ja, it's the people that I'm work with. All management at Zandvlei, and the team.* Despite the long distance he travels to work each day, he would rather continue to build on these relationships than to have a different job somewhere closer to home. *I don't want to start a new relationship (working in) Kraaifontein. Sometimes it can make better, but I know these people.*

### **Communication skills**

One aspect of communication is language. It is to be expected that several languages may be spoken in the KAP teams, and it is therefore realistic to expect that there will be language difficulties and language barriers. It is important to be aware how misunderstandings can arise because of miscommunications based on different first languages (Pitt and Boule, 2010). In the group interview, all the members of the Liesbeek Maintenance Project said that they had learnt new vocabulary, in English, Afrikaans or Xhosa, through being obliged to communicate with their team members.

In addition, there are ways of communicating and understanding people that go beyond language. As a supervisor in a leadership position, Klaas is developing these additional interpersonal, communication skills. *Because you can see, the guys, some of their mothers and fathers from their houses... so they come with their stress and then we have to deal with that. We need to understand sometimes, ok, he may be having these problems, and he doesn't want to talk about it, so we rather let him (stay) like this, and then try to talk to him (later).*

Workers also enjoy communicating and sharing knowledge with team members. However, as Klaas explicitly says, this sharing of knowledge is additional to the job, and not the seen as the task of the day. *And I even call the stuff by its name, all the plants, to making sure that some of them they do learn. Some of them, they are taking time to learn. And I don't stick on learning them, because the job for the day is not to teach them all the plants. I teach them while we are working, I say 'Let's do this, this is*

*called that, and this is called this' ... It's not that I have to teach them. I focus on doing the duty that's supposed to be done.*

Sivu tries to educate his fellow workers when possible. *We try to educate them, what's what, and what's not. At least now they can identify the alien plants without me and Klaas telling them.*

Siya, at Zandvlei, also enjoys sharing knowledge and learning from others. *Ja, I teach with other, my experience that I have. And I give, with my advice. And then my team give me his advice.*

Neville takes knowledge sharing a step further and has volunteered his time on weekends to share his knowledge with members of the community. *We maybe take a bunch of kids from the local communities. We take them up, show them the trees, and explain them a bit about some trees.*

#### **6.1.5. Growth in empowerment**

According to Oakley and Clayton (2000), the concrete manifestations of empowerment include greater confidence in one's ability to undertake new actions successfully, and the most relevant criterion for understanding empowerment is the change that has taken place from the perspective of the people involved.

Before her job with the KAP, Faqmieda was unemployed for 2 years and she disliked *sitting around at home*. Her work with the KAP has given her new confidence in her ability to learn and master new skills. *I would like ... to learn how, what kind of poisons to use to spray the plants that don't belong there, and ja, that is it, so one day (if) I'm not working here anymore, then I can say, I got experience of that kind of work, I can maybe get me a job by (City of Cape Town) Parks and Forests.*

Klaas has been working with the Liesbeek Maintenance Project for several years and was recently promoted to supervisor. He is empowered by the responsibility of planning ahead, which is different from the mainly physical routine of the job. *And we need to do the special stuff, like looking after (the river) when it's going to be over-*

*flooded, and then we have to be there, and making sure that things are not getting out of control. We need to plan what's going to happen after the rain, after this and this has happened. That's how I learn.*

Siya travels from the north of Cape Town to work in Zandvlei in the south of Cape Town, and gets to work before 7am each day. He considers the job worth the long commute because it makes him *'very creative, very creative, and quick to think, since working here'*.

During the group interview, members of the KAP team, who have non-permanent contracts, were asked how their feelings of self-confidence had been affected by the work. It was important to discover whether this was an isolated benefit or something that applied to most of the group. The group raised the following concepts:

- *Belief in yourself*
- *Feelings of empowerment*
- *Self-confidence*
- *Hope for the future*

In the discussion that followed, every one of the eight members of the KAP team agreed that the above attributes had increased, in their own experience, and that this would be something they would take away from the job, even if the current contract were not renewed. One participant said that her new skills would enable her to apply for a gardening job, if the contract were not renewed. Another stated that she now felt empowered to go and apply for a job with landscaping companies.

The work in itself, however, is not always empowering, and fear of the contract's expiry is a major limiting factor in some cases. Yolanda, the supervisor at Zandvlei, was asked where she would like to be in her life in five years' time and her answer was unequivocal: *Well, first of all, being here! Help Management uplift Zandvlei; just see myself doing new things here. And I'd really love, if it's by any chance, love to do a course in nature, if it's possible, I'd really love to do that.* Despite her strong work ethic and passion for her job at Zandvlei, however, Yolanda feels powerless in her life, because she lacks the security of a permanent contract. *Seriously, I think I'm at the*

*bottom because I'm still reaching out, to get somewhere. Ja, and (I need) security. Give me a permanent job, and just go from there. I can build myself up from there.*

The context in which workers are situated appears to be critical to any potential growth in empowerment. In the case of Oceanview, workers did not experience empowerment. On the contrary, they would leave the work if they had other options.

Darion felt that his team's work was ineffective. He complained about the lack of tools and that the supervisor was '*not firm enough*'. His vision for the river was for it to be cleaned up properly, with benches for the community. If he were in charge, he claimed he would '*treat it like his backyard, and keep it very clean*'. He was demotivated, however, by the lack of effectiveness of the team's work. A big problem was that rubbish that the team removed from the river was not taken away soon enough by the waste removal truck, and often ended up back in the river. For Darion, the KAP contract is about providing for his children: *And Christmas is around the corner, my kids is looking at me, Daddy what we gonna have for Christmas? And I can't say, I'm gonna have something for you... The other team signed a 5-month contract, going on into the new year, but we are going to have to wait and see if we get a new contract ...I'd prefer to be on the other team, because I mean here, just say for instance, we lose this contract...* If the opportunity arose, he would gladly take a better paying, easier job.

Shafiq, too, feels despondent about his work at Oceanview. *I don't see a change, because the things is getting thrown back in the river. I don't see a difference.* However, it seems that he has very little choice but to carry on with the job, if the contract gets renewed: *I don't have work at the moment. I must do this to keep my family's mouth open.*

#### **6.1.6. Expansion of personal horizons**

The multiple dimensions of poverty include political and economic marginalization, and this is particularly true in South Africa. Many of the participants in the KAP come from communities that were deliberately marginalised, politically, educationally and economically, by apartheid era policies. One of the potential benefits of the KAP is for

participants to be exposed to new and different perspectives on life. Participants may begin to envisage different futures for themselves or their communities.

Neville is 21, and has been working at Zandvlei for over a year. Through his newfound love of nature, his personal horizons have expanded. *I would really like to, in my own future, I would like to experience more about nature, and I would love to work in different nature reserves, or in, like, a wild nature reserve.* Driven by his passion for wildlife, he can envisage himself travelling, *like maybe in Australia, cause I know there's a lot of big animals, so I'd love to experience what happens there.* From Neville's point of view, there has been a transformation in his life. *Ja, things change, like how I came into nature, and now I love it, I really love it!*

Working in nature conservation and encountering new knowledge has broadened Sivu's horizons too. He would like *not just to know all these things (from practical experience but) to know it from a book, not just outside, when I work with them. I would even like to know what's in the book, what is the book saying. I would love to learn more about this nature-conserving thing, even study for maybe horticulture, if I could get that chance. Ever since I've joined, I've just loved working with nature.* Furthermore, Sivu envisions the possibility that other members of his community can be empowered and transformed, as he has been. *They need the knowledge, people who could help educate them about the nature, the importance of the nature, that's the thing. They don't have the knowledge about nature, that's the main thing.*

## **6.2. Benefits for society**

In addition to the personal benefits that participants on the KAP may experience, there may also be a change in values or behaviour that could contribute to a more integrated, democratic or environmentally aware society.

### **6.2.1. Development of work ethic**

'Work ethic' is defined as the idea of productive work being valued *'in and for itself by those who do it, encouraging them to invest greater effort than could be achieved by social pressures, incentive payments, or other devices'* (Scott and Marshall, 2009). A

good work ethic includes initiative, commitment to accomplishing the set task, and understanding of obligations; and it can, arguably, contribute to society's welfare.

For Faqhmieda, the biggest problem with the KAP work is other people's absenteeism and laziness. *Because why, there's a team working very hard and there's some guy standing using the rake for a hanging pole, or chatting ... now the work is not done, now all of us must go through it, and do that work finish.* She admits that she is not exempt from this behaviour, and that it impacts on the team. Through working with the team, however, and experiencing the impact of others' shirking, Faqhmieda has developed a better understanding of her obligations to the project. *Like I'm in the same situation, there is times when I also lazy, when I stand using the rake for my friend, but at the end then, the whole team have to suffer. The work still has to get done.*

Although it is not in the scope of this dissertation to find the factors that contribute to participants' positive experiences, it appears that trust is highly valued and plays a role in developing work ethic. Klaas, the supervisor of the Liesbeek Team, has benefitted from the responsibility and trust that comes with his position. He understands his obligations and demonstrates initiative. *I enjoy the work. I really enjoy it because I feel free. I know that I have my duty for the day. I don't feel any pressure, because I can talk to Jason (the manager). I can tell him, the task for the day is like this. He trusts me and then he knows. He's also reasonable, he can see why; we're working under other conditions like the weather.*

Sivu demonstrates an important aspect of work ethic in showing initiative, and the desire to continue working even when inclement weather prevents the usual tasks from being done. *Yes, when it's raining there are those things that we could do. ... (rather) than just to chase people away, (saying) No, we can't work today. At least try something to do.*

### **6.2.2. Decrease in gender stereotyping**

Like WfW, the KAP follows the EPWP policy guidelines of equal work for equal pay. Faqhmieda enjoys this. Expectations of men and women do not differ. *It's not like (because) you's a woman, you do a lighter job. No, you must do the same as the boy's*

*doing. So there's no difference in a girl and a boy, no, it's working the very same. And that's good, really!*

### **6.2.3. Decrease in racial stereotyping**

Through the experience of working in a team to accomplish common goals, it is possible that racial stereotyping may be reduced. Zola's work with the Liesbeek Team, which includes diverse ethnic groups and cultures, has resulted in some positive experiences, thus helping to reduce prejudice and stereotyping. *Sometimes you can see that there's different ethnic groups. So it's difficult to work with them. But sometimes it's nice; we even share some things, like food.*

### **6.2.4. Increase in pro-environmental behaviour**

It is important to bear in mind Hungerford and Volk 's (1990) argument that increased environmental information does not necessarily lead directly to pro-environmental behaviour. According to Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002), environmental citizenship includes the feelings of awareness, pride, dignity, and responsibility that come with connecting to nature. Furthermore, environmental citizenship helps to recreate connections between people and nature. In this sense, environmental citizenship and pro-environmental behaviour have overlapping qualities. Stern's generic definition of pro-environmental behaviour as '*behaviour that is undertaken with the intention to benefit the environment*' (2000: 408) is descriptive of the attitudes and behaviours exhibited by many of the workers, as can be seen in the following comments.

Carmen feels good about contributing towards a cleaner environment. *We went to clean up at the police station. We helped. I'm glad we went, to keep our place clean.*

Klaas expresses environmental citizenship by acknowledging that he has a role to play in climate change mitigation: *I know things that we are doing; we are involved. Things like trees, we need to keep the city green. We know the things that we are supposed to be doing, lot of things that we are supposed to be doing.*



Neville's new knowledge and understanding about littering have led to a change in behaviour: *...like when I was still in the community, I never came out to learn about nature. Now I've learned, now I know I mustn't pollute.* In addition, Neville gives up his free time to teach and inspire the youth of his community about the joys of nature. *Now I have the opportunity to learn about nature and I'm very interested, and it became, I love nature now. I'm busy becoming a hiking leader (on a volunteer basis).*

Sivu is distressed by the condition of the Khayelitsha wetlands. *You can see the rivers there in the township, such a mess.* With his increased knowledge and understanding, Siyu is empowered to believe that he could make a difference, demonstrating a pro-environmental attitude. *Actually I would love to be part of the project that would start there in the township... I would love to be a part of that.* The desire to extend the benefits of nature conservation to his community goes beyond the desire for financial remuneration. He wants to get the community to engage with their environment, *not even just for the money, just to make the place clean.*

Yolanda appreciates the value of nature reserves like Zandvlei and wishes to contribute to its maintenance and share it with the bigger community. *The way we (the workers) see it, we would love to build Zandvlei more up, stay here, maintain the place, for the community to come in and see.*

Societal benefits like improvement in work ethic and growth in pro-environmental behaviour are not automatic consequences of the work, however, but appear to be dependent on context and leadership. It is, however, beyond the scope of this dissertation to determine these factors.

## **7. Conclusion**

Cape Town continues to undergo urbanization and densification. Rivers and wetlands will therefore be increasingly valuable to the people of Cape Town by providing green spaces that are necessary for physical, spiritual and cultural sustainability. In addition, rivers and wetland ecosystems contribute to climate change resilience. By paying otherwise unemployed, local people to restore and maintain these rivers, the KAP makes a contribution to the attainment of two of the

goals of sustainable development, namely: poverty alleviation and environmental sustainability.

The findings of this study show that in addition to addressing environmental sustainability and alleviating some of the tangible aspects of poverty, urban environmental job creation projects, urban environmental job creation projects, can, in certain contexts, begin to address the more intangible dimensions of poverty. The multiple dimensions of poverty include social discrimination, being marginalised from society, lack of participation in community decision-making, shame and disempowerment. While job creation projects in South Africa are highly valued for the tangible financial assistance they provide to workers, they do not automatically address these intangible aspects of poverty. Where this is under-acknowledged, a less comprehensive approach to poverty reduction is achieved. On the other hand, environmental job creation projects that acknowledge and begin to focus on the above-mentioned opportunities, begin to reduce the negative experiences of being unemployed and impoverished, providing beneficiaries with far more than wages and certification skills.

This dissertation proposes a new (adapted) conceptual framework as a tool for categorizing the co-benefits of urban environmental job creation projects into benefits for individuals and for society.

### **Personal benefits**

The intangible personal benefits are of great significance to participants. The opportunity to be in nature, which many of the workers identified as a particularly enjoyable aspect of the work, distinguishes environmental jobs from other jobs. Where workers had limited previous exposure to formal environmental education, the experience of working to clean and maintain a wetland or river environment serves, in many cases, as a powerful tool to increase knowledge and understanding of nature. Even though there is very little formal instruction (other than the certification courses) in the KAP, workers learn about a particular ecosystem, often as an incidental by-product of the job, because conservation jobs are focused on a particular site. In many cases, an initial appreciation of nature is enhanced and

stimulated through the work.

