

STRETCHING THE CONCEPT OF THE EXPANDED PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME IN SOUTH AFRICA: TRACING THE FOOTSTEPS AND GAUGING THE FOOTPRINTS – THE UNFINISHED RURAL DEVELOPMENT TRANSFORMATION STORY

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt at drawing policy attention and debate to the complex inter-relationship between gender relations, income and productive assets through an analysis of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) in South Africa's rural areas. The assessment is strengthened through benchmarking the EPWP with the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) of India. The departure point critiques the policy components and gaps in employment and productive gender discrimination and inequality. In doing so, the paper stretches the concept of the EPWP in South Africa in two ways. First, by tracing the footsteps of EPWP, a distinct profile of the existing situation is portrayed. Second, through gauging the footprints of EPWP, the impact and contribution of the concept is captured. The major thematic areas for policy dialogue include:

- An understanding of differentiated pathways in fighting rural poverty
- Understanding the socio-economic implications of gender inequality in South Africa
- Establishing the priority points for context specific policy change and control in both productive assets employment and deployment; and
- Migration paths leading to sustainable rural development.

Overall, the approach should be framed by a tracking information system (inclusive of individual, project and community), scaling change dynamics and responsive institutional governance. This is advantageous in terms of removing burdens of social, political and economic exclusion of women in the implementation of large and small scale infrastructure policies, projects and programmes.

Key Words

Expanded Public Works Programme, National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, South Africa, India, Gender inequality, rural poverty

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

South Africa's government has set itself a target of halving unemployment by 2014 (in sympathy with the Millennium Development Goals), i.e. reducing unemployment rate from 30 percent to 15 percent (Philips, 2003). One of the ways through which the government expects to meet this target is through the judicious implementation and management of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) (McCord, 2002; World Bank, 2003; May, 2006). The EPWP can be a powerful vehicle for providing exposure to the world of work in a context where a very high proportion of the unemployed has never worked, or in deep rural areas where under-employment, poverty and indigent households are more pronounced (ILO, 1999; McCutcheon, 2001; World Bank, 2003; May, 2006). The 16-34 age groups in South Africa constitutes the "youth" as defined by the Youth Commission. Approximately 70 percent of the youths in South Africa report never having worked, while 59 percent of all unemployed people have never worked in their lifetime (McCord, 2002; Mashiri & Mahapa, 2002; Philips, 2003).

1.1 The role of EPWP in rural development

Two main perspectives exist regarding the role and place of public works programmes in development discourse. First, public works programmes are viewed largely as instruments for creating a high volume of employment in the short-term in a context of chronic unemployment which maybe a consequence of acute social and political struggles (Clegg, 2003). Second, they fulfil an important policy intervention requirement for targeted inclusion of marginalized groups into the formal labour market (Adato, 2002). Quite often, the youth, disabled, retrenched, or long term unemployed and women experience difficulty accessing labour market opportunities (Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009). Given the magnitude of South Africa's unemployment challenge, the EPWP represents an alternative labour management pathway for resolving rural unemployment, poverty and empowerment struggles. However, Lewis has estimated that even in the most positive growth scenario for South Africa, after ten years with projected GDP growth of between 4 and 5 per cent per annum, broad unemployment among the semi and unskilled will not fall significantly below 30 per cent (Lewis 2001:, 55). This perhaps underscores the importance of conducting regular reviews and audits of any of the programmes meant to resolve the problem of unemployment in South Africa.

1.2 Aim and purpose of the paper

This paper seeks to unravel the evolving challenges and issues regarding the EPWP in South Africa, and perhaps, by extension argue that the story of the EPWP in South Africa is an "*unfinished revolution and transformation*". Through comparing and contrasting the EPWP experience in South Africa with experience elsewhere, shortcomings in the current programme are identified and recommendations for stretching the concept are discussed.

1.3 Study methodology

This paper is based on an extensive desktop literature review of the experience of EPWP in South Africa. The analysis is strengthened by benchmarking the EPWP in South Africa with experiences from elsewhere in the world, including India. The strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) and gap analysis techniques are used in analysing the ability and capacity of the concept to respond comprehensively to growth and development parameters such as gender relations, income and productive infrastructure assets provision and sustainability.

