

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



THE ROLE OF HOUT BAY CRAFT MARKETS IN SUSTAINING THE LIVELIHOODS OF ZIMBABWEAN TRADERS

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that “The role of Hout Bay craft markets in sustaining the livelihoods of Zimbabwean traders: A Case Study of Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay in the Western Cape,” is my own work, and has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the resources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Tracy Zambara

Signed:



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I would like to express my profound and sincere gratitude to the following people who helped to make this work a resounding success.

To God Almighty, I give all the glory and honour for He shielded, guided and gave me strength to soldier on every single day in the completion of this work. Amen.

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ABSTRACT

During the year 2000 Zimbabwe faced a multiplex of challenges linked to political and economic dynamics generated from its Fast Track Land Reform Programme (Raftopoulos, 2009). The country plunged into land grabs (dubbed Third Chimurenga) led by the war veterans, motivated by economic freedom and emancipation for the black majority. Thus began the economic decline and the exodus of citizens leaving the country in search for employment opportunities and better living conditions abroad. As expressed by Raftopoulos (2009), the problem of economic hardship and perpetual uncertainty worsened in 2008 due to the violent elections that were held in the country which resulted in rampant killings and a hyperinflation that saw the Zimbabwe dollar plunge into trillions. Many families were displaced as people were forced to flee to neighbouring countries including South Africa in search for a better life as well as opportunities.

Zimbabweans entered the South African job market which had already begun struggling due to the economic recession experienced in 2008 (Matshaka, 2009). This left many Zimbabweans unemployed and with many survival challenges. In order to survive, many of these refugees started learning creative arts and crafts with the hope of using their skills and capabilities for self-employment. It is within this context that this research investigates the coping mechanisms used by Zimbabwean refugees in combating the challenges of unemployment and poverty by trading through craft markets in Hout Bay as a means of survival and livelihood. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) was used as a theoretical lens through which to examine the livelihood strategies of Zimbabwean refugees as a means of survival. With regard to the selection of research design the mixed methods approach was used to broaden the width and depth of assessment. This included both qualitative and quantitative methods in order to collect data relevant to the research question.

KEY WORDS

Zimbabwean Refugees

Sustainable Livelihoods

Craft markets

Poverty and Unemployment

Economy/Informal sector

Informal traders

Entrepreneurship



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU - African Union

CBD - Central Business District

DAG - Development Action Group

DFID - Department for International Development

DPLG - Department of Planning and Local Government

FNB - First National Bank

GMO - Genetically Modified Food

GNP - Gross National Product

NGO - Non Governmental Organisation

RSA - Republic of South Africa

SAHO - South African History Online

SALGA - South African Local Government Association

SLA - Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

SLF - Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

SANCO - South African National Civic Organisation

UN - United Nations

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

The plight of refugees fleeing their countries throughout the world for socio-economic and political reasons is well documented. More than a million refugees and migrants crossed into Europe in 2015, sparking a crisis as countries struggled to cope. The on-going conflict in Syria has witnessed figures totalling 2,291,900 of refugees to Turkey, 1,070,189 to Lebanon and 800,000 to Germany (UNHCR, 2015) while from Africa, Eritrea and Nigeria top the list with 27,000 and 22,000 respectively. The refugees from Eritrea are fleeing human rights abuses and poverty whereas those from Nigeria are fleeing Boko-Haram terrorists (Eurostat, 2015). In many cases refugees are absorbed into the informal sectors of their host countries in order to earn a living.

The causes of informal sector growth are attributed to dynamics such as rural-urban migration, unemployment, political violence, war and human rights abuses which are a source of influx of people fleeing their countries in search for peace and opportunities to start new lives. The informal sector plays a vital role in reducing unemployment through entrepreneurial activities that provide people with the income to sustain livelihoods. Traditionally, it is viewed as a temporary response to the inability of the formal economy to provide adequate employment opportunities to job seekers. The South African informal economy, although small compared to countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, provides livelihood opportunities for both domestic and international migrants.

This study focuses on Zimbabwean refugees living in Hout Bay, Cape Town that are making a living in the informal sector, selling various wares such as wire art, beads art and paintings. The research seeks to determine the extent to which the craft market contributes to supporting the livelihoods of Zimbabwean refugees using the sustainable livelihoods approach as the analytical framework.

1.1 Background to the study

In the year 2000 Zimbabwe faced a multitude of challenges linked to political and economic dynamics as a result of its Fast Track Land Reform Programme, among other reasons. The problems, which continued for over a decade, brought economic hardship, perpetual uncertainty and vulnerability which caused retrenchment of employees and closure of companies. The situation worsened in 2008 due to the violent elections that were held in the country with rampant killings and a hyperinflation which saw the Zimbabwean dollar plunge to its lowest since independence. As a result, many families were displaced as the political and economic situation deteriorated and people were forced to flee to neighbouring countries including South Africa for a better life and opportunities (Sachikonye, 2011). Due to economic challenges in South Africa, most of these refugees participate in the informal economy for survival.