The programme also, even if unintentionally, provides an opportunity for the development of various skills that are useful to the individual. These include practical skills, leadership skills, teamwork skills and communication skills. Workers come to know and recognise the impacts of their work. When their work has a positive impact on the environment, it leads to feelings of pride in contributing to the environment.

Taken together, the joy of working in nature plus the increase in knowledge and skills and pride all contribute to the growth of self-confidence and empowerment in the worker. These intangible but significant benefits may contribute to an expansion of personal horizons, and may ultimately enhance an individual's chance of securing permanent employment outside of the programme.

### **Societal benefits**

In addition to the personal benefits that participants on the KAP may experience, many of the workers also demonstrated a change in values or behaviour that could contribute to a more integrated, democratic or environmentally aware society. Of these, the first is the value of a work ethic. The idea of productive work being valued '*in and for itself*' was clearly shown by several of the participants. Another societal benefit is the reduction of gender stereotyping. Like Working for Water, the KAP follows the Expanded Public Works Programme policy guidelines of equal work for equal pay. Where this policy is adhered to, it can contribute to a reduction of gender stereotyping. Working with people from other cultures and races is an opportunity for people to get to know each other on a deeper level than communities sometimes allow. Through the experience of working in a team to accomplish common goals, racial stereotyping can therefore be reduced. Examples of an increase in pro-environmental behaviour or environmental citizenship were evident amongst several of the workers. Environmental citizenship, that connects local people to their immediate environment, is an important component of a city's environmental sustainability.

Significantly, however, the study also shows that the realization of personal and societal benefits is not a guaranteed by-product of environmental jobs. The core tasks of the KAP environmental teams are the removal of aliens and the maintenance of a clean river. In cases where a team does not feel effective in accomplishing these tasks, most of the potential developmental co-benefits will not be realized. Worse, feelings of disempowerment and the other negative intangible dimensions of poverty may be exacerbated, despite the real advantages of earning a wage. While it is not in the scope of this dissertation to identify or examine the factors that contribute to the realization of the above-mentioned benefits, it is clear that certain contexts are more productive than others.

This research has explored the connections between urban conservation work and positive personal and social outcomes such as empowerment, skills and pro-environmental behaviour. It has argued that these outcomes are indeed achievable, and it has provided a framework for identifying the various benefits. At the same time, however, the findings reveal that these intangible benefits are not a given result, and that the context in which a team operates affects the outcomes.

## **8. Recommendations**

This research has identified three key areas where opportunities exist to enhance the co-benefits experienced by workers on urban environmental job creation projects.

Firstly, it supports the recommendation by Hough and Prozesky that the short-term nature of environmental job creation projects be reassessed. Participants' biggest wish was for their contracts to be renewed, so that they could enjoy some job security. Whereas Hough and Prozesky (2012) suggest that it is the implementation of public works programmes that leads to beneficiary dependence, this paper has argued that, in fact, environmental job creation projects have the potential to increase beneficiaries' self esteem and to provide many other intangible personal and social benefits. These workers' dependency on this employment is not necessarily a result of working in government job creation programmes, but rather, a valid and appropriate response to the condition of permanent structural unemployment in South Africa. In other words, the majority of beneficiaries continue to be dependent

on the income provided by these programmes, despite the developmental benefits described in this study, because of the lack of jobs that the South African economy provides.

Secondly, the research indicates that there is scope for environmental job creation programmes to contribute to the environmental knowledge and understanding of participants, that this opportunity is not being addressed sufficiently, and that it would be valued by participants. This could benefit environmental programmes in two distinct ways. On the one hand, as workers gain more environmental knowledge and skills, they are more able to contribute to the environmental work they are engaged in. On the other hand, as workers gain more environmental knowledge and skills, there is more opportunity for them to convert skills into environmental jobs outside the programme. This could contribute to the sustainability of these public works programmes.

Thirdly, further research is needed to explore the different factors that contribute to the positive outcomes experienced by the workers. The extent to which personal empowerment and pro-environmental attitudes are facilitated could ultimately have a positive impact on the sustainability of environmental job creation projects and Cape Town's natural resources.

## References

Buch, A. and Dixon, A. 2009. South Africa's working for water programme: searching for win-win outcomes for people and the environment. *Sustainable Development*. 17: 129–141. Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/sd.370/abstract> [May 2012]

Centre for Development and Enterprise. 2011. *A fresh look at unemployment*. Available at: [http://www.cde.org.za/article.php?a\\_id=400](http://www.cde.org.za/article.php?a_id=400) [June 2012]

City of Cape Town (CoCT). 2012a. City's river cleaning project is creating jobs. Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/mayor/Pages/Citysrivercleaningprojcreatingjobs.aspx> [January 2013]

City of Cape Town (CoCT). 2012b. *Integrated Development Plan*. Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/IDP/Pages/default.aspx> [January 2013]

Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE). 2007. *Working for Water Impact Evaluation- Final Report*. Johannesburg. South Africa. Available at: [http://www.case.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=10&Itemid=22](http://www.case.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10&Itemid=22) [May 2012]

Davies, R. and Dart, J. 2005. *The Most Significant Change (MSC) Technique: A guide to its use*. Cambridge, United Kingdom, and Hastings, Victoria, Australia.

Hough, J. and Prozesky, H. 2012. Beneficiaries' aspirations to permanent employment within the South African Working for Water Programme. *Social Dynamics*. 38 (2). Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/doi/abs/10.1080/02533952.2012.719395> [November 2012]

Hungerford, H. and Volk, T. 1990. *Changing learner behaviour through environmental education*. Available at: <http://www.cbtrust.org/atf/cf/%7BEB2A714E-8219-45E8->

8C3D 50EBE1847CB8%7D/Changing%20learner%20behavior%20-%20H%20and%20V.pdf [January 2012]

Ibrahim S. and Alkire S. 2009. Missing dimensions of poverty data: a proposal for internationally comparable indicators of agency and empowerment. *Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative*. University of Oxford. Available at: [http://www.ophi.org.uk/...content/.../Empowerment\\_survey\\_July09](http://www.ophi.org.uk/...content/.../Empowerment_survey_July09) [October 2012]

Kollmuss, A. and Agyeman, J. 2002. Mind the Gap: why do people act environmentally and what are the barriers to pro-environmental behavior? *Environmental Education Research*. 8(3). Available at: <http://www.ecocreditz.com.au/downloads/379819/Mind+Gap+Kollmuis+and+Agyeman.pdf> [November 2012]

Magadlela, D. and Mdzeke, N. 2004. Social benefits in the Working for Water Programme as a public works initiative. *South African Journal of Science*. 100: 94–96.

McCord, A. 2004. *Public Works: Policy Expectations and Programme Realities*. SALDRU/CSSR. Working Paper 79. University of Cape Town: Cape Town.

Mukheiber, P. and Ziervogel, G. 2007. Developing a Municipal Adaptation Plan for climate change: City of Cape Town. *Environment and Urbanization*. 19: (1) 143-158

Narayan *et al.* 2009. *Moving Out of Poverty: Success from the Bottom Up*. Volume 2. The World Bank: Palgrave MacMillan.

Nielsen, K., Yarker, J., Randall, R. and Munir, F. 2009. The mediating effects of team and self-efficacy on the relationship between transformational leadership, and job satisfaction and psychological well being in healthcare professionals: A cross-sectional questionnaire survey. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*. 46: 1236–1244

Oakley P. and Clayton A. 2000. The monitoring and evaluation of empowerment: a resource document. *Occasional Papers Series No. 26*. Oxford.

O' Farrell, P. and Anderson, P. 2010. Sustainable multifunctional landscapes: a review to implementation. *Current opinion in environmental sustainability*. 2:1-7.

Oxford Poverty and Human Development Index (OPHI). 2011. *Multidimensional Poverty Index*. Available at: <http://www.ophi.org.uk/policy/multidimensional-poverty-index> [May 2012]

Pitt, B and Boulle, T. 2010. *Growing together: thinking and practice of urban nature conservators*. SANBI and Cape Flats Nature, Cape Town. Available at: [http://www.capeflatsnature.co.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=56&Itemid=66](http://www.capeflatsnature.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=56&Itemid=66) [November 2012]

Reed, M. S., Evely, A., Cundill, G., Fazey, I., Glass, J., Laing, A., Newig, J., Parrish, B., Prell, C. Raymond, C. and Stringer, L. 2010. What is social learning? *Ecology and Society*. 15 (4) Available at: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/volXX/issYY/artZZ/> [November 2012]

Riessman, C. K. 2005. Narrative Analysis. In: *Narrative, Memory & Everyday Life*. University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield. p. 1-7. Available at: <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/4920/> [June 2012]

Riessman, C.K. 2008. *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Sage Publications. California.

Scott, J. and Marshall, G. 2009. *A Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford. Available at: <http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199533008.001.0001> [January 2013]

Statistics South Africa. 2012. Labour Force Survey March 2012. Statistics South Africa: Pretoria. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/PublicationsHTML/P02111stQuarter2012/html/P02111stQuarter2012.html> [May 2012]



Stern, P. 2000. Toward a Coherent Theory of Environmentally Significant Behavior. *Journal of Social Issues*. 56 (3): 407–424. Available at: <http://www.worldresourcesforum.org/files/file/Stern%20%20Toward%20a%20Coherent%20Theory%20of%20Environmentally%20Significant%20Behavior.pdf> [November 2012]

Trzyna, T. 2010. *Cities and Protected Areas*. The Urban Specialist Group. World Commission on Protected Areas, International Union for Conservation of Nature. Available at: <http://www.interenvironment.org/pa> [May 2012]

Turpie, J., Marais, C. and Blignaut, J. 2008. The working for water programme: Evolution of a payments for ecosystem services mechanism that addresses both poverty and ecosystem service delivery in South Africa. *Ecological Economics*. 65(4) Available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0921800907006167> [May 2012]

United Nations (UN). 2005. Report on the forty-third session. Commission for Social Development. Official Records, 2005. Supplement No. 6.

United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). 2007. *Working for Water: A South African Sustainability Case*. Available at: [http://www.unep.org/training/programmes/Instructor%20Version/Part\\_3/readings/WfW\\_case.pdf](http://www.unep.org/training/programmes/Instructor%20Version/Part_3/readings/WfW_case.pdf) [May 2012]

**Appendix A: Consent and Disclosure Forms****CONSENT FORM**

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_

I agree to take part in this interview. I understand that there are no risks, benefits, costs or rewards.

I give my permission for my name to be used in the study:

Yes

No

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's signature: \_\_\_\_\_

**DISCLOSURE FORM**

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this research project for UCT.

Your voluntary participation is much appreciated.

Researcher: Leslie Ashburner (072 9592615)

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: Liesbeek Team group interview

DATE: 13 December 2012

PLACE: Field next to Friends of the Liesbeek Store Shed, Newlands

TIME: 15.00 – 16.00 (end of the working day)

PRESENT: The four permanent members of the Liesbeek Maintenance Team, plus eight KAP workers.

### Question 1. What have you learned through this job?

This question was directed at all the Liesbeek workers. Nine responses were given (see Table 1), and captured on a chart for discussion. Comments on the responses were not recorded, but, once all the responses had been captured, the group was asked to show their agreement with the responses, by show of hands.

Table 1. Level of agreement with things learned through the job.

Response	Level of agreement, by show of hands	Explanation
<i>How to clean the river</i>	11	1 participant felt she had always known how to keep things clean
<i>First Aid</i>	5	Only 5 participants had been on the course
<i>About different kinds of plants and flowers</i>	12	All felt that they had gained some new knowledge. Indigenous plants that were mentioned by various participants were: fig plant, agapanthus, siphurus. Aliens plants that were mentioned were: baboon vine, poplar tree, ginger, canna, and nasturtium.
<i>How to plant things properly</i>	12	1 participant knew how to plant things previously, but nevertheless felt that her knowledge of planting had increased. Several of the others said that they had never planted anything before starting the job.

<i>How to work with tools</i>	6	5 participants had been on various courses, and 1 participant had taught herself some new skills
<i>How to look after plants (watering and weeding)</i>	11	1 participant said that these were not new skills to her.
<i>Words from other languages</i>	12	All said that they had learnt new vocabulary, in either English, Afrikaans or Xhosa, from being obliged to communicate with their team members
<i>How to work with different people</i>	12	All felt that they had gained something from working as a team
<i>The importance of nature – we cannot live without it</i>	12	Everyone agreed heartily with this statement, but none could give a clear explanation of what this meant. Various explanations involved aliens, which don't belong in SA, and indigenous plants, which do, as well as the oxygen that we breathe, and the food that we eat.

Question 2. How have your feelings of self worth been affected by working for the KAP?

This question was directed specifically at the eight members of the KA team, who have non-permanent contracts. The goal was to gain a fuller understanding of one of the most important questions for the research, the question of whether or not, and to what extent, workers' self esteem was increased by the work. Furthermore, it was important to discover whether this was an isolated benefit or something that applied to most of the group. In answer to the question, participants put forward the following suggestions of attributes that had increased since they started working on the project.

- *Belief in yourself*
- *Feelings of empowerment*

- *Self-confidence*
- *Hope for the future*

In the discussion that followed, every one of the eight members of the KA team agreed that the above attributes had increased, in their own experience, and that this would be something they would take away from the job, even if the contract were not renewed after February 2013. One participant said that her new skills would enable her to apply for a gardening job, if the contract were not renewed. Another stated that she now felt empowered to go and apply for a job with landscaping companies.

## **Appendix C: Transcripts of interviews**

**In alphabetical order, according to first name:**

Ashwin

Carmen

Darion

Faqhmieda

Klaas

Magdaleen

Neville

Octavia

Shafiq

Sivu

Siya

Yolanda

Zola

**Ashwin**

DATE: 13 November 2012.

PLACE: Rondebosch

**PART 1**

*My name's Ashwin, and I'm from Garden Village, Maitland side.*

Have you been working on the project long?

*From the beginning of the year.*

And before then?

*I was working with other guy, electrical work. It was only a month contract I had with that guy. After that, say a month after that, I got this work.*

How did you hear about it?

*There was people there by us that started on the project. Jason actually told them to get more guys, and they brought me in.*

Are you enjoying the work?