1.4 Structure of the paper

This paper is organised into *four sections*. *Section one* has provided background information to the study including explaining the purpose and methodology used in investigating the research problem. *Section two* is dedicated to literature review regarding EPWPs. *Section three* discusses the study findings and results. Finally *section four* draws out the major conclusions and recommendations of the study.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Bassi and Ashenfelter (1997) have identified three primary economic drivers for government intervention in the labour market, namely:

- Need to reduce frictional unemployment;
- Incentive to reduce cyclical unemployment be it in urban or rural areas; and
- Need to alleviate structural unemployment.

The third reason has strong resonance with the core rationale of the EPWP intervention in South Africa. This however, should not be misconstrued to imply that the EPWP does not consider at all the first two factors.

Literature review regarding the role, value and contribution of the EPWP in national wealth creation, growth and development is a subject area for dialogue and debate. While a number of schools of thoughts seem established, the differences lie much more in tone and timing of intervention approach rather than in arguing about the principles and values enshrined in the EPWP concept/approach. Three major theories have been employed in the discourse on EPWP, namely, the social sector model, the conventional model and the non-conventional building and construction model. These three main approaches are briefly discussed hereunder.

2.1 The EPWP social sector model

First, the social sector model argues that EPWP can be successful if the programmes have a strong social component. This strong social component should assist in addressing social issues such as gender, poverty, skills and migration paths and exit pathways for participants as they graduate from the lower rungs of poverty and climb to higher rungs of wealth and prosperity. Table 1 illustrates the envisaged types of transformation that a social sector based model of the EPWP can support and sustain if well managed.

Table 1: The EPWP social sector model

INPUTS	PROCESSES	OUTPUTS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployed, indigent households/family members, women, youths, aged and disabled enter EPWP • Training and Skills development programme in EPWP • Poverty & unemployment profiling of district, municipality, ward, households and individuals • Community participation & involvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Screening of Beneficiaries • Targeting Special Groups Advisory Committee • Training of Participants • EPWP Local Assembly Meetings/Structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exit EPWP with work experience and training of a maximum of 2 years • Exit strategies and pathway options • Employment with a new major employer/contractor • Further education and training • Self-employment • Establishment of enterprise cooperatives • On-going employment with same employer at normal conditions of employment

Source: Mashiri *et al* (2009); McCutcheon (2001); Department of Transport (2001, 2005)

The social sector model integrates the socio-economic growth and development needs of EPWP intended beneficiaries with the EPWP. This makes the EPWP concept address much more sharply the needs of marginalised communities such as the poor, the disabled, the aged, and women and youths in EPWP based and orientated projects.

2.2 The EPWP conventional building and construction model

Second, the conventional building and construction EPWP model is based on the importance of economic competitiveness as a guiding principle in carrying out building and construction field. Using statistics from the construction and building industry which show that on average conventional methods are cheaper and less arduous for workers than what EPWP provides for, McCutcheon et al (2001, 2003) found a lack of competitiveness in cost terms of labour-intensive methods. They further advance the thesis that road construction, for example, should be expected to contribute to employment-creation through the use of the roads and its maintenance once constructed rather than during the processes of construction. The popular postulation is that labour intensification as involving “the incorporation of a social development agenda into the construction work plan”- was imagined to increase management complexity, delays and costs. In addition, the apparent lack of skills and experience in labour-intensive construction within the industry was seen as an Achilles heel. In short, the concern is that labour intensity programs must be implemented in the context of a supportive and enabling environment so that competitiveness is assured. This would need to proceed on the backdrop of adequate training and systems for quality control and management involving across the board including consultants and general labourers.

The conventional model is therefore based on classical economic theories and argues in terms of the efficiency and economies of scale that technology induced and supported building and construction methods entail for EPWP building and construction projects.

2.3 The EPWP non-conventional model

Third, the non-conventional EPWP model challenges the philosophy and founding principles behind the conventional EPWP concept as discussed above. Generating and extending beneficial and non-exploitative opportunities for employment is an enduring way to tackle poverty (FAO, 2004). Implementing EPWP effectively can potentially address both the short-term income-generation needs of poor communities and economic growth in the long-term. A typical example is the adoption of community-based labour-intensive methods in basic infrastructure provision, such as investment in access roads, irrigation works, community markets, low-income housing and schools (Riverson et al, 1991; ILO, 1999; World Bank, 2002, 2003; FAO, 2004). The term ‘employment-intensive’ is used by the ILO to describe a competitive technology where optimal use is made of labour as the predominant resource in infrastructure projects, while ensuring cost-effectiveness and safeguarding quality (ILO, 1999).