The lives of the majority of ordinary people have in one way or the other been touched at least transiently by the informal economy. For many black people, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, work and income secured in the informal sector have shaped their livelihoods. Rogerson and Preston-Whyte (1991) point out that since time immemorial the informal economy has been both a potential source of opportunity and upward mobility of some households and individuals and a sinkhole of exploitation for many others. These scholars note “the ambiguity of informal economy persistence in current times, with the occasional Horatio Alger case of the miraculous success of the ‘self-made person’ juxtaposed against common situations of bare survival, desperation and drudgery” (Rogerson and Preston-Whyte, 1991:35). This situation resonates with the conditions which Zimbabweans, who thronged South African shores as political and economic refugees, faced in the aftermath of unprecedented violence that targeted opposition supporters during the 2008 elections and the rapid economic decline (Sachikonye, 2011).

Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa, according to Pigou (2004), no longer fell under the rubric of itinerant traders, labour or professional migrants as their overlap grouping integrated with those seeking economic relief, running away from flagging social conditions (which included declining health and sanitation, increasing poverty and unemployment), as well as escaping from politically motivated organised violence and torture in the post 2000 period.

These refugees, many with formal and tertiary education, found themselves forced to live the kind of life they never thought of under normal circumstances. This resulted in them resorting to various survival tactics. The Zimbabwean refugees naively thought that by coming to South Africa they would easily find employment and improve their living conditions. However, due to the high unemployment rate in the country and lack of formal employment opportunities, they were forced to seek alternative livelihood avenues to sustain themselves and their families.

1.2 Significance of study

Besides adding to the existing body of knowledge on the role of craft markets in sustaining the livelihoods of foreigners, the proposed research is of significance in a number of areas. The study will provide in-depth information on the livelihoods of foreigners as crafters and artists working in the informal sector with regard to aspects such as trading skills, types of crafts that are in demand, knowledge and methods used to create the crafted goods and the economic as well as the social challenges faced by people who have to survive through the informal sector in South Africa.

Data generated from the empirical investigation will be of importance to a range of stakeholders which include urban planners, government officials, policy makers, social development practitioners and the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) sector. The research will also provide important information on the reasons behind the influx of foreigners to urban areas in South Africa. Data procured by this research will also assist policy makers in identifying the specific needs of foreigners and in turn assist them in the design of appropriate policies that will best protect both these refugees and locals from competing for scarce resources, one of the reasons for xenophobic outbreaks experienced in South Africa. The information will help urban planners and government officials in providing infrastructure to meet demand as well as development projects such as housing which are always a problem in urban centres.

1.3 Delineation of the Study

The case study area is the small town of Hout Bay, located 20km from the City of Cape Town. The town has an Afrikaans name, Houtbaai, meaning ‘Wood Bay’, given to it by the

Dutch settlers while exploring Table Mountain because of its savannah trees (SAHO, 2011). The town was established in 1861 when a German immigrant called Jacob Trautmann began farming and fishing in the area, although its name dates back to 1653 (Mercer, 2010).

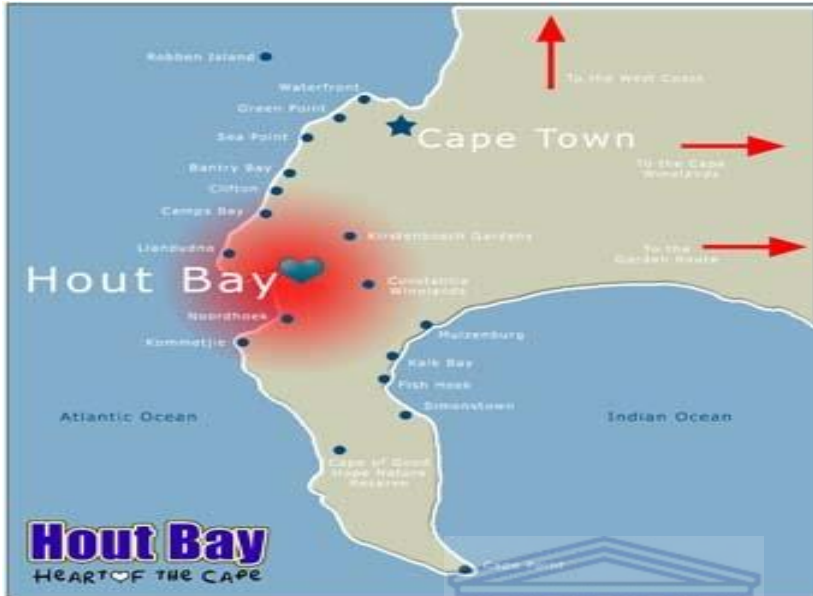


Figure1. Map showing the location of Hout Bay (Mercer, 2010).