*Ja, very much. It's nice to work outside and in nature. I like nature very much. That's why I enjoy my work.*

Tell me about the work that you do?

*Mostly we maintain the Liesbeek River, try to keep it as clean as possible, and also plant along the river, for everybody to keep it just for, mostly tourist sites and all that. But to keep the neighbourhood and everything clean; help other people, like the old people along the river. Some of them, maybe some of them need something in the river, maybe fell in the river in there, stuff like that, and they want us to take it out. So that's what we do.*

So it's not just the river, it's also the people?

*Actually making it a better place for them as well as for ourselves.*

What about alien invasives?

*The alien plants is just taking up all the space around the river, not just around the river, but everywhere nowadays. That's why we're just trying to take it out, and put plants there that belong there, that look more beautiful.*

But those orange plants look so pretty?

*They do but they take all the space for other plants. They don't grow on one 'dingis' (thing), they make a whole vine, and like if you want to plant, then you have to remove that to plant it.*

What do you mostly remove?

*Mostly we remove canna, and ginger.*

What's your worst part of the job?

*The worst part is the part where we work late, and all that. Sometimes we have to walk home from Newlands, that's mostly it.*

How long would it take you to get home?

*Like an hour, sometimes an hour and a half. It all depends on how fast you walk and all that. In the mornings they get us at River Park.*

Is that closer? How long does it take you to get there?

*Like 15 minutes, that's much closer.*

Do you know the Liesbeek?

*I know the Liesbeek. When we grew up, when I was just a little boy, we used to go to the Liesbeek like every time; we used to swim at Observatory Pool, that's just opposite. We used to sit there first, like picnic, me and my family, that's how I know the Liesbeek River.*

Was it different then?

*Very different, because it was just bush, and all that you couldn't like walk through it. But now we made it nice for everybody.*

It's a bit safer now?



*It's safer, you can see from the road into the bush, you can see now, cause first you couldn't.*

What do think is the most important thing about your job?

*The most important thing is just to do your work and just to get no complaints, that's the most important thing.*

What did you do yesterday?

*Yesterday we went to Bishops Court. We helped the other lady there. They have like a garden there, Bishops Court Village Garden. We helped them to remove all the vines there and there was a place they're going to plant. So we removed all the stuff that's not supposed to be there, like the alien plants, the branches that's hanging down. We removed all that yesterday.*

## PART 2

If you could do a different job?

*I wouldn't really say because I don't have anything on my mind right now, but if I would have wanted another job, it would have been with nature, the same, because I just love nature. I love being around it. And the people I work with now, I don't think you will get any other people that's like them. They really help me.*

The team is really important?

*Sometimes you don't know if it is an alien plant, then you have to make sure, then you ask them, then they tell you, It is an alien plant, or maybe it's not an alien plant. That's why you need people to work with you, otherwise the work is not going to go on like it's supposed to.*

What skills have you learned?

*A lot of skills. Like herbicide, brushcutting. I even went for a first aid course, and all that, so a lot of skills.*

What other skills would you like?

*I actually wanted to do everything that they have. I wanna learn all of that. Like chainsaw, and all of that, there's still a lot.*

And when do you go on holiday?

*Like the 14 December, I think it's holiday time.*

And you get paid during the holidays?

*Yes.*

When do you start again?

*Like the 9 January.*

Do you think there are people who would get this work and not be able to stay with it?

*Ja, there will be people. Most of the people think it's light work, and all that. But when it comes to the work, then they don't do it. They just stand around. There was people that started with me, but they're not here today, because maybe they could not keep up with the work. Maybe they don't want to work. I don't know. They have their own problems.*

Maybe it's something special about you?

*Because it is the work, but also the people that you work with. Because if they not going to be nice to you then you not going to enjoy the work. So it's the people you work with, and the work. If the people don't treat you like they must, then you not going also going to do it, even though you like it. So it's actually the team and the work.*

Is there a river in Maitland?

*The Black River that runs past us, through the back.*

Tell me about it?

*That river, how can I say now, it was also like the Liesbeek River. There is also bush around it. There's also people working there now. But the Black River, there was a lot of bodies found there, the time I was young, so people drowned there. I really don't go there to that river any more. Once I was with a friend that drowned there. That's why I don't go there.*

So you wouldn't like to work there, even though it's closer to where you live?

*And the stuff I know, experienced, and all that, just the memories is not right for me.*

What else could be done at the Liesbeek River if you were the boss?

*I'll just say maintenance is the most important thing, keeping it clean and safer for the people.*

*That's the most important.*

In your future, what do you see?

*I see me carrying on with this work, cause this is what I like, and I don't see me doing anything else.*

The end

**Carmen**

DATE: 14 December 2012

PLACE: Zandvlei

*I am Carmen. I do a lot of different work; it's not the same work everyday. And one learns a lot here.*

What do you learn?

*To erect fences. You do a lot of things.*

Do you like it?

*Tomorrow (in future) I can do all those things.*

So you have lots of skills?

*Yes.*

Are they going to put it onto your CV?

*They probably will. I don't know.*

Do you receive certificates?

*Yes, if you go on training, then you get a certificate. They send you on training. We went for Swimming Training. We are still waiting for the other training. Three of us still have to go.*

How long have you been working here?

*I've been working here for 11 months.*

What did you do before?

*I worked in a shop for ten years. Then I left that work because it was too demanding (time consuming). Then I worked in another shop, for three years, that was also too demanding. Work on Saturday and Sunday, and I have children. Then I got work with the City Council. This is my third job with the Council, then I got this long contract.*

Is is a long contract?

*We've been working for eleven months already, since January.*

Do you like this work?

*I like this work a lot because there's lots of variety.*

Would you prefer to work in a shop?

*No, it's too time consuming. I don't like to work on Saturdays and Sundays, especially if I have young children.*

What if you could get a shop job, that was only 5 days a week?

*This is a better job.*

What's better about it?

*You work with animals. You go out. You go to other places. It's not boring. You walk in nature. It's very nice, this work. Even if I were to get another job, I wouldn't go. I wouldn't go. I would prefer, that they make us permanent here. We don't know where we stand. We just get a contract every month. That's the problem.*

Has it got something to do with the people?

*The people give you lots of compliments, when you work there where they live. When you clean up. They always say, Morning, Thank you. They are never unpleasant, at Marin da Gama. Wherever we do cleaning. Then we went to clean up at the police station. We helped. I'm glad we went, to keep our place clean.*

Have you always enjoyed nature?

*No, I was scared of animals. I was scared of chameleons. I used to see one in the evenings. I never picked it up. But then I got so used to it, that I put it on my hand.*

Who taught you to do that?

*We went with Cassie that time. She asked us whether we want to collect animals. I always said no, because I was scared. Then I said to myself, You've been working in nature for eleven months already, It's not going to bite you, it's just creepy. So I went*

*along. And the first one that I saw was a pregnant female, a big one. Then I went the next day, I found a little one. I'm getting used to it. It takes time.*

So you've learned more about nature since being here?

*Yes, a whole lot of things, a lot. We learned how to erect fences. We mixed cement for them. It's very interesting. The people are alright here. I've never before worked so well with the staff, never. The people are the best, truly. If you have a problem, and you talk to them, they're always there to listen. They invite you into the office. Then they give you feedback, something good, then you feel better that same day.*

What is the goal of this work?

*To keep nature clean, so that you can attract more children. So that children can (learn about ) animals.*

How will it impact on children?

*They like it here in nature... they look at the birds, they want to see the animals. One child said to me, I must catch him a chameleon.*

When you were a child... ?

*I didn't go near nature, because I was scared of the animals.*

Your children?

*They like animals. The little one comes here all the time. I bring them on Sundays.*

What's the worst thing about this job?

*It's always the way people interact. It's the jealousy. But Mark sorts it out quickly. Then everything's alright.*

Where do you live?

*I live in Retreat. The walk here takes me 25 minutes.*

Imagine, it's five years into the future, where do you see yourself?

*I shall stay here, I don't want a different job, I'll stay here. Even if they made me permanent (in another job). I will stay here. I'll stay, truly, I've never enjoyed work so much, never. The people, the staff here, it's amazing.*

Is it something about you personally, or would other people also enjoy it here?

*Lots of people would enjoy it if they could see how we work, and how enjoyable the nature is, and so on; they would come and work here. I wouldn't change this for another job.*

The end.

**Darion**

PLACE: Oceanview

Pilot interview

DATE: 7 August 2012

Darian seemed to be enjoying the work, but he complained about the lack of tools, like a brushcutter, which would help him to do a more effective job. (Chandre mentioned to me later that the team had had a brushcutter, but that it had been broken). Darian said that the supervisor was '*not firm enough*'. He felt that the men on the team did the hard work. He also mentioned that rubbish that the team removed from the river, was not taken away soon enough by the KAP waste removal truck, and often ended up back in the river. There was no screening when he was interviewed for the job. If the opportunity arose, he would gladly take a better paying, easier job. If he were in charge, however, he would '*treat it like his backyard, and keep it very clean*'. His vision for the river was for it to be cleaned up properly, with benches for the community.

Recorded interview

DATE: 15 November 2012

*My name is Darian. I live in Oceanview, currently. I'm working on the KAP and... It's a good experience, it's nice to work here, but just sometimes the conditions get a bit, how can I say, so it's, you have to cope under pressure a lot, and all the hazards that we're busy with, it just gets too much sometimes. And everybody's looking at us and expecting us to finish, finish, finish. But how can you finish when you don't have the proper tools, you don't have the proper equipment? You clean up one day here, when you come back the next day, it's dirty again, so you get taken up from the one end of the wall to the other end; by the time you come here, it's grown there. So it's an ongoing thing in this river. And there's the people around is not helping as well. And the money that we're getting for this, it's still, nothing has been done about it. In most cases, your money's always short.*

What do you mean?



*There's always a day missing, or they forget to put a day worth, it's always a problem. You never get the full R80; it's either R720 or R740. And I mean, we sign up for R800 a week.*

R800 a week?

*(I mean) a fortnight; it's R400 a week. My debt is currently more than what I'm getting paid. So how do I get out of that? I don't see myself getting out of it. And I'm putting so much into this work.*

How long have you been working for this project?

*I think it's more, just over six months. I've been on a basic Water Safety course, that's it, nothing else has come up, no Herbicide course, no other training, no Brushcutting course, nothing like that. There's hardly anyone that's comes around to check up on the work we do. Whenever they do come here, they just see, ugh, the place looks like this. But they don't know what it looks like yesterday. Like now recently, we had an incident with the head of the KAP. This one morning out of this whole six months that I came seven minutes late, to work, she pitches up here, out of all the time that I've been working here, she pitches up, and she starts shouting at me. It's once that I come late, seven minutes. She comes here once, and she wants to go on about how the place looks. Where's she been all the time?*

How often do you see her?

*I saw her for the first time, now, that she's been here, ever, ever. The first time, and we actually met on a 'cheeky-cheeky' you know, she actually said, I was the cheeky one. I've been slaving here, and I'm sure that once is accepted that I'm seven minutes late. Cause I've got kids that I've got to get them to crèche and all that. Ja, and this whole project that is being run here, it's almost like it's a 'friend-friend' thing, or it's a whole family thing.*

What do you mean by that?

*Nepotism, there's a lot of nepotism going on here. Relatives, and friends and they live all close together.*

If they're friends they get the job?

*They get the job, and everything is good and well. Me, I from here, I go to the toilet, I come back from the toilet, and I have to sign a warning, or I get booked a day off, but I've been here the whole morning. I go to the toilet, I come back; they've booked me off for the day. And I have to sign warnings, so I mean...*

And the other guys don't have to do that?

*No, they go as they please.*

There's a lot of pressure?

*Especially on me, especially on me, because it's almost like everybody's gunning me, they're gunning me, trying to get me out because they can see that I'm aware of what's happening, I can see what's going on. I don't roll like that, I'm not going to give you food and money and things so that I can do what I want. I'm going to do my work, but don't come and laze around, and run on my strength, because we're getting paid the same money. And that is what...*

Do the men and women have to do the same work?

*Not here. If only you could put say one person just to look over the whole, like to be with us the whole day, and to see who does what, maybe then there'd be more effort out into the work. Because I mean you can't walk, yesterday it was like walking from here, till back by the school. Back and forth, back and forth.*

What do you mean?

*From the school, we walked back here, we go back there, we come clean up there. I mean, how does that work? If we start right on top, we do the work properly, you spray and everything. (Then)By the time we get to the middle, then that stuff didn't grow because it's been sprayed, it's been poisoned.*

*Nobody's spraying at the moment, also. There is two, the two African girls, they went for Herbicide training.*

Are they not doing it?

*No. I was supposed to go on the Herbicide course, but then Moses said, No, he's going to send them, the two girls, cause it's more money, and it's obvious now, they're family.*

So they get paid more?

*They get a bit more, because they've got the training.*

You asked Magdalena if you could go on the training?

*I asked her, I was supposed to go, and then Moses decided that no, the two African girls is going. And now...I don't know.*

What did you work as before?

*I can do landscaping, I did kitchens, building kitchens, I did something similar to this, as well. Even this is my work, this murals on the walls here (Murals on side of CCT council storeroom). This is all mine. I painted it on here. I used a projector, I put a projector up against the walls, and then I just did the outline, and afterwards I coloured it. This Gale Place, we also did the boards ourselves. KEAG paid us. We got the contract through Wolly. It all went well. We're still waiting on them, to get us the tender for the other flats.*

Would you move on?

*Then I'd move. ja. Yes*

You're not that happy here?

*Not the way it's going now.*

You seemed to be happier last time we spoke?

*It's just deteriorated now. If you take a drive to right the top there, and the reeds and everything was gone. You must go and look how it looks now. It's, you're going to have to start again. And this time it's even worse. It seems like the more you cut, the quicker it grows back. It's a bit tough for me.*

Best experiences in this job?

*Ja, all the river creatures that I've seen, spiders and snakes and stuff. Ja, like I say, we had fun times here also. I've almost drowned a couple of times, up there, I've almost been stung by bees.*

Do you call that fun?

*Ja, it's experience, adventure. That's about basically it. There's nothing else to be jolly about.*

So if you could get another job?

*Ja, because I'm definitely not going to leave this job and I don't have anything else. And Christmas is around the corner, my kids is looking at me, Daddy what we gonna have for Christmas? And I can't say, I'm gonna have something for you, I'm just going to have to wait and see. Apparently we're not even getting bonus.*

Is the contract going to be extended?