The non-conventional model therefore challenges the efficiency and effectiveness of the conventional models in addressing poverty, equity and welfare distribution dimensions of technology and machine-based technologies. They argue that appropriate labour-based technologies executed with adequate supervision create similar outputs at less cost than advanced building and construction technology approaches.

2.4 EPWP intervention platforms

Given that a key resource among the poor is their own labour, employment-intensive initiatives offer a sure way in which government can directly contribute to addressing poverty (Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009). It is therefore critical that local resources are used in the quest to uplift and develop communities. Table 2 summarises some of the suggested EPWP growth and development intervention clusters. The principle behind is to maximise intervention areas and optimally utilise available opportunities for mainstreaming and entrenching the EPWP.

Table 2: Suggested EPWP National Government Cluster Interventions Areas

Infrastructure Cluster	Environment, Tourism & Culture Cluster	Social Cluster	Economic Cluster
Low Volume Roads	Working for Water	Early Childhood Development	Catering
Sidewalks	Working for Wetlands	Home/Community Based Care	Security
Storm water Management	Working for Coast	Food Security/Nutrition	Uniform manufacturing
Trenching	Domestic Waste Collection		Municipal Building Cleaning
Materials Supply	Agribusiness		Municipal Building Refurbishment

Source: Edmonds & Howe (1980); DoT (2001), 2005 (ILO), 1998 (McCord, 2002)

It is interesting to note that, EPWP economic analysis to date, both in South Africa and internationally has largely focused almost exclusively on the evaluation of public works programmes in terms of the efficiency of transfers under public works programmes, rather than assessing the efficacy of the transfers in terms of direct or indirect microeconomic impact on participating households, and the ability of such programmes to achieve the anticipated impacts in the social, economic and labour market spheres (see for example Adato & Haddad 2002). Anecdotal evidence on the socio-economic impact and gender dimensions however exists (see work by Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena (2009)) in South Africa and Kelkar (2009) in India. This paper also seeks to make a further contribution towards the emerging body of evidence regarding EPWP linkages with indicators such as gender relations, income and productive assets.

3.0 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RESULTS

3.1 Differentiated pathways in fighting rural poverty: International EPWP experiences

There is vast international experience of EPWPs, ranging from small programmes to very large-scale initiatives such as the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (NREGA) in India and the New Deal programme during the Great Depression in the USA. Some of these programmes have absorbed upwards of 30% of the unemployed (McCord, 2003:8; Kelkar, 2008). One of the lessons from the international experience is that the impact of EPWP on unemployment levels depends on the scale of the EPWP. However, engaging in comparisons should be done with some degree of caution as country conditions differ. Table 3 summarises some of the experience.

Table 3: A selection of EPWP in South America and Africa

COUNTRY	DATE	EMPLOYMENT (PERSON; WORKER – DAYS)	% LABOUR FORCE	EFFECTS
Bolivia	Mid-1987	30 000 workers	3	Average earnings raised by 45%
Honduras	1990-1993	8,9m person-days	5	20% cut in open unemployment: direct effects only
Botswana	1985-1986	74000 workers (3m. person – days)	20 - 25	Also relief in drought context
Kenya	1992-1993	1 m person-days annually	0.6%	20 - 35% of total income
India National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) JRY (includes expanded NREP etc)	1980-1989	320/370 person-days per year		Not all additional employment
	1989 - 1990			
India “Intensified JRY”	1993 - 1994	>1b. person-days		
India, All major employment schemes in India including EGS	Mid 1990s and still expanding	2.2m “full time equivalent working years”	Well below 2% of rural workforce	
Maharashtra State (India) Employment Guarantee Scheme	1975/76 - 2005		1986 Peak: 15% state budget; 10-14% since About 20%	Reduces rural unemployment by 10- 35%. In survey villages about 50% participants wage employment from EGS

Source: Subbarao (1997); Lipton (1998)

3.1.1 Critique of the EPWP in South Africa

The Development Report (World Bank, 2005) presents a critical review of the potential contribution of the EPWP to overcome underdevelopment and link economies. A conclusion drawn in this review is that the limited scale of employment opportunities and the short-term duration of employment for each worker offered by the EPWP make it unlikely to have a significant impact on unemployment and poverty at household or national level.

Additional functions such as community empowerment, capacity building and transformation have also been added to the public works concept in South Africa (DoT, 2004; Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009). This multiplicity of objectives led Adato and Haddad to conclude that ‘South Africa’s public works programmes have been among the most innovative in the world, with multiple objectives that include not only job creation, but also poverty reduction and infrastructure development.

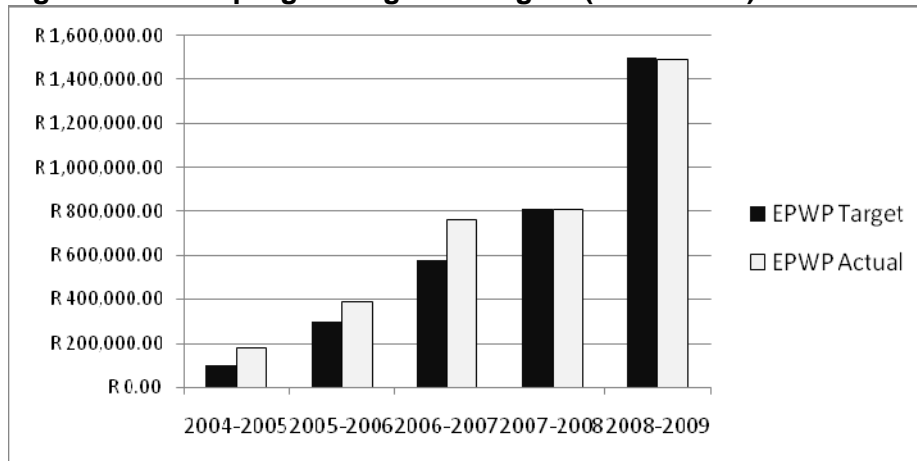
3.1.2 The livelihoods impact of EPWP

The sustainable poverty reduction component of public works may be conceptualised in terms of promoting the livelihoods of participants. Devereux (2000:3) has identified three routes for the transmission of a benefit from income transfer for improved livelihoods; the promotion of trade based, production-based or labour-based entitlements. Trade based entitlements promotion would occur through the purchase of food, production based through investment in food crop farming, and labour based entitlements through the use of income as working capital to increase profits from informal activities such as petty trading (Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009).

3.1.3 Auditing EPWP targets against reality

Figure 3 indicates the 2008 figures regarding EPWP targets versus actual. The progress in implementing the EPWP has been reasonably well on target to achieve the overall goal of one million work opportunities for unemployed and unskilled individuals in South Africa. Figure 3 indicates that the EPWP has indeed exceeded its annual targets since inception.

Figure 3: EPWP progress against targets (cumulative)



Source: www.dpw.co.za

In addition, it would appear therefore that the momentum in the EPWP is increasing and more and more projects are being implemented nationally and in all sectors that both uplift communities through the provision of much-needed services, and provide work opportunities and training for the unemployed.

3.2 EPWP socio-economic implications of gender inequalities in South Africa: Impact targeting versus EPWP quotas

Public works programmes are targeted at women, youth and the disabled. The targeted proportions of each comprise of 60 percent women, 20 percent youth aged between 18 to 25 years, and 2 percent disabled (Department of Labour, 2002). However, the social development discourse argues that transfers received by women tend to deliver greater human and social capital benefits to households than those received by either youth or males (Duflo, 1999; Mashiri and Mahapa, 2002; Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009). In Limpopo (Gundolashu) and Mpumalanga (Siyatentela) EPWPs, during focused group discussions, female participants argued that public works wage transfers received by youth and men had a more limited impact on household welfare than those received by women (McCord, 2003; Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009). This challenges the objective of targeting youth, and also the limited participation target for women (60 percent), given the objective of poverty reduction. It also highlights the tension inherent in the multiple objectives ascribed to the South African public works programme.