*Apparently the other team signed a 5-month contract, going on into the new year, but we are going to have to wait and see if we get a new contract, because of all the animosity in the team, and this one going and saying... Say for instance, I'm your family, I'm laying around the whole day on the job. I go home at night, then I phone you, and I tell you yeah, that people has been lying around, but I'm the one that was laying around. Now just imagine the next day you come to me, what is this about you laying around?*

The team isn't working for you?

*There is no, how can I say, they just try to do everything, that is just going to make themselves happy, not the people that is paying us, you see.*

How does your week go? Do you have a weekly programme?

*We have weekly programme. We're supposed to get the safety talk on Mondays, but none of that stuff gets done. It's always just folding; nothing is really done. And I mean, you get paid extra money for doing that, for doing your safety talk. There's nothing like that.*

What do you do on Mondays?

*On Mondays, it's just a normal wait for the supervisor to tell us, what to do, either pick up papers, work in the river, whatever, I just do whatever she tells me.*

So there's no specific programme? What do spend most of the time doing?

*Picking up papers, picking up papers, ja.*

Tell me about the community and their response to you?

*They are quite glad that we cleaning up here, but they don't appreciate because they can still see the children going and running playing in the river, throwing the tyres in. But they don't do anything about it. So I wouldn't say that they really worry about what it's going to be, or look like in the next week when we're gone.*

Where does the rubbish come from?

*Here's dogs, cats. I haven't gone for injections yet, but I'm still subjected to a lot of germs, and the people that's got the injections they don't want to go close to the bags that's got the dogs and the stuff in it, so somebody's got to do it.*

What protective gear do you have?

*This is what you're looking at. Wellingtons. Overall pants, not waterproof. Just a sweater, this is an old top of mine. We've got a 2-piece raincoat, but it's also that cheap quality.*

Do you ever get praise from the community?

*We get praise from them now and then, ja, now and then.*

But on the whole, they're not supporting you?

*No, because you wouldn't have to come back the very next day, to come and clean up where you just cleaned up yesterday.*

Do you feel that they wish they had this job?

*There is a few people here that say, When are we going to get the work? Where can we go to get the work? They would want to work here as well. But it could also be because we're working here, you see.*

Do you spend a lot of time pulling out aliens?

*O we do. We've been pulling it out for the past one and a half weeks now. This yellow and this purple stuff, it's all laying down the road. The purple and the yellow and the coffee plant, the one over there.*

Who tells you what to pull out?

*Louise told us once, she just mentioned names and I went, I actually Googled it, to see what it looks like. And when I saw, no it is this one and that one... that's the Coffee plant, this is what it looks like. That's the coffee plant, everyone was looking for a butter plant.*

The reason for pulling out aliens?

*I assume the reason for pulling it out is so that it doesn't grow back again, because if you cut it, it's going to grow again, if you pull it out, you pull the whole root out, so it's more effective like that. It's going to take longer to grow back, if it does grow back.*

I see Vygies there. Are those are indigenous?

*Vygies, we don't take that out, I leave that.*

Do you feel you're learning?

*No.*

How experienced is Magdalena at understanding about plants?

*I don't want to talk behind her back, anything, but I don't think she's really aware of what's going on around here. She's also just here to be here. There's no strategy. There's no way... I can't explain it. Cause I would have used a totally different technique. I would have split the team: You do the black bags; you make the piles of grass. Black bags and grass all on one place next to each other. All this piles and heaps, it's just unnecessary, cause now the truck has to come, stop there, start up, drive till there, start here, stop there, that's petrol you're wasting. So I would have made just one big heap, move over there till past the bridge.*

Other insights?

*Better tools to work with, like weed-eaters, we'd have been finished with this in a week, with this whole stretch. There's a stretch on top waiting for us, it's between the houses, you must see what it looks like. We've cleaned there but the stuff is worse than ever now again.*

So if you had a weed-eater?

*With a weed-eater, you'd be at least getting away. You rake everything up, it would look much better as well. But even like this, you can take everything out, it still looks untidy.*

Would you be able to motivate your team?

*I would be able to do that, definitely. Cause I'm not going to, Ja, you're my friend, so I'm going to overlook whatever you do wrong. I'm going to just tell them, look, we earn the same money, were here to work. So help each other man, don't let the one do more than the other. That is basically it.*

Do most of the team live in Oceanview?

*Yes. There's two Africans they live on Site 5, Sunny Acres, Lekkerwater, on your way out towards Sun Valley, it's the informal settlement. They either hike or they take a taxi. But like I said, my problem most of the time is nepotism, here in the team itself. I've actually asked if I could get a transfer to another team that's working on top there, that just signed the 5-month contract. But I haven't got any feedback yet.*

Who did you ask?

*I've asked Chandre a couple of times, I've asked, Isn't there a transfer for me, to another site maybe, also in Oceanview. Maybe then I'll be able to perform better. It's difficult for you to perform when everybody's running on your power.*

How many guys (men) on the team?

*Me and Shafiq, Shafiq is at home now at the moment, and Brother Morris, he's at the clinic. So me and Shafiq is the only guys here today.*

And women?

*Six women. And obviously the other two guys has been fired. We haven't got replacements.*

The team should be?

*Twelve.*

I see a Nature Conservation truck coming up?

*This is actually Moses. He's like the supervisor, quality-controller, he comes around and gives the warnings and the orders and stuff, apparently.*

How often do you see him?

*This is the first time for the whole week I've seen him.*

Does he speak to the whole team?

*Ja, most of the time, with Magdaleen (the supervisor). It's almost like he directs her or she directs him as to where he should go and blow a gasket. Like gunning on someone, gunning them the whole time, they've got something against you, but they don't want to show it, now they're trying to work it out. They're trying to make it miserable for you.*

Does he not come and show you what needs to be done?

*He comes, now and then he shows you (what needs to be done).*

Chandre isn't so involved?

*She is involved but I haven't seen her also. She's been on leave but she hasn't been here.*

She has quite a few teams. It's difficult. But you'd prefer to be on the other team?

*I'd prefer to be on the other team, because I mean here, just say for instance, we lose this contract. I can sit without a job but I've been pulling my weight here, and no one else has been here. So why've I been pulling my weight? To sit without a job (at) the end of the day...?*

In our last chat, you were filled with enthusiasm?

*It's changed a lot, because the people on top, it's all family...*

Nepotism, like you said?

*Ja. So...*

The end. (Moses then handed out new gloves to everyone, and each person wrote his/her name on the gloves).



## Faqmieda

PLACE: Mowbray Park

Pilot interview (not recorded): 2 August 2012

Faqmieda previously worked in the clothing industry, but had been unemployed for 2 ½ years before getting work on the KAP, in January 2012. For the first three weeks, *'the physical part was very difficult'*, but now, she enjoys using a fork and a rake and a spade, and being strong. She enjoys the fact that passers-by compliment the team on their work, and that Jason gets emails praising their efforts. She is proud to wear her uniform and *'happy to get up in the morning'*. The most important part of the job is cleaning the river. *'I can bring my children here, and they can see, Mommy did clean the river'*. She describes Jason as a good manager. She would like to receive additional training.

Full interview (recorded): 8 November 2012

*My name is Faqmieda, and I'm working on the KAP, and for me it's a pleasure to work here, cause the environment I'm working in, my colleagues I'm working with, in the mornings, it's like I'm excited to get at work, because the work that I do, I thought it was going to be that heavy and gonna work with a spade and a fork-spade. I never used to work with such tools before, but it's a nice experience to work with such tools and, for what we did on that side of the river now, there where we used to work.*

*For my children, if my children ask me, What kind of work (does) Mommy do? And then I can tell them, I'm working on the KAP, cleaning up the Liesbeek River. And in a few years time, I can bring my children here and show them, This is what Mommy did a few years back, this is the kind of work that I did.*

*And like I said before, I don't have a problem with doing my work. There is some times, there is sometimes, when we's getting a bit lazy, maybe the sun is too hot or so, but we just carry on doing our thing, doing our thing. And if Jason comes, he can say 'Ok', and*

*he can see that we did a good job. And the feedback that we get from the public that walk past, and they can see there is improvement in the work we're doing.*

*But, I don't have a problem with the work I do, and I used to think its going to be like, heavy work, and so, but it's not like that.*

*Yeah, (you need) a lot of strength and I thought I'm going to lose weight but I gained weight here. You must be fit for this kind of work, you must be, otherwise you's not going to do the job the way Jason wants it to be done.*

*On Thursdays, we do litter picking. Then we start working from River Park up until behind Newlands Swimming Pool. That is what we do on a Thursday, only on a Thursday we do litter picking. And we must have our boots, we must have our gloves, on a Thursday, for the litter picking. As you can see we must be in the water.*

*It is very clean, as (compared to) where we started from. It's much, much cleaner. I used to greet a lady now, and she compliments us, she says thank you for what we's doing here, cause it was very much dirtier before, and they can see now, there is improvement in our work we're doing.*

### Life in the river?

*Ja, there is (life in the river), there is frogs here, only small little ones, but mostly on the banks on that side, there by the Wild Fig (Restaurant) side, and there's sand frogs and mole snakes, but in the water there's no snakes, only frogs, but not this side here. But it's only small, it looks almost like stone, that's sitting on stuff that's in the water, like a worm. That's why we must have our gloves on. That's the only things/ creatures in the water.*

*Ja, birds, ja, a lot of ducks, not here this side. Ducks you will find that side, by the river park, and there in Newlands, there you will find ducks. There's 3 ducks there, that's only sitting on one place. It's black ducks, but that is the Friends Of the Liesbeek ducks, they only sit on one place, don't move around, they only sit there.*

Knowledge of alien invaders

*I didn't know nothing about alien invasions. I came to learn here about alien invasions when I started working here, about alien invasions and that. That is now that big roots (canna and ginger) that coming out of the ground. We must take that out, so the others (teams) can come plant plants. Otherwise the plants can't be planted. Then the plants won't grow, it won't come out, nothing, because that aliens is eating the roots of the other plants.*

*That is the (other) team that plants, we clean it and they come plant it. But we did before, we did plant our own plants, Jason brought us some plants and we plant our own plants. We did plant some plants there behind Newland Swimming Pool.*

What's the best part of the job?

*This part, the cleaning part, Thursdays, because why? Now we're moving, we're not standing still on one place, we's moving now, and as we move there's shade now, that is the most exciting part for me, on a Thursday. When we work in the hot sun, that is the part that I really don't like, because why, it's tiring to work in the sun, and it seems like when the sun is hot, and then we's work harder. When it rains, then it's slippery, we must be careful, we can slip and fall and get hurt, and ja, that's basically of the rainy weather.*

If you could change your job, for the same pay?

*Ja, I would like to go maybe for... to learn how, what kind of poisons to use to spray the plants that don't belongs there, and ja, that is it, so one day I'm not working here anymore, then I can say I got experience of that kind of work, I can maybe get me a job by Parks and Forests.*

*I did went for the First Aid training, ja, that was the only training, I went for. First Aid training, 2 days, 3 days, no more training. First Aid, for my colleagues, so when they get hurt on the job, or so, then me and another girl, we went for the First Aid training, so when there's an accident on the scene, we's there to help them and whatever injury it is, we can see to it, because we went for the training for that kind of thing. We do have a First Aid kit, not me, but there is a First Aid kit, going all the way with us.*

Do they provide any other training?

*Ja, they do; like me, I'm a very busy person, if I see they're doing that, then I want to know how you do it, like there's a team working behind Vincent Pallotti (Hospital). On Friday they were working with the weed-eater, and I told Klaas, 'Klaas I'd like to work with this machine'. And he said, 'Not now, you can learn during lunch break, but not now, it's working hours now. So on lunch-time, you can take the machine and you can weed, and you can learn yourself'. I'm a person like that. If I see something and I didn't do it before, then I'd like to do it. Because maybe one of the guys are tired, then I can say come give it to me, I can do it.*

*It's not like you's a woman, you do a lighter job, no, you must do the same as the boys doing. So there's no difference in a girl and a boy, no, it's working the very same. And that's good, really, that is also...it's nice, that is also another thing for me. Ok, you's a lady, you do a lighter job! No! you gonna work with a rake and a fork-spade, and just like the guy's doing, so there's no difference.*

Would you prefer to work closer to home?

*If there's a job for me that side then I'll do it. There is no river there where I live, there's no river, there's no river, there's only a dam, like a wetland, ja. There is people cleaning that dam, Edith Stevens Wetlands. I do live there.*

Do you ever go there?

*No, not before, but when I went for the First Aid training, then I meet some guys that work there, but they don't live there.*

So how about if you got a job there at Edith Stevens Nature Reserve?

*No, I'm alright here where I am, I'm alright here.*

If you were the manager, what would you change?

*The absenteeism and the laziness, because why, there's a team working very hard and there's some guy standing using the rake for a hanging pole, or chatting, some chatting there, some chatting there, and when it come to the end of the day, when the task that Jason put out for the day, like I'm now the manager, the team that did work very hard for the day, and that team have to make finish, complete the task, whenever, it's past our*

*working time already, we should have been long time finished work, but due to the other team that was standing, chatting here and there, now the work is not done, now all of us must go through it, and do that work finish.*

*Klaas is there, Klaas is talking to the guys, 'Come on guys, come on guys, let's get done, let's get done'.*

*but then you get of that (type of response), 'You don't tell me, I'll just do my thing' but at the end of the day, then all have to suffer.*

Do they get fired?

*No no no no! And whenever they talk to the manager, and then they want to say 'Ja, they's two-faces (hypocrites)', all kinds of stories going round. If I was the supervisor or the manager of this project, that is the first thing that I'll sort out.*

*I'll give them a warning the first time, the second time, I will give them a first time warning, a second time, the third time there's no warning. The third time, you just have to go, end of the story, whether you like it or not.*

*Like I'm in the same situation, there is times when I also lazy, when I stand using the rake for my friend, but at the end then, the whole team have to suffer. The work still has to get done. There is some of them (on the team), some of them, some days they do work. But that is the main thing that I'll try to do.*

*But now you get from that guys, they's 3 days, 4 days out, they come into work as if nothing happened, they don't even bring a certificate or a proof to show where they were, they don't even phone, and I mean, that's not fair, that's not fair. Me also, I also stay out, a lot, but not more than 3 days, not in a month, no, maybe 2 days, 3 days, for the most in a month, but not 3 days after each other. (I stay at home) because I also have some problems at home to sort out and that.*

*But you get from that guys, they stay out weeks, I mean like weeks, then they just come back as if nothing happened.*

The end.