However, EPWP deep rural community-based programmes have since recognised these problems, and have developed an alternative targeting protocol in response to the perceived incidence of poverty in their programme areas. The Zibambele programme in KwaZulu-Natal and Siyatentela programme in Mpumalanga explicitly prioritise female-headed households, and more than 95% of its participants are women (DoT, 2005; Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009; Mpumalanga Department of Roads & Transport, 2008).

3.3 Establishing the priority points for context specific policy change and control in both productive assets and employment deployment: Wage levels

The level of the wage in a public works programme, together with the length of employment offered are the critical determinants of the use of the transfer received, and hence its impact on livelihoods. Reviews indicate that programme participants require the “stipends” or wages of between R 850-R1 500 to be revised upwards (Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009). However, perhaps setting the “stipends” below minimum wage levels is a job rationing and self-targeting measure to avoid outsiders grabbing jobs meant for the poor. However, Deveroux (2000) notes that such meagre income is channelled to satisfy basic human needs such as food and meeting household needs. It is therefore not usually likely that income from such public works programmes is used for investment in agriculture equipment and asset generation. One may further argue that such an approach should be incorporated in South Africa where infrastructure programmes are funded by the Land Bank. This approach should be informed by the successful experiences of Bangladesh in developing micro lending programs. In Malawi, investment in income generating activities using income from public works programmes ceased following price rises resulting from the shock of drought (Adato et al, 1999).

3.3.1 *EPWP asset development*

The evidence base for assessing the economic benefits, in either micro or macroeconomic terms, of the assets created under public works programmes in South Africa is extremely limited and anecdotal. However two impact studies from different ends present divergent but complementary conclusions.

Research work by Mashiri and Mahapa (2002) in respect of the Tshitwe road-upgrading project in Limpopo indicates a gap between the envisaged project expectations, and its realisation in terms of the quality, appropriateness and strategic value of the assets created. Money earned by workers did not circulate within the community and as the anticipated improvement in road passenger services did not materialise; neither did the benefits in terms of improved access to market and other amenities. Mashiri and Mahapa attribute the programme’s failure to the lack of genuine participation of local communities in selecting assets and priorities for the programme.

However research work by Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena (2009) of assessing the impact of the Siyatentela programme in Mpumalanga provided important insights into the impact of EPWP in poor rural communities. Not only did the beneficiaries use income from the project to buy food and household goods such as stoves and refrigerators, they also used it to finance children’s education and established women’s own saving clubs. Most of the women have used the income to build brick and mortar modern houses with asbestos or zinc roofing, while others have invested in home gardens and poultry farming. All these alternatives are systematic ways of establishing pathways out of poverty. The programme’s relative success is owed to an improved institutional and governance structure that rests on a more participative project execution and management style.

3.3.2 *Accountability*

EPWPs have the potential to promote local democracy through the participation of communities in resource allocation decision-making, (in terms of both employment and investment in assets), and to promote democratic accountability by providing a structure for direct communication between local government and communities. An example of the potential of public works programme to promote democratic processes and give a voice to

the poor is the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS). This programme makes employment an entitlement and facilitates collective political action by the poor, and enhances the responsiveness of rural politicians to their needs. However currently there is little basis on which to assess the performance of public works programmes in South Africa in this regard.

3.4 Migration paths leading to sustainable rural development: Benchmarking EPWP in South Africa with India's NREGA

One of the key research questions for the study was to benchmark the EPWP in South Africa with the EPWP in India under the banner of NREGA. The comparison is based on the fact that Asian countries such as India have had a long history of experimenting with EPWP. At the same time, currently the international fraternity is applauding India for the innovative EPWP approach as enshrined in NREGA. It is also important to realise that NREGA focuses on rural areas and South Africa EPWP community based rural roads maintenance programmes such as Siyatentela (Mpumalanga), Zibambele (KwaZulu-Natal), Gundolashu (Limpopo) and Sakhasizwe (Eastern Cape) just to name a few, have been singled out as innovative responses to addressing poverty, unemployment and infrastructure deployment and sustainability in South Africa. Table 3 presents a comparative analysis of the experiences.

3.5 EPWP information management system

Existing public works programme monitoring and information systems do not facilitate analysis of the impact of programmes, and offer little in terms of an evidence base against which to assess performance on the eleven objectives ascribed to public works in the current policy discourse. Monitoring tends to focus on the creation of 'jobs' *per se*, rather than the social and economic impact of those jobs (Clegg 2003, Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009). Also, the use of 'jobs' created as the central performance indicator, rather than workdays created renders analysis problematic, as does the lack of data on the duration of employment provided to participants.

Where performance indicators are monitored, they tend to be quantitative input measures (e.g. units of training delivered, kilometres of road constructed, or number of workers recruited), rather than impact indicators relating to the labour market, social or economic consequences of the intervention. A lack of baseline information on programme participants also renders impact analysis, in terms of the livelihoods of participants, problematic. A small number of detailed studies such as Adato *et al's* 1999 research into public works programmes in the Western Cape, Mashiri and Mahapa's EPWP and social research projects related to Tshitwe road-upgrading project in Limpopo and Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena (2009) impact assessment of the Siyatentela project in Mpumalanga have been undertaken. However there is little systematic monitoring of socio-economic and social development indicators to evaluate the impact of investments in public works. Table 4 presents some proposed enhancement of EPWP evaluation techniques. This is deemed essential if better EPWP outcomes and deliverables are going to be consistently and efficiently delivered in a sustainable manner. Appropriate techniques should be chosen on a case-by-case basis. Table 4 presents a summary of the proposed enhancements to EPWP monitoring and evaluation framework.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Using the EPWP to focus on part-time and full time asset maintenance, rather than creation, is one appropriate option for sustained employment creation. The study confirmed the need to use the EPWP as a cornerstone in generating alternative pathways out of rural poverty in South Africa. The study further notes the success and impact that the EPWP has enjoyed so far but also cautions that performance gaps and higher impact could be realised through a transformational review of the rural development dimensions of the programme. This paper's argument should not be misconstrued to be advocating for the abandonment of the concept but rather be viewed as an argument emphasising the need to take the initiative to the next level. Indeed the story of the EPWP in relation to rural areas is a story that this paper posits is one of *"the unfinished rural transformation and revolution"*.

4.1 Major recommendations

In view of the foregoing, the following recommendations have been generated:

- Assets created under the EPWP contribute directly or indirectly to growth and poverty reduction at either local or national levels. However for greater impact and contribution towards rural development the assets created or maintained through EPWP need to be strategically selected for their benefits to the poor and/or the wider economy, and their construction should simultaneously be given adequate technical management to ensure they are of acceptable and sustainable quality.
- The performance of EPWP in terms of various social and economic objectives is highly contingent on the institutional context in which the project is executed including the social development process in which they are embedded. Inadequate institutional and social development frameworks compromise the capability of EPWP programmes to meet desired and much more inclusive outcomes.
- EPWP should include child care and foster facilities including mobile toilets on site for use by beneficiaries as part and parcel of a wider gender mainstreaming strategy.
- EPWP should be structured in such a way that appropriate local level assets including skills transfer are adequately provided. This should serve to provide a platform for empowering previously asset-less communities with the right mix of assets to act as a foundation for building and developing prosperous rural areas.
- While this paper recognised the importance of focusing on road construction and services given the catalytic role that improved access and mobility secures, it is important to realise that *"roads are not enough"*. Road and transport based assets should be supplemented and complemented by appropriate assets in agriculture, soil conservation, water harvesting and use if rural development is to be fast-tracked.
- Adopting and refining NREGA components to the EPWP in South Africa can lead to the expansion of the concept through guaranteeing a rights-based approach; guaranteeing a minimum wage; establishing micro-enterprises as part of a wider strategy to widen pathways options out of poverty and thereby continuing the theme of the EPWP *"unfinished revolution and transformation"*.
- The role and importance of research to pick out trends and establish clearly the linkages between rural development, transport, EPWP, gender relations, migration and movement patterns, asset creation, deployment and sustainability are areas requiring continuous investigation. This is much more critical in contemporary South Africa given the government's focus on rural development.