## **Klaas**

DATE: 9 November

PLACE: Mowbray Park

### **PART 1**

*My name is Mncekeleli Klaas, everyone calls me Klaas. That's cool, anyway. Our job is about maintaining the Liesbeek River, looking after it, cleaning it. Fortunately now we've been joined by the Kader Asmal team, which is how we look after it, and it has its own challenges, but now we are quite enjoying working together as well.*

#### How many workers are there?

*There were supposed to be twenty, but we didn't get the quite number of twenty guys. Now it's about eleven or ten or twelve, altogether (not counting the permanent Liesbeek Maintenance Project members), and working with them.*

*We do have our weekly plan. Like, on Mondays, we normally do cutting back on the path, we're removing the alien plant, cutting back the ginger, the stuff that is leaning over the path. And Tuesdays also. It depends if we do finish the task for the day. Otherwise if we don't, we continue with the task. And on Thursdays, we clean. It's litter picking from Observatory to Newlands. And it's even taking the whole day. It's dirty every day, even now. We cleaned it yesterday. We were even surprised when we come this morning that it was like that. Not quite that surprised, because we know there are guys living under the bridges, who collect stuff from the bins and then they bring it here. You would be amazed because they bring like a big bag and then they only take a small thing out of the bag, and then they throw the bag in the river. Which is quite a challenge to pick it up.*

#### Have you ever discussed this with them?

*We do discuss with them, you'll be surprised the answers we get from them. Some will say 'It's not me it's the other guys who were here last night, and now they are not here'. Some will even say 'we are giving you guys a job, if we don't throw these papers here, you won't have anything to do tomorrow'. Which is like quite crazy, because we have enough job. Like, cleaning the river each and every Thursday, we have a lot of work to*

*do, we have lot of species of alien plant we're supposed to be removing. We're like trying to remove, but you know, you cut today this, but next month it's back, it's like that. We find it difficult, because we have to clean also the river. Having to deal with the guys who want to take stuff from other people and from us. So it's quite like that.*

Tell me about being a team leader

*I started 2 months back. It's quite a challenge, quite challenging, like to deal with the guys we have here. They are all sweet when you see them. They are sweet, they are quite sweet. They are sweet, especially during lunchtime. When it comes to time when we have to work, then some of them, they have to like, argue a lot. Even now if I can stand up and check, you will find one or two people are sitting down.*

*But sometimes, I get surprised, sometimes, sometimes they working so well, I don't know why, some strange reason, I don't know why. But sometimes, I think, they even told themselves, today we're not going to work. We are going to take it easy, I don't know what the real reason is. But sometimes they just surprise me.*

It's quite physical work?

*I think, sometimes they do get tired, because I work with them, I do everything that they do. When I work, I never say, 'Guys, do this!' I always say, 'Let's do this and this!'. I'm always there. I know how hard the job we're doing is, how tiring it is. So sometimes I do understand, I know he was working hard yesterday. He should take it easy today. No matter I'm not going to say this in the face of him. I can't tell one, Take it easy today. Then the whole team will want to take it easy because we've been doing the same job. It's quite challenging.*

Did you have special training to be a team leader?

*Unfortunately no. I've been working with the team from 2007, so I've been learning from the guys who've been our team leader. And a lot of time, I've been working under the team leaders, and now if I'm doing quite well- I'm not going to judge on that – but I think its because I've been doing the job that I'm doing now with them. I know exactly how it feels to do this and this and this.*

*And being a supervisor, actually I don't think I'm doing well as a supervisor, because I'm doing like, I'm being there, I'm not standing there and saying 'guys we need to finish this thing'. I'm being a supervisor. I know the job. I don't make the guys to finish the job. I make sure that we as a team, we finish the job. I'm leading them by doing the job. Not by sitting there and saying 'Guys, finish the job!' I make sure that we as a team, we finish. And even if you can ask them, they always say, they even ask me, why you're always working so in front?*

## PART 2

What led you to this job?

*Before I started here, I was working on the Friends Of the Common, Rondebosch Common, I was doing like the same job as this, that's where I started. So from there, I was learning from there, and then, that's when I started to like the job. I like to work outside, that's the other thing, and I'm working more in the environment, which is why I been enjoying the job.*

Have you ever done any work that's different?

*No. I prefer to work here. Maybe after a while I will get tired from working outside, after learning, but from now on I'm still like learning a lot.*

Do you hope to rise in this profession?

*Yes, definitely, I do, I do, but we have our own challenges in life, so it's taking too slow sometimes.*

Do you have a lot of interaction with Jason (the manager)?

*I have a lot of interaction with Jason. We talk about everything, and he's quite a friend to me. He's a nice guy, a very nice guy, I can say that. Even sometimes, I even ask him to be like rough on the guys because they don't... like, the guys I'm working with, some of them are older than me, some of them middle-aged, some of them they are younger than me. We come from different backgrounds. We have our own manners, and our sort of respect in our homes we are coming from. Sometimes I get like very, very upset, sometimes, that's where I need him to intervene. And then, he doesn't do it the way I expect him to, and I ask him to do. He always being a nice guy, and he say, Guys can we*



*please...? That's not the way I want it to be. But because he's a nice guy, and I can see he's also learning to be in charge of the different guys like us.*

*Because you can see, the guys, some of their mothers and fathers from their houses... so they come with their stress and then we have to deal with that. We need to understand sometimes, ok, he may be having these problems, and he doesn't want to talk about it, so we rather let him (stay) like this, and then try to talk to him (later).*

Do you get training?

*Ja, I do, I do, we have books. He (Jason) does give me a few things to learn about the environment.*

When does that happen?

*We have books, like I do have my own books at home. I can't do it at work because I need to look after the team, and I need to work with the team, so I never have chance to do my own stuff at work.*

*With them (the workers), we never get a chance to teach them when it's a rainy day. We just sometimes, we wear our rain-suit and then we have to do the task for the day. Sometimes we have to call it a day at about 1.00, depends how bad the weather is. Sometimes we try to work on the rainy days, if the weather is not that bad. But if it's very bad, the guys don't work, we have to take leave, me and the other guys. But the Kader Asmal team they don't work. We are not the same. We are the Friends Of the Liesbeek, and they are Kader Asmal. And because the other guys are from the Liesbeek, we have rain-suit. It depends, it has to be me and Sivu and Jason, who only have to work for the day. And we need to do the special stuff, like, looking after when it's going to be over-flooded, and then we have to be there, and making sure that things are not getting out of control. We need to plan what's going to happen after the rain, after this and this has happened. That's how I learn.*

How do the other learn?

*And I even call the stuff by its name, all the plants, to making sure that some of them they do learn. Some of them, they are taking time to learn. And I don't stick on learning them, because the job for the day is not to teach them all the plants. I teach them while*

*we are working, I say, Let's do this, this is called that, and this is called this ... It's not that I have to teach them. I focus on doing the duty that's supposed to be done. That is how I learnt.*

Why do you enjoy this work?

*I enjoy the work, I really enjoy it because I feel free. I know that I have my duty for the day. I don't feel any pressure, because I can talk to Jason. I can tell him, this task for the day is like this. We have to do this and this and this. I know Jason is, I don't know much if he has done the job practically or if he just learn about it. I know the side of practical too much. So he does listen to me. We are going to finish this and this, and why we didn't finish this. He trusts me. He trusts me and then he knows. He's also reasonable, he can see why; we're working under other conditions like the weather. I can say all of the other managers here, I also enjoyed working with them. He will understand. And then I was not even the supervisor. He will understand why. But I'm telling you, we have been working very hard.*

What does the job mean to you?

*The job now it means, I know it's a practical job and people are like, it's a very hard job, physically, very hard physically, but I like it because I'm learning a lot, and there's a lot to learn, about animals, special species.*

What animals do you see?

*We do see frogs, different kinds of frogs, rain frogs. We do see snails. Snails you can see anywhere, but we see them a lot here. Crabs on the river, fishes. There was one fish that was living around here. It was pinkish, a big one. It used to be here. And there are a lot, even the other guys are fishing down there (at Liesbeek Lake). There's just the one kind now. Brownish, and this big (about 30cm). They don't jump out, they're only jumping just to catch something.*

*And there are types of birds. We even have some ducks on top, African ducks and other kinds of ducks. And some birds, different birds.*

Do the animals ever get in your way?

*No, not the birds, snakes only, like mole snakes, there are a lot of them. They are not poisonous. We're all afraid of the snakes, all of us, we jump, each and every time we see the snakes, we jump and run away. It also runs away, because I think they are scared more than us, especially the mole snakes. But we are getting used to them a little bit, because we know now, because we've been told, that they're not poisonous.*

And are there moles?

*Unfortunately, I've been noticing that, I do see small little moles. They are dead, on the path, I don't know if they come from outside the path, and die on the path, or if someone is hitting them. I always see them, I don't know why. There are a lot of rats, we find, on the place where the guys are living. There's food. There are a lot of rats.*

Are there challenges that get you down?

*No, they don't get me down, I see them as one of the things that I need to learn from them, to know how to handle them. I'm learning from them. They're not getting me down. From them, let's say I'm having a problem, challenge with a guy who doesn't want to work because of his problems, then after talking with the guy, I know, I learn this, ok, in life there are problems like this. And then this guy's handling this problem like this. When it comes to me, I already know about the problems. I learn from all the challenges that I get. I know sometimes I do get frustrated with the guys, because everyone does a little. But I always keep it professional. I hope, I do.*

Your team seems very happy?

*Ja, they are. That's the thing that I think is motivating them to come to work. Because if they were coming here to work and then they have no chat with us and being friends to each other.*

It's nice working in a group?

*That's what's keeping us together and happy, working with the group, and having chats while we're working. We are still learning from each other a lot. And I hope, I really hope, that they are happy, I want to keep them happy, working happy. Because if they are not happy, I don't think we are going to go far. We will never work the way we do if we are not happy.*

Where do you live?

*I live in Gugulethu. There is (a river), but it's not like... We are trying to keep the river natural (here). Where we are coming from, there is cement underneath, it's canalized too much. There is nothing that's living there, it's just water that's running down the street. It's canalized too much.*

Is it clean or dirty?

*It's not full of litter, because there small teams that I've been seeing, I think its Solid Waste (City of Cape Town) that is written on their bibs, they are working there, they are cleaning there.*

If this river were in Gugulethu, would you like to work on that river rather?

*Because I've been working on this one (the Liesbeek), I am very interested in this one. I can see it's going well. Each and every job I'm doing here, I want to see in many years to come, I want to see that tree is planted by me. The more I plant more trees here, I want to in years to come, say that was me.*

What changes have you seen in three years?

*We have made a lot of changes. We are even looking at it now. That whole bank was full of ginger and stuff. But we keep that, as you take them, as soon as they grow up, by taking the roots out. And you can see from down there, we have just done a massive job. There is another team that's planting, but we are removing all the aliens, and then they plant. And then we have done a lot behind Sans Souci (School). Even there, people who were scared to walk there, you would see a lot of ginger there and canna. But if you can go now! When I arrived here it was like that before, but now, you can see the difference we have made.*

Indigenous and aliens?

*You can see the indigenous plants. Some of the aliens, they are using a lot of water, like the poplar trees, they are sucking a lot of water. That is why we try to remove them. And they grow even inside the river, we try to remove them. That's a poplar tree, straight there. It's big, too much for us. There are trees that we can't cut ourselves. We still have to go on a course of to do a chain saw. So we haven't gone yet. We can't attack that one, it's out of our control for now. So we try to take those that are still very small.*

Climate change?

*I've been hearing about it on the TV on the news. To me it's like it's happening there. It's not affecting me now. To me, I look at things, if they are still far from me, I don't bother myself now. But I know things that we are doing, we are involved. Things like trees, we need to keep the city green. We know the things that we are supposed to be doing, lot of things that we are supposed to be doing.*

The end.

**Magdaleen**

PLACE: Oceanview

DATE: 22 November 2012

**PART 1**

*My name is Magdaleen. I live in OceanView and I'm the supervisor here. We're the Bokramspruit Team, and we're cleaning the rivers.*

How long have you been doing this work?

*I started since April (2012).*

Before that?

*I was at home. I was at home. I've got two children, one is in school and one is going to crèche next year.*

Before that?

*Before, I did work at Shoprite, in Fishhoek. I was a shelf packer there for two years, but because of my illnesses, I had to go to hospital a lot, a lot of absentees and that. That's why I decided to leave that work because that work, it was too much for me.*

Your illnesses?

*I have asthma since I was a baby, I have asthma, and last week I had to go to the doctor again, so the doctor told me I have high blood.*

How does that affect your work?

*This work is, it's a lot of stress, actually for me, because the guys here, I feel the guys here, they don't support me, and they don't see what I'm trying to do here for them.*

How did you hear about the job?

*By Moses' dad, he lives there, there where I stay, in that area. He told me about the job.*

Did you start as a supervisor?

*I was a general worker, I started as a general worker. There was a supervisor but because that supervisor, he was staying at home, but actually I did help him with most of his work, like the paper work and all that, and so, he did stay at home, he didn't phone in. So Moses said, he's willing to give me a chance, to be the supervisor.*

When was that?

*(Pause) I can't remember, I can't remember.*

What do you like about this job?

*What I like about this job is when my team works together with me, like when we are one, then I like the job. And the people here, in this area also, they're all loving, and that.*

Are you from Oceanview?

*I'm from Oceanview. I was at high school, and I was at Kleinberg Primary also, in Oceanview.*

Do you have a vision, and what do have to do?

*Like, where we started, from there by the mountains, and then we have to end there by the sea, in Kommetjie.*

How far is that?

*It's really far, it is far.*

*I mostly supervise the guys, I tell them, guys right, this morning, I want you do this for me, and you must do that for me.*

What is the team's job?

*The team's job is to clean the river, like, they must take everything out of the river so that the water can go through nicely, you see, ja.*

What do they take out?

*Like the invasive plants, like the canna. I don't know most of the plants' names.*

But you know what they look like?

*It's like the yellow flowers, the purple flowers, and that white ones. And the papers, they must take out the papers also. Just make sure the area is clean, in the river, and besides the river.*

Who taught you?

*Moses and Chandre.*

Did you go on a training course?

*I didn't go on a training course. I only have training in First Aid, in Water Safety and in, um, what's the other one? I didn't go for Herbicide, there are people in this team that go for Herbicide.*

Your equipment?

*Mostly we use loppers to cut the plants and that, and we use like, rakes, but most of the tools we have, they break easily. They break easily.*

How many loppers do you have at the moment?

*We only have 3 loppers, we only have 3 loppers, we have spades, we have forks, and we have the yellow rake, and that big rake.*

Did you have brushcutter?

*We had a brushcutter, but that brushcutter had a problem, it did break. But we're still struggling to get a new one. We've been asking at the office, we did ask, When will you bring us a brushcutter again? Then they just say, We will, we will, but we don't see it. It will help a lot and it will make our work easy for us.*

When you've made the piles, what's the next step?

*We have a truck, there's only one truck, there at the office, that's also a problem. Because the people started complaining, there where we did work. They always take their own time to come and fetch the stuff.*

If it's left out?

*Maybe it's the weekend, right, then we come back on Monday, and then it's the same stuff we took out, it's back in the river again. It's back in the river again.*



Who could you speak to, to change that?

*I'm so tired of telling them over and over again. I phone, Where's the truck, when is the truck coming? (They reply), No, it's coming, and then we still have to wait.*

Contact with Louise?

*No. She was here, I think, two times. The first time was when we started, down there by Reach 5, she was there, and so she did come check what we're doing and that, and then she left again. The second time I was sick, I was at home, and the team told me Louise was here again.*

Are you successful, are you making a difference to the community?

*Ja, I think we're making a difference, and the work is going well. But the only problem is, sometimes the community don't appreciate what we're trying to do. They will see their children playing in the river, throwing in papers and throwing in tyres. But they won't stop the kids, and tell them, No, don't do that.*

*My team, when we see kids in the river, and then we will stop them, and then they'll listen to us. But they're just waiting for us to leave, and then they're back in the river again.*

Why do they do that, is it just fun?

*I think it's fun for them, I think so.*

PART 2

Tell me about your team?

*My team, they give me a lot of stress, like in the mornings, I don't even feel like coming to work anymore, because I have to talk to them over and over again, Do this, do that, do this, do that. It's stressful to be a supervisor, really stressful.*

Why do you think that is, have there been good times?

*There have been good times also, ja. Most of the time, we laughing, we're making jokes and that, but when it's time to get serious, then I don't think they take me seriously, like when I tell them, Guys, right today, I want this work finished. Because I think it's unnecessary to come back and do that same work again. That's why it's stressful for me.*

How do you motivate them?

*Most of them wanted to give up. But I tell them every day, they mustn't think about themselves, they must think about the kids because we're all struggling. And we all, we must work.*

Do you think your contract will be renewed?

*I'm not sure, I'm not sure.*

Worst thing about the job?

*The worst thing for me is sometimes, the people at the office, they won't come to us and say, You did a great job today, well done. They're always putting us down; they never encourage us.*

How often do you see Moses?

*Moses was here yesterday, we see him a lot.*

Moses' role?

*One thing about Moses, he have a vision for us, really, he's the only one that I can say, that encourage our team not to give up. He always tells us, Guys, I want you to see, I have a vision for you. He's always on our side.*

What is his vision?

*His vision for us is not to be general workers forever. We must go up, that's his vision for us.*

What would you like to do?

*I'd like to be a contractor, that's my dream.*

What's the difference between contractor and supervisor?

*Like to have my own, own, own team, ja, that's the difference.*

Why would it be different, how would you choose your team?

*I'll choose, like, you must first prove yourself, before, I'll say, Right, you're going to be in my team.*

At the moment, how do people get selected?

*I'm not sure, I'm not sure.*

Who says they're employed?

*Like mostly they take people off the database, at the civic center.*

Do you have no say over that?

*I think I also have a say in that, I think ja.*

If someone's name is on the database?

*Then they...ja.*

Why is no one else keen to join your team at the moment?

*I think it's because our contract is ending now, the end of this month.*

When will you hear?

*I did speak to Moses yesterday, he said, Until further notice. I don't know. I really don't know. We heard the other team signed a new contract for five months.*

That's the team that works higher up?

*They mostly doing the trees and that, like the Port Jackson (bushes) and that, they're cutting that and spraying that.*

What could help the team to be more motivated?

*I think, when we get the right tools for the right job, because most of the tools we have, like I said, they break easily, and then we have to struggle.*

Where do you keep the tools?

*Our tools is at Shafiq Jacob's house. He keep it in, like a 'hok' (shed); it's locked.*

So he takes the tools there?

*He takes it there, and then he brings it back again.*

Does he get paid extra for that?

*No, he don't get paid extra for that. He don't get paid extra for that.*

*I told him, he have a choice, he can do it or he can leave it. It's not part of his job. He takes it, No man, it's our tools, that's why he keeps the tools there. He's actually a nice guy to work with.*

What are your hours?

*We start at 8 till 4 o' clock. Tea break is 10 o' clock, that's 15 minutes. And then lunch from 1 till half past 1.*

Sometimes do you give them a little bit of extra time?

*I only give them extra time when I see, no, they did a lot for the morning, then I say, No, you guys can relax a bit longer.*

You don't actually do the work?

*Sometimes I help them, but because the doctor told me I can't wear boots any more, that's why I don't go in the river. But most of the time I just sit around, but then they say, No man, the doctor said, You mustn't stress, you must relax. But I can't just sit still, sometimes I do help them, ja.*

The end.

**Neville**

DATE: 5 December 2012

PLACE: Zandvlei

## PART 1

*My name is Neville. I'm 21 years old. I'm from Capricorn Park.*

How do you get here?

*Well, I walk in the mornings, sometimes I get a lift, but most of the time I'm walking, cause it's not so far. It's walking distance, just over the field there.*

When did you start?

*Well first I did work for like seven months for Zandvlei, ja, and last year, no, this year, January, so the KAP started. So my contract was ending that time, so I did start with them, say, 9 months, from the beginning of the year.*

How did you hear about it?

*I was here, through Cassie, ja, she was the manager that time, and she told me, There's a contract team coming in January. So I asked her, Can't I join the team? Cause my contract is ending. So she said, Yes. I have a lot of experience the other guys don't have. ( At this point, the recorder was accidentally bumped).*

## PART 2

When you were a child you didn't go on nature excursions?

*No, I didn't really at the time. But actually where I lived, there just bush, there was a lot of bushes, and I went to the bushes, but I never actually take note what I am into, and where I'm going through.*

You sometimes need someone to help you identify, it's very exciting when you start identifying plants and animals, you become interested?

*Really, really, I became very, very interested, and I wanted to learn more and since now I want to learn more and more about nature. I never learned when I was a child about nature. But now I have the opportunity to learn more about nature, and I'm very*

*interested, and it became, I love nature now. Really cause some Saturdays I also go on hikes with Sharon McCullum, and we go on hikes. I'm busy becoming a hiking leader, and it's also in nature, and I love it, I really love it you know.*

Where do you go on your hikes?

*Kirstenbosch Gardens, you know we go up there; we maybe take a bunch of kids from the local communities. We take them up, show them the trees, and explain them a bit about some trees.*

Do you like the interaction?

*Ja, I really like it.*

Do the kids like you?

*Yeah, they do. They do, we all about my age. There is a few volunteers from Sharon McCullum, she have like her own group, including me. So we all about my age, and older than me, and stuff.*

The people who come on the outings?

*They're younger, they're children, say about from 14 to 17 (years of age).*

What's your favourite part of working in nature?

*You know, to tell you really the truth, I love catching snakes to identify them. Just to see what kind of snakes, 'cause when I first came here, that was last year, when I still used to work for Zandvlei Trust. It was in summer I came here, I first met the snake there inside (the centre's pet snake) and I first got to feed her/him.*

*Most of the things that's in this nature reserve, I learned a lot about birds. So I came down, end up catching a lot of snakes. I was just catching them, and come show them to Cassie, or someone who knows them and identify them. That's actually the favourite part, is catching snakes and identifying them.*

Why?

*I love it, I enjoy being with him, because I never thought of touching a snake or so, and I wasn't scared also, before, I weren't scared of snakes. (But) I never know they was so*

*calm to people. But you get venomous snakes, and so, I never know you get snakes that's so calm to people, and they doesn't bite.*

What do you do with them?

*I go release them where I find them.*

*But just this summer I feel sad cause I haven't caught a few, it was just last year that I caught a lot of snakes.*

The work is hard? How does that make you feel?

*I don't feel bad cause I know I make a difference of picking out aliens cause they're not indigenous. They actually depress our indigenous plants. So I know I do something good when I remove aliens.*

How do you learn?

*I think by, when I used to work for Zandvlei Trust, cause I learned like about a lot of birds, a few plants, and Leopard Toads, and a few animals.*

Do you learn by working here, or through training courses?

*By working here, by working here.*

Who teaches you?

*Well, like Mark, actually the guy who sits here (in this office). I used to do every bird counting with him, and every time I asked him, What kind of bird is that, how do you identify it? So it came, he asked me, Do you want to do the bird counting? So I said, Yes, so I tried, so saw I did get it right. And there I became more interested, and every time I see a bird, I go look in the book, is it this kind of bird. I look at the colours of the bird, and I go take a book, to identify them*

Nobody really taught you?

*It's more myself, ja.*

But you've got the opportunity and you've become inspired?

*And now I've got a few books myself, also now, ja, and snake books.*

How do your parents feel?

*They feel really great, they feel good, cause there's not actually an income, and my parents, they, like my mother, she's an alcoholic, she don't really care, but she feel good, she come's over and I speak to her, she feels nice about it. She's just glad I'm working.*

But it's more than working, you're happy in the job?

*Ja, that's the main point, I'm happy what I'm doing, but it's just the money's a bit little, and so, but...*

Do you spend time with a team? How do other people affect your job?

*Now we're working in a team, if we focus on alien clearing, we're actually in a team; If we do litter clean ups, we are a team, now from the KA, we're in a team.*

The supervisor?

*Yolanda's the supervisor now, she also came last year, and now she's the supervisor.*

The teamwork?

*The teamwork is quite nice, we don't have a lot of arguments, and so. We work together.*

Did you know each other before?

*No, we just bond as a team. Well I know one or two of the guys who also stay in my community but we haven't talked in the community. Here we bond as a team.*

What would you like for the future?

*I would really like to, in my own future, I would like to experience more about nature, and I would love to work in different nature reserves, or in like, a wild nature reserve. Ja, I just want to learn more about nature, that's...*

Why in different nature reserves?

*Cause I know in different nature reserves, there's different animals, and I want to experience how is different. Like maybe in Australia, cause I know there's a lot of big animals, so I'd love to experience what happens there, is it like the same, or...*

Any downsides about the job?



*Not really.*

This river, the Zandvlei canal, the litter, what's the relationship between the community and the canal?

*Well, actually I don't know. I think it's just because the community, they don't actually know what they doing. They don't know what they miss out when they throw the litter in, they just, they don't, like when I was still in the community, I never came out to learn about nature. Now I've learned, now I know I mustn't pollute. Now I also think those people, they don't know. They haven't learned about nature. I think that's why. They don't know about nature and they don't know what's so special about the canals, like about our fishes and stuff like that, I think that's why they just don't care. They just throw the litter and stuff into the canals.*

What would be a good way to share this (knowledge) with more of the community?

*I think it's education, like the younger children, they must only be educated.*

So bring school kids here?

*Ja.*

And that never used to happen, so the older people have never had that chance?

*Ja.*

Things are changing?

*Ja, things change, Like how I came into nature, and now I love it, I really love it.*

Do you think many other people would like to do this work?

*Ja, I think so, if they had the chance, ja, I think they will be. Especially in our younger guys, they will be interested.*

What training have you received?

*Only from the KAP, I had the water safety training, and the health and safety, that's all training that I had, so far.*

What training would you like?

*I would like to have operator training, like maybe brushcutter, or herbicide training. Or snake-handling, really I would love to have that. Cause I think that's the training we need. Well, the work I do, I think that's the training we need.*

You have a passion for snakes!

*I handle them by myself, but I just need the training, so that I can have a qualification.*

Have you been to see the snakeman shows?

*No, I only used to watch it on TV. I just always watch. When I see something about snakes on TV, I watch it.*

Anything else?

*That's all.*

The end

## Octavia

DATE: 12 October 2012

PLACE: Rondebosch

Octavia is 22 years old and the mother of 6-year old boy.

### Tell me about the work?

*I enjoy the planting and the litter picking. I don't like it when it rains. And I appreciate my work very much. It's nice working in nature.*

*The thing I don't like is this: sometimes we don't get paid on time, or there's a problem with the money. From the office, into the account. And the other thing I don't like, is when we get meat in the river, and on the bank, we get popo from the people. We must take the papers (to clean it up). That's the thing.*

*I'm glad that our contract got extended. This is the first time in my life that I'm working so long, ten months. And that's why I'm glad that the contract got extended. You can put my name there. I started in February. I'm very glad my contract got extended, because it's not nice to be on the road. There's no future there. I pray God to keep on with the contract.*

*I have a son, six years old. His father is dead. I tell him, Mommie did plant and Mommie did rake, and pick up papers, every Thursday, litter picking.*

*On 23, 24 October, we're going on a course at Westlake, with Chandre. She's nice. She's pretty. She's got long hair. We only met her only once.*

*Look here! (Octavia shows her slightly tattered workpants). We're waiting for overalls. I can't work like this. And boots, yes. I can't wear my yellow sweater every day, because it gets dirty. They can give us 2 sweaters! And weekends, I wash it out. Monday, come nice to work, clean.*

*But I'm very glad I have the job, and I love what I'm doing. Only sometimes, we get arguments between the people. But we work it out.*

Would you leave this job for a better paid one?

*Yes, a better job. But I will miss my people, the Kader Asmal team. Because I'm used to the work now.*

*I have a problem. We had to walk from Obs (Observatory) to Newlands in the morning. In the afternoon, the supervisor says, he's going to a meeting, so we can walk home from Newlands! At 4.00 we did leave!*

What time did you get home?

*5.00, and when I come home, I must clean my place, make food, and look after my son. We stand up at 7.00, I must make my tea and porridge. Then my child goes to school at 7.30.*

*I used to work for Illegal Dumping (City of Cape Town). I was going to informal settlements and cleaning up. It was also nice. They pay R100 a day. (It was) EPWP (Expanded Public Works Programme), the same people. And I also did work by Cleansing (City of Cape Town). It will be very nice if they pay us R100 (on this programme).*

Is there a river near where you live?