Table 3: Comparative matrix analysis of selected indicators of NREGA & EPWP

EPWP Indicator	Country		Existence of a GAP	Remarks
	India	South Africa		
Identity	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA)	Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)	Yes X	No While the South African programme is all inclusive but fragmented in implementation, India has moved a step further and generated a National Rural Employment Guarantee Act instead of using an approach/programme (integrated and consolidated).
Date Promulgated	2005	1997	X	While India's EPWP rural development thinking has been constantly reviewed dating from the 1970's, South Africa's EPWP response especially in rural areas is still being established. Timely updating and tweaking of EPWP project is critical in South Africa
Operational Date & Coverage	February 2006 in 200 Districts By March 2008 NREGA covered all rural districts in India	Coverage National, however each Province has EPWP variations to address rural people and women's peculiar poverty and employment needs e.g. Siyantela (Mpumalanga), Zibambele (KwaZulu-Natal), Gundolashu (Limpopo) and Sakasizwe (Eastern Cape)	X	India's rural EPWP has been consolidated into one ACT, while in South Africa Provinces have fragmented policy and programme responses e.g. Siyantela (Mpumalanga), Zibambele (KwaZulu-Natal), Gundolashu (Limpopo) and Sakasizwe (Eastern Cape)
Provision	Guaranteed employment of up to 100 days a year to poor rural households on demand	Employment Contracts with Households	X	<i>In South Africa policy itself does not explicitly conceive Rural Employment as a basic right. A policy shift may be necessary. Programmes may suffer if government funding is withdrawn. However this is a necessary check to safeguard public funds leakage and keep provincial and local government accountable and keep democratic.</i>
Objectives	Provide work at remunerative wages for landless labourers and marginal farmers Create assets for raising agricultural productivity A rights based growth and development programme unlike earlier employment schemes	Provides stipends for 2 days a week employment for indigent households' members. Maintains existing road based infrastructure. A derived incremental empowerment based incubation and development approach Stipend differs from Province to Province	X	Focuses mainly on maintaining existing road infrastructure
Approach & Thrust			X	Migration to higher developmental approach phases beckoning. SA still to legislate for a minimum wage for EPWP in the country
Rights Framework	Employment on Demand Minimum wages Payment of Wages within 15 days Provision of Basic Worksite Facilities	Legal guarantee of work to contracted households	X	Not all persons from a poor household are covered
	Legal Guarantee of 100 days employment in a financial year to a registered household Government is legally bound to provide employment within 7 days of the application for work by a job	Demand and programme based	X	No unemployment allowance except recourse in child grants
	Self-screening Gram Panchayat village administration council system.	Beneficiaries screened and a waiting list maintained Community/peer screening of beneficiaries by traditional and local leadership including community	X	No job card system but invisible waiting list system exists. May require upgrading

	<p>"Priority" is to be given to women in the allocation of work "in such a way that at least one-third of the beneficiaries shall be women"</p> <p>The Gram Panchayat institutional project management approach is responsible for planning of works, registering households, issuing job cards, and monitoring implementation of NREG schemes at the local level. There is a provision for appointment of "employment guarantee assistant"</p> <p>EPWP Social audits executed through Gram Sabha (village assembly) - twice a year. Provision for EPWP public hearings in cases of suspected gross violations in project administration etc</p>	<p>member participation. 60% beneficiaries women</p> <p>Existing DoR&T District Institutional System</p> <p>Existing institutional structures – maybe avoiding creating parallel development management structures</p> <p>Focus mostly on rural road infrastructure and services, just beginning to expand beyond the traditional thrust</p> <p>Mostly road based assets (rural local level roads and infrastructure)</p> <p>95% women in Siyatentela & Zibambele</p> <p>Impact studies anecdotal.</p> <p>Gender mainstreaming a challenge.</p> <p>Opportunity for EPWP in SA to create new assets where previously none existed for previously asset less rural indigent household members and individuals</p>	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>	<p>Siyatentela, Zibambele</p> <p>No formal structures extending beyond government developed systems exists</p> <p>No independent social community audits system in place</p> <p>Mostly rural roads maintenance programs and assets. Focus still narrow</p> <p>Siyatentela, Zibambele</p> <p>Siyatentela, Zibambele</p> <p>No studies done exploring the linkage between labour exploitation before and after EPWP interventions in SA</p> <p>Siyatentela</p> <p>Gardens; Poultry; Savings Club</p>
Codified Works	<p>Integrated rural infrastructure EPWP intervention platforms cutting across the whole rural development value chain spectrum (water, irrigation, land reform, conversation, rural access etc)</p>			
Impact	<p>During 2007-2008, NREGA programme has created more than half a million productive assets, mostly water and soil conservation structures</p>			
Gender Participation	<p>In July 2008, at the all- India level women's employment as a percentage of total employment in NREGA works was 40 per cent; Tamil Nadu 82 %; Kerala 71% and Rajasthan 69 %</p>			
Research Findings	<p>Studies report a drastic reduction in distress migration of women and men, as a result of available NREGA employment in their villages</p> <p>In other words, NREGA implementation needs to take account of women's household responsibilities, particularly childcare, appropriate time of work when children are at school, location of work near the home.</p> <p>In case of NREGA, a policy option seems that the programme must be used to create productive assets that a vast majority of "asset less" women could use at individual or household level with full control rights to the assets.</p>			