*The Black River. It's a lot of dirt. I will lay in this river (Liesbeek), but not in the Black River. I prefer here by Liesbeeck. There's a lot of killings by the Black River. My friend died in that river, 8 years ago. There must be machines (to clean it up). We can (should) just fill the bags.*

[At this point, Octavia indicated that she wanted to end the conversation for that day]

The end.

**Shafiq.**

PLACE: Oceanview

DATE: 15 November 2012.

*I'm Shafiq. I'm from Oceanview.*

How did you get onto the project?

*I asked Moses for a job here, and he told me I must first show him how I can work, and then he told me, he did see how I worked, and he told me, he got a job for me now and everything. And I did get the job, by Moses.*

When was that?

*That was July. It's not that long.*

How was the work in winter?

*It was fine. When the rain stopped, we worked, we didn't have rain suits that time, but we did work if the rain stopped, we worked. If it rains, we go by a place we can stand out of the rain;*

Where was that?

*Different places. We were there in Kommetjie also. The river ends there in Kommetjie.*

And the other team?

*The other team is doing the mountains.*

Tell me about the work?

*Some work is not so hard, but sometimes it's hard work, and the pay I get is not so much, whatever, but I'm going on with the money, we're paying, but its not enough.*

How much is it?

*It's R80 a day.*

*But its not enough for me, I got a family also. I got one child and a wife. We stay in a bungalow. She's going to start this Friday, going for a job.*

Any other government support?

*My wife gets for my child, she gets that money. But if she gets a job there, it maybe a help for me also.*

*Because she's working also. My mom and dad stays here in the flats, here where I live. They help me when I don't have, and stuff, like food and stuff, they help me.*

How did you know Moses to ask for the job?

*I always, I know some of the guys here, the guys that work here, and everyday I walk down to the beach, and they did work down there in the river. I ask them, Isn't there a job for me? I get closer and they tell me, I must ask Moses for a job.*

What work were you doing before?

*Before, I was working on the sea, catching crayfish and fish.*

Why did you stop doing that?

*There was friends of mine that did die on sea, now I'm a bit scared to go on there, to go to sea. (They died) out in the sea yes, here in Kommetjie. I stopped doing that work. I was unemployed for a while.*

Which part of the work do you enjoy?

*I feel fine if I come to work here in the mornings, and to do the work. It's good work to clean my place that I stay in. But the people here that don't see what we're doing; Some, the children, throw the stuff again in the river, and stuff like that.*

So you collect it and?

*They maybe throw the tyres and open the bags, and then throw it in the river again, in the rocks.*

Communication with the resident?

*The people talk to me here in the flats, and there along, there by the houses. But the kids still doing it. The truck must come everyday, if we take stuff out! They must take it away the same day, if we take the stuff out, it will be better.*

Would that make a big difference?

*It will make a big difference.*

When did you clean this river?

*(We cleaned it )2 weeks ago, 2, 3 weeks ago. It looks like we did nothing! If the peoples is going to come here, the people that we work for, they will think we did nothing. We cleaned it yes.*

Will you finish this section today?

*We will finish this piece today. Yes, it's gonna look different, yes.*

What do you focus on: rubbish, weeds or aliens?

*We focus on the rubbish and the alien plants.*

What are the alien plants?

*The alien plants, it's down there, most of the alien plants is down by that river, and this stuff that's growing here, the grass there on that stuff, it's stuff in the river that they build, with rocks, wire with rocks, and the grass and stuff grow. We have to take it out.*

Why?

*Because it grows a lot and we must take it out, and poison it. Here's somebody that did a course of the poison, somebody did a course, so they do that.*

Does that work?

*It works, yes, it doesn't grow fast, but it grows through that, it's not dead.*

Since July, would you say the canal is better?

*It's better now yes.*

What's better?

*(Pause) I don't see a change, because the things is getting thrown back in the river. I don't see a difference.*

How does that make you feel?

*No, not so good.*

What would you like? What could be different?

*If they could of come and fetch the stuff, the river will stay clean.*

This isn't all new rubbish?

*No this is not all new rubbish, we did take it out, all of those tyres. We did take it out, all of the stuff. It's the kids that stay here in the flats, here by us, they throw the stuff back in the river.*

How old are these kids?

*They are school kids, 5,6 years old. They play here in this thing.*

Do they understand what they're doing?

*They understand. They stand here and look what we doing, and we tell them, they mustn't throw the stuff in the river.*

*Then if we see again, the stuff is in the river.*

You know, you were a child here. Did you do the same thing?

*I didn't throw papers and stuff in the river. I did play with, maybe make a boat, and play in the water and catch frogs and stuff like that.*

Sounds like you enjoy nature?

*I always walk to the beach, I like the beach and the mountains and stuff.*

What the worst thing, or rather, What's the team like, does it feel like a team or not?

*Sometimes it doesn't feel like a team staying together, because they argue about stuff, about food and stuff.*

Why would they argue about food?

*We all buy our own food. Sometimes it's about the tools, they don't wanna take the tools away.*

What tools do you have?



*We have spades and rakes, and loppers and sails (big pieces of fabric), that we throw the stuff on, and the forks.*

*No brush-cutters, no weed-eaters. We need that stuff, yes.*

Would that make a difference?

*That will make a difference, yes. Because why, there some places here, the grass is long, and the dirt is growing in the grass, it's sticking in the grass. If we have something to cut the grass with, we can take the packets and stuff, we can take it out better. It will be better.*

Where do you store the equipment?

*There's a garage, like this, but this is the council's. We can't use this one, but my dad got a, there's another one on that side, that my dad use. So I put the stuff there in that.*

Are you responsible for the equipment?

*Yes.*

Who carries it?

*I take it to the place there, where it is. I put it in the wheelbarrow.*

Do you get paid extra for that?

*No, I don't get paid extra for that.*

Do they just rely on you?

*Yes. They just rely on me yes, or sometimes if we work up there, further up, then we put it there by the crèche, and they look after the stuff there.*

Does it stay safe?

*It stays safe, yes.*

And you're responsible for it?

*But I don't get nothing for it. If the stuff get away, then what's going to happen to me? And if they break the gate open, there by my dad's, and then they steal the tools, and I'm responsible for it, I can lose my job; that's what I'm thinking.*

Is there a lot of crime in this area?

*Yes, not here. They break in the cars and stuff. You can't trust no one, this side. But stuff get away here.*

It's a small community?

*But there's guys that don't live here, maybe up there, they come here, they steal the stuff.*

What job would you like to do?

*I wanted to be a fisherman.*

Because your family were fishermen?

*My dad's family were all fishermen. My friends died of it. I don't have that feeling in me, to go to sea.*

What would you like to do? Carry on with KAP?

*No, it won't be a benefit for me at the end of the day.*

What would be a benefit?

*If I get a other job at the factory, or something, at a factory where they make boats, and make stuff with the boats. I will do that kind of work, yes.*

Are there any boat factories near here?

*Not nearby, maybe there in Woodstock, in CT, that places.*

Isn't that too far?

*It's far, but the money will be, maybe the money will be better. I don't have work at the moment. I must do this to keep my family's mouth open.*

The end.

**Sivu**

DATE: 13 November 2012

PLACE: Rondebosch

*I'm from the Liesbeek project. (The team is) me, Klaas, Ashwin, and Napiel, we are four members. (I've been working) since 2009, around September, but I started working only on Fridays, then one guy was fired from the Liesbeek team, then I took his place (as a full-time member). But I'm still learning.*

What have you learned so far?

*When I started, I have no clue about nature. Even trees, I could see trees to make firewood, snakes,*

*I could see snakes as an enemy. When I see snakes I would want just to kill it. But now I've been learned some few things about snakes. That they won't hurt me, they're just here for their thing.*

*They won't come and chase me, and birds, all those things. Specially learn about nature, about conserving the nature.*

What birds do you recognize?

*Hadedas and African black ducks, Egyptian geese and flamingoes, and the list is on.*

Who shows the others which plants are aliens?

*Me and Klaas, we have experience with that kind of field.*

Why are the aliens a problem?

*They are pretty but they are invading the space for the indigenous plants, cause they are competitive for the indigenous plants.*

*They kill them. Our aim is to fight those aliens. Even if there's someone coming from overseas, to come here. He sees the plants that he sees in his country, so we're trying to fight that.*

*When you come from other countries, so you can see something different, from where you're from.*

The most important thing about the job?

*Conserving the nature, I like it. I like the kind of work we're doing here, taking out all these aliens, putting in the indigenous stuff, and rehabilitating the river. Because, if you get a few years back, this river was like a dumping place. At least now, we're trying our bit to change that.*

*And now recently I've read an article, in Observatory newspaper, they say that there was a germ, what's that germ? There at Hartleyvale (Stadium) side. But I haven't asked Jason about that. That's in the water, Hartleyvale side, in Obs. We were doing litter picking, so I found that paper, talking about the Liesbeek, so I have read that article. Kevin Winter, the other member of the Liesbeek (Friends of the Liesbeek), he even commented on that, saying, Ja, there is a germ, but it's not that dangerous. But they say it's causing heart failure. But I haven't asked Jason (the manager) about that. We have things to work with, gloves and boots, to protect us, but that's not 100%.*

Do you work when it's raining?

*Yes, when it's raining there are those things that we could do. We make decisions, and what can we do in this kind of situation, than just to chase people away, so no, we can't work today. At least try something to do.*

What's it like having the KAP guys?

*They've helped a lot, especially down on the Mowbray and Obs side, on that ginger and canna. Ja, it was difficult when it was Liesbeek (team) only. But now, yeah.*

*That's what I would love them to give them, the guys, another chance to come back next year, to carry on. It's good working with them. We can do so much with them, than when it's four members, we could only do a little part.*

Is it more fun?

*It's fun. Ja, there are those times when it there are arguments and fights, all that, but not physically, just words fight. But ja, it's fine working with them, I would love to see them come again next year.*

People who leave?

*It's their own personal stuff. They don't come to work for maybe two weeks, and then Jason has to make a decision. We can't just sit at home for two weeks, then when you feel like coming, then you come. It doesn't work like that.*

Do some people enjoy this work more?

*The guys I've been working with, they seem like they've been enjoying their work, and they want to learn more about what is going on here. And me and Klaas, we try to educate them, what's what, and what's not. At least now they can identify the alien plants without me and Klaas telling them.*

What else would you like to be trained at?

*I would love to learn more about this nature-conserving thing, even study for maybe horticulture, if I could get that chance. Ever since I've joined, I've just loved working with nature.*

*Like when the former manager, James, he would even do us a session, to train us about how to do a presentations and all those kinds of things. My former manager James, when its winter time, maybe its 100% (raining) so we can't work on that rain, we would go down at Falkenberg, in Obs, there's an environmental centre there, we could do all those things there. Learning us how to do presentation and all those things, learning about snakes, birds.*

*It has happened with our former manger, James, maybe three months, maybe on Fridays, we could go down there, and do that, learn us how to do presentation and all those things.*

*I would like it to happen again, to go on. Not just to know all these things on...To know it from book, not just outside, when I work with them, I would even like to know what's on the book, what is the book saying.*

Do they give you books?

*We have books. I have books at home, there are books at the shack where we change. You need time.*

The worst thing about the job?

*It's the fights, people they would come with their personal things from where they live and take it out at work. So the work would be disturbed that day with all those kinds of arguments, fights. That's the most disadvantage thing on this work.*

*And the vagrants, the guys who are sleeping outside, they are the most disadvantage that we have. Sometimes we nearly have fight with them, when we cleaning, others would come and say we steal their clothes, and throw trolleys to us and stones and all those things. Me and Klaas, we were cleaning down at opposite to SA Breweries, other day, he come and say we stole his clothes, we were in the water cleaning, and they threw down a trolley on us. That's the kind of thing we get into when we do this work sometimes.*

I hope you also get some positive responses?

*Yes we get (positive responses) from the community. We do get. Others will send their email addresses, complimenting what we have done.*

Did you know the Liesbeek River before?

*I do know the river, but I didn't know there was this project, working with this river. I was introduced by a lady, staying here in Rondebosch, my mum works for her. She's the one who introduced me to this river.*

Is that how you got the job?

*There was interviews, they wanted someone who would come and help them on Fridays. So I had to go and get the interview, at Rondebosch Library.*

So that changed your life?

*That was the change of my life.*

How old are you?

*I turned 24 on 2 Sept this year.*

Would you be open to work somewhere else, in conservation?

*Ja, I would love to. But I love Liesbeek a lot. I would love to see it grow to a bigger thing.*

**This part of the interview falls outside of the useable evidence as the interviewer posed too many leading questions.**

What vision do you have for Liesbeek Lake? It's a city park. Maybe there could be rowing boats for hire? A good idea?

*They could enjoy the river. That would be good for the community.*

What else could be different?

*In this river? I need to think about that.*

What about school kids working with the team?

*School kids, we've had that experience before, maybe when it's Nelson Mandela birthday, for those minutes, there would be students coming in to help us plant the plants, cleaning. Ja, it went well, it was the pre-school children, being too young. We just have to make the holes for them, and take out the plants, and tell him what to do. It's a nice thing just to do, with small kids.*

What about older children?

*That would be a perfect thing, older people. At least we don't have to do their things for them. They would also do a thing.*

In Kayalitscha, where you live now, is there a river?

*I've seen one on the N2 side, it's called, what's that river? But no one's taking care of that river. Even me, I didn't know it was there, I just saw it driving by with the car. There are just wetlands there, mostly.*

Would up like to clean up that river?

*I would love to. Actually I would love to be part of the project that would start there in the township, like this one. I would love to be a part of that. You can see the rivers there in the township, such a mess. No one is taking care of the river, they just see it as a dumping place, actually that's what I saw those until I saw the Liesbeek River too. But now I have the knowledge.*

*If I could get, if there was some one with more knowledge than me, and we can do something about that, But now I have the knowledge.*

*If I could get, if there was some one with more knowledge than me, and we can do something about that, just to get the community to help, not even just for the money, just to make the place clean.*

Would it spread?

*It spreads easily, but the people, they don't have the knowledge about the nature, that's the thing.*

*They need the knowledge, people who could help educate them about the nature, the importance of the nature, that's the thing. They don't have the knowledge about nature, that's the main thing.*

What about at school?

*I didn't.*

*At school it would be about life skills, that's all, not about nature.*

The end



**Siya**

DATE: 5 December 2012

PLACE: Zandvlei

PART 1

*My name is Siya. I'm working here with Zandvlei, with the project Kader Asmal. What I like is, I was here since February. And now I'm still working here. I very, very enjoy to work here, especially with the nature conservation, because nature is very important to us, to know about nature. We here, but the problem is, we working here, but we working under pressure. The under pressure is, we get 2-months contract, or 3-months contract. That's why I'm very under pressure. But I like to work here. And I just like to make more difference here, because I like it.*

What is your work?