Source: DoT, 2001, 2005; NREGA, 2005; Kelkar, 2009; Mashiri, Chakwizira & Nhemachena, 2009

Table 4: Summary of proposed EPWP project & programme evaluation techniques

EPWP Pathway Targeted Measurement Technique	Technique Roots & Foundation	Focus Area	Measurement Indicators	Timeframes
Selected EPWP project/programme mix analysis	Cross –sectional Surveys	Surveys & Interviews with Contractors & Implementing Agencies, Beneficiaries, Communities and government departments In-depth studies of selected projects by sector and province spread Benchmarking studies	Beneficiary Profiles; Household Profiles Income Transfers Impact Analysis; Asset Impact Analysis; Training & Skills Transfer Technology Transfer Model; Community attitudes, knowledge, awareness & practices (AKAP) Analysis	Years 1-5 Surveys to be conducted at the end of the project cycle Years 3 & 5
Case Studies				
Before-During & After Intervention Analysis (Profiling)	Longitudinal Surveys	Programme Beneficiary Screening Reports; Beneficiary Socio-Economic Analysis (SEA) 6 months during EPWP or after exiting EPWP (SEA) 1 Year during EPWP or after exiting EPWP; Study Unit Analysis & Evaluation	Profiling Employment History Investment Portfolio Analysis Individual Life Course Perspective Analysis Household Life Course Perspective Analysis Community Life Course Perspective Analysis	Years 1 – 5 Surveys to be conducted 6 months after beneficiaries exit the EPWP and 1 year thereafter
Life Course Perspective				Bi-Annually or Once every Five Years
Social Impact Assessment (SIA)	Poverty Impact Analysis	Desktop Analysis	Income Impact Analysis Sustainable Livelihoods Analysis (SLA)	Year 3 -5
Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)		Environmental Calibration, Modelling & Analysis	Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) Analysis Poverty & Vulnerability Proofing Analysis Climate change & adaptation analysis	Once every 5 years or as desired
EPWP impact tracking model	Aggregate Impact Analysis	Employ a computable general equilibrium (CGE) model to measure broader impacts	Linking EPWP with macroeconomics indicators Analysis. aggregate demand, net jobs created, income redistribution and inflation	0-5 years
Appropriate Construction & Building Technology Analysis	Life Cycle Analysis	Resource disposal and Recovery Analysis Energy Production & Use Analysis Exploitation & Use of Primary Resources Resource Processing & Manufacturing	Energy Efficiency Analysis; CO ₂ Emissions (kg(CO ₂ /m ²) Water Consumption (lit/m ²); Materials Construction & Building Processes Social imperatives;	Annually
Institutional Model Analysis	Governance Barometer Analysis	Effectiveness Analysis Equity Analysis Participation Analysis Accountability Analysis	Consumer satisfaction surveys & polls EPWP Citizens Charter including a Women's Charter EPWP People's/Development Forum or Local Assembly Democratically Elected Politicians	Bi-Annually
Gender Mainstreaming Analysis	Moser Practical & Strategic Gender Needs Analysis	Gender Needs Analysis Gender Impact Analysis	Representation in key posts Gender Budget Gender Sensitivity Analysis	Bi-Annually

Sources: Lynn et al (2000); Kuchena & Chakwizira (2004); Mashiri et al (2008); Litman (2008); Chakwizira & Sidambe (2008); Chakwizira & Mashiri (2009); Kuchena & Usiri (2009)

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