*Ja, my work as I'm coming here, I'm a general worker, I'm a general worker, I do all things, all things.*

*Like cutting the grass, I'm cutting trees, I'm a herbicide man. I chop the trees. And then we collect papers with (in the) water, we collect papers with (in) the bush, to make it 'skoon' (clean). And then to pull out the hyacinth in the water.*

Why?

*Because it not belong in water.*

How do you pull it out?

*Sometimes, there's two differents (methods) I know. Sometimes you pull it out with your hands, but you on a boat, if it's inside the water. You on a boat, you pull it out with your hands, and then you put it in your plastic. Other thing, you pull it out with your rake, when it's not deep in water. You pull it out with rakes. Then take it off.*

Why is that important, to take water hyacinth out?

*Because, it's not belong in water, all I know is that.*

Who teaches you?

*I learn with a man called Eddie. He say to us, The hyacinth is not belong to water. So I must take it out, they make a lot of damage in water.*

You work in a team?

*I'm working with a team. Sometimes I'm working with myself. But most, I'm working in a team.*

What's that like?

*I like to work with a team, I like very, very, very much. I like to work with a team because you can't do with one. You can't do most things alone. That's why I like to work with a team.*

Do you teach each other?

*Ja, I teach with other. My experience that I have. And I give, with my advice. And then my team give me his advice.*

Do you know them from before?

*No, it's a relationship that started here. Ja, it started here.*

So it's a relationship?

*It's a relationship. But I don't know, whatever, because we waiting with a contract. All I ...in my mind, if I can work here, I can very do more. I like to work here. If I can get like permanent job, or get like 3-years contract. That's very good.*

You used to work at Checkers (supermarket)?

*Ja, I'm working with Checkers.*

Why is this job better than that?

*Because, all I cry with Checkers is the money, is the money, I cry with the money because the wages is not alright.*

Are these wages better?

*Is better, is better to me.*

*But I'm work with other job before I'm working Checkers. I work with the contract with the rock club. It's a contract. I was paid R170 a day. That was very, very better.*

Would you change to a job with more money?

*I don't know, because I like this job, I like. But firstly I can start, because I like this job. But the problem, if you could get a contract or a permanent job, or get more money, that would be good to me.*

So you would like to stay with this job?

*I like to stay with this job, all my life, if it can.*

What would you like to do?

*I have lot of skills. Before, I was there, Eastern Cape, I was working with the bush. Lot of time, I was still young, then my father take me to the bush, go to make the tourism. (He) say, This and this and this. You must do this, cut trees. Then go with the water (the job at Zandvlei). They training me how to swim with water, ja, that's why I like this job.*

When you were a child, you liked nature as well?

*As well, I liked as well.*

When you came to Cape Town?

*Ja.*

But when you worked at Checkers you weren't working with nature?

*Ja, I weren't working with nature.*

You've always loved nature?

*Ja, ja.*

Are you learning a lot in this job?

*I learning, I learning very well. Most of things I know but I learn more. But I used the brushcutter before. But now, I learn more with the brushcutter.*

Are you going to go on a Brushcutting Course?

*Ja, we still waiting.*

Did you do a Health and Safety Course?

*No, no, I didn't go on a Health and Safety Course. I'm a herbicide man.*

Do you have a certificate?

*I have a certificate.*

Is that good?

*It's that good, it's that good!*

Tell me about Park Island?

*Park Island, that's a good place. When someone can come here to tourism, it must look nice, so to give more interest to the person who's coming here. He need to come back again, ja, ja, ja. But it can be nice, gonna be nice, gonna be nice.*

PART 2

Where do you live, do you live nearby?

*Ja I'm living nearby, I'm living at Kraaifontein. But before I was living at Capricorn (Park), with my sisters place. As I work, I've got a workplace here, but I'm also living there at Kraaifontein. Its very far. But each and everyday, when I'm coming here, I'm coming 7 o' clock. I clock (in at) 7 o' clock. (This information was corroborated by the Zandvlei Manager). I take two hours with the train.*

What time do you get up?

*I'm get up 4 o'clock. But I like it. I like it.*

*But sometimes I'm tired when I'm going to work. But every morning I'm very, very fresh, every morning.*

What time do you finish?

*I'm finish at 4 o' clock.*

So you get home at 6 o' clock?

*6 o'clock.*

Would you like to get a job, like this in Kraaifontein?

*Ja, I can like that, but I'm very enjoying to work here at Zandvlei.*

What is so special about Zandvlei?

*Ja, it's the people that I'm work with.*

The team or the management?

*All management, at Zandvlei, and the team. I don't want to start to new relationship with the Kraaifontein, sometimes it can make better, but I know these people.*

There's a happy spirit here?

*Ja, ja, ja.*

Did you help to build the Environment Centre?

*Ja, we paint, by E-room, and outside of the office, we paint it, we builded some blocks, to fix the roof.*

*And when you put a pole, you working with concrete, using concrete, sand, all of stuff like that.*

You've learned a lot of skills, but you don't have a lot of certificates, only Herbicide?

*Only herbicide.*

But you enjoy learning different skills?

*Ja, I enjoy to learn all different skills.*

What would you like to be doing in 5 years time, 2017?

*In myself? I would like to be a nature boy, that is all. I'm still young, to praise that. I want to work with it, nature.*

Which parts of nature do you like best?

*As my dream, I like to work all like here, water, bush and mountain, also, to include all of it. And animals also, I like.*

What animals do you see here?

*It's a snake, and the Zandvlei Trust frog. I see it in the water. And the mongoose. They're walking there at Zandvlei, a lot of times. And a 'bosluis' (lice), and bees.*

And birds?

*Ja, how can I forget! Beautiful birds, looking very nice.*

I see a lot of litter in the canal, from the community. What's the problem?

(Interruption. Break in recording)

PART 3

The community doesn't seem to appreciate nature?

*Ja sometimes I feel bad. Because (some people) make sort of Cape Town damage. But as well we're doing that. So lot of damage, lot of damage. Here at Zandvlei, we collecting. And we get other, I think it's 25 bags, I think it's only clothes, we get here at workless (Homeless Shelter), here before you get (to) Lakeside. Lot of things we get here, at... I forget what we call this place. But we collecting each and every week, lot, lot, lot, lot.*

What could be done?

*All I can say, with those people, it's because they don't have bins, and stuff like that. but others, they throw as he or she want.*

It's because there aren't enough bins?

*You don't have something that you can put in, like drums, for big stuff.*

It would be better to have bins?

*Ja, it would be better that we have the bins.*

Do you think people would put it in bins?

*Others, but others? I don't know. But others, they know how to damage ...*

Has this job changed you in any way?

*Ja, it changed. It make me, it make me, my sense, very creative, very creative, and quick to think, since working here.*

The end.

**Yolanda**

PLACE: Zandvlei Nature Reserve

DATE: 13 December 2012

*My name is Yolanda and we're working at the Zandvlei Nature Reserve.*

Tell me about your job, as supervisor?

*I supervise eight people.*

What do you do in the mornings? Tell me about a regular day?

*In the mornings, we find out where we're going to work. I come into the storeroom, get our tools together, get the people together. Our foreman, Eddie, takes us to our workplace, where we're going to work for the day.*

Who makes the decision, where it's going to be?

*Usually Eddie and Joss talk about where the people should go. Most of the time it's litter. And then there are days when we do brush-cutting here on the reserve, or some other places that they want us to clean. Different areas, and so on.*

Sounds like a lot of variety? What's your favourite part of the job?

*Well, everything. I just love my job and I love working... in the nature. Everything must just be clean.*

When did you start?

*I started 18 January 2012.*

Experience in nature reserve work before?

*Mostly in the litter cleanup, because I've worked before: at Storm Water (CCT); cleaning of the canals; and Solid Waste (CCT), cleaning of the bins. I worked on bin trucks; worked on the beaches, cleaning the beaches.*

Other different work?



*I've worked in a factory before; I was a dispatching clerk. But this job I love.*

Why this job?

*It's just the environment. It's totally different from other places I've worked. Other jobs you meet new people. This one I just love.*

So it's the environment?

*And I'd really love, if it's by any chance, love to do a course in nature, if it's possible, I'd really love to do that.*

Training?

*Only Health and Safety, but in my previous works (jobs) I did First Aid.*

Special training to be a supervisor?

*No, but in my previous jobs I also was a supervisor. It's mostly the way you are with people and the way you yourself build yourself. You just have to be there for people. You just have to interact. Just be yourself.*

They chose you for the character that you are?

*Ja, I think so. You don't need special skills for Supervisor.*

Any challenges?

*Not actually. Just maybe some of the workers get a little grumpy, but that's all in a day's work. Just work around that. Just work around that.*

Tell me about your team?

*I like them a lot. Every now and then you have to shout, but not that you want to. There has to be discipline. There has to be discipline. Well I'm trying to help them with that, because some of them come from, (you can't blame the area)... When they are in their elements, they think, they can do the same with this people here...*

*And if they, if I see, they don't take any notice of me, then I will go to my foreman. But most of the time, we'll try to sort it out ourselves.*

What are you trying to achieve with your work?

*I'd like to see myself going forward in this job. If possible, if there's any other training, like people skills, any other training that goes with the job, I would really love that.*

What is your team trying to achieve here?

*The way we see it, we would love to build Zandvlei more up, stay here, maintain the place; for the community to come in and see. Because I don't think that they ever had this as an open place for the people to come in and see. So if there is more to see, they can; like pamphlets, or maybe put an ad up, or something, (to show that) this is happening here now.*

This place is quite new. Do you think the community links in with this place?

*I think if there is more that can be done on this reserve, then they will come.*

Plants and animals that you've learned about?

*Most of the time we're not here. We go to different sites.*

Do you get to see a lot of birds or animals?

*Ja, but I would really love to be more experienced in plants, birds, so on.*

There's been no training?

*No.*

What about the alien plants? Which ones do you focus on?

*Wax berry.*

[Interruption.]

PART 2

Is there a river near where you live?

*Yes.*

In Grassy park, near to Rondevlei?

*Yes. That one doesn't get cleaned a lot. But maybe on a Saturday or so, I will sometimes take a bag and go take the dirt out,... ja, then I just take it out.*

Have you always been like that?

*Yes, I just love working.*

What about the hard physical side of the job?

*I don't see it as hard. For me, it's my job. I must do it. I'm here to earn my money, so I must work. I have to do my job.*

The insecurity of not knowing if your contracts being renewed, how it affects you?

*There are times, when we, like for instance, our children that are on school, myself my daughters that are on university. There's stuff that they need. And I, as a parents, I'd love to give them more, but we're just here on contract basis, we would just love to, me, myself, the other workers, we're just hanging onto hope. If there's a possibility, maybe they can keep us a bit longer... Can't they just make us permanent? We would really love it.*

Is absenteeism a problem?

*No.*

At the beginning, there were about 20 people who started, some of them dropped out?

*Yes, that very same day..*

What made them drop out?

*When they heard about the money [too little money].*

The ones that stayed on, are they still with the team?

*There was a lady; she left. She said, she had a medical condition. I spoke to her, What is wrong? (She answered), No, it's just medical. I said, Mama, I'm the Health and Safety Officer, if anything is wrong with you, I should know, because if you're getting sick, or you need treatment, I must know about I, and I have to inform the office at Westlake*

*(Headquarters). You can just faint, or we think you're fainting, maybe it's a heart attack, you need a tablet or something, you have to speak to me about it.*

*But then she just stayed away.*

If you had a vision for yourself, in five years' time?

*Well, first of all, being here! Help Management uplift Zandvlei; just see myself doing new things here.*

You've done so much since you've been here: built the fence; worked on the Enviro Centre?

*I don't know if you've seen the fence at The Mond? We built it. We worked at Zeekoeivlei, put up an electric fence for the hippo. We put up two fences there. That was now almost three weeks ago.*

So you even get moved out to different reserves to help?

*Ja, that was the first one.*

### PART 3

Imagine a ladder with 10 steps. At the bottom are people who have almost no choice over how their lives turn out. On the top step, there're people who have free choice, and they can control their lives. On which step are you today?

*Seriously, I think I'm at the bottom because I'm still reaching out, to get somewhere. Ja, and security.*

What about most of your neighbours in your environment?

*Our neighbours in our environment - in the middle.*

If you had to look at your life 5 years ago, where would you have been standing?

*I think on the same level as now.*

What would change your level?

*Give me a permanent job, and just go from there. I can build myself up from there. Because you can't build yourself up, even not for me, with children, and (it's the same for) the other workers also. You just need that security.*

The end.

**Zola**

DATE: 11 October 2012

PLACE: Rondebosch

Non-recorded interview.

Zola is a young woman from the Eastern Cape. She has a diploma in HR from CPUT.

What do you like about this work?

*It's nice, because we're cleaning the river, and water is the very important thing. So it must not be dirty. So old people are walking, so we have to keep it clean and open, otherwise gangsters will rob old people. There's nothing you can do without water. You cannot live, you cannot even make food without water. Sometimes, we even work in a place with no tap, we just use the water from the river, it's clean.*

How hard is the work?

*It is sometimes hard, we have to use the spades, but we learn to do it, but it's like men's work.*

*And the fact that we see animals like snakes. Though they say they don't bite, but we're scared of the snakes. There're a lot. But those friends [Friends of the Liesbeek], they even touch them. But I'm scared, even the spiders.*

What about your team?

*It's nice to work with them. But sometimes you can see that there's different ethnic groups. So it's difficult to work with them. But sometimes it's nice, we even share some things, like food.*

What's the best thing about this work?

*The best thing is that we're working with nature, and I love nature. It feels like I'm at home (Eastern Cape). We work with plants there; we even plant our vegetables.*

Where did you learn to speak English?

*I have a diploma from CPUT.*

Then how did you get to be doing this work?

*I'll do anything that's in front of me; I don't like sitting at home. I'm grateful for this job.*

What work would you like to be doing in the future?

*I'd like to work in a HR Department. I like working with people. I'd like to be CEO of a company one day. That's what my dream is, a company, like a security company. I go to the Internet cafe when I come to work early, and when I get home in the afternoons.*

*Nothing! I finish my diploma 2010. I graduate last year. Nothing yet.*

The end.