According to the national census conducted in 2011, Hout Bay's racial composition comprises 6,8% Black African, 32,3% Coloured, 0,8% Indian/ Asian, 57,4% White and 2,8% Other (StatsSA, 2011). The town is a picturesque residential area popularly known as the Heart of the Cape. It is a 20 minute drive from the city centre of Cape Town, and is almost halfway between Cape Town and Cape Point. In addition, the town boasts a vibrant fishing industry and the majestic Chapman's Peak route which is recognised as one of Cape Town's leading tourist destinations (West Cape News, 2015).

Various foreign nationalities including Zimbabweans and local crafters, many of whom are senior citizens, ply their trade at the weekly market held every Sunday on the Hout Bay village park opposite the Post Office at the Hout Bay shopping centre. The craft market, which has been in existence for over twenty years, boasts creative wares such as South African beaded curios, wireworks, basketry, pottery and ceramics, handmade soap and toiletries, needlework, glasswork, jewellery, paintings and many more. The open space from which the craft market is conducted is run by the Hout Bay Lions Club who leases it from the

City of Cape Town. The proceeds made from the profits of the market are channelled to the development of the local communities within the area.

1.4 Problem statement

Fleeing a discouraging socio-economic situation that had impacted the lives of many, Zimbabwean nationals came to South Africa as economic refugees with the hope of salvaging the little that was left of their dignity. However, conditions took a downward spiral due to the 2008-2009 world economic recessions that further exacerbated their already existing abject poverty. These refugees, many without proper documentation, found it difficult to obtain jobs due to the high unemployment rate in South Africa. This resulted in the sprouting of street trading haphazardly throughout the City of Cape Town as many Zimbabweans, along with other foreigners, started selling goods of any type for survival. It is against the backdrop of these circumstances that many entered the business of craft making where they learnt the art of making wire and beaded items and stone and wood carvings which they started selling from street corners and craft markets. For the less educated, this business looked lucrative but for the better educated it became a forced situation in order to survive.

1.5 Aim of the study

The overall aim of this research is to examine the survival strategies of Zimbabwean refugees in Hout Bay, using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as an analytical lens through which to assess the extent to which these activities sustain their livelihoods and address poverty. The more specific aims of the study are to:

- Explore the nature of the arts and craft trade within the Hout Bay craft market in the Western Cape.
- Determine the extent to which craft markets contribute to supporting the livelihoods of Zimbabwean refugees using the sustainable livelihoods approach as the analytical framework.
- Identify constraints and opportunities faced by the crafters in the case study area.
- Provide recommendations to stakeholders and policy makers.

1.6 Research question

The research questions that this study attempted to answer are:

What is the nature of the arts and craft trade within the Hout Bay craft market in the Western Cape?

What is the role of the Hout Bay craft market in sustaining the livelihoods of Zimbabwean refugees?

What are the constraints and challenges that these refugees face when trading at craft markets and if any, how can the situation be remedied?

1.7 Research design

A research design can be defined as a blueprint that guides the researcher in the research process (Bless and Smith, 1995). In this research, a case study approach was used to gain an in-depth understanding of the mechanisms used to sustain livelihoods by Zimbabwean crafters trading at the Hout Bay craft market. This research gathered primary data using both quantitative and qualitative methods, while secondary data was sought through a desk-top study. The study took place in a natural setting where the researcher directly observed crafters doing their work.

1.7.1 Research Methodology

This study employed the mixed methods approach which applied both quantitative and qualitative research methods. According to Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009), mixed methods give the unconventional means to qualitative and quantitative traditions by encouraging the use of whatever methodological tools appropriate to answer the study research. Thus, it presents the opportunity to a researcher to be able to collect and analyse data, integrate findings or draw inferences using both qualitative and quantitative methods (Creswell, 2007). The mixed methods research, according to Babbie and Mouton (2001), capitalises on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative thereby ensuring collection of higher quality of data.

However in this study the researcher leaned more towards qualitative research methods, using both primary and secondary sources of data to gain deeper insight from the traders themselves regarding their experiences as crafters and the challenges they face. The primary field site for the research was in Hout Bay where many of the Zimbabwean crafters operate selling their wireworks, carvings, bead artworks and other goods. The fieldwork was comprised of a structured questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and observation of crafters who are dependent on informal trading. This enabled the researcher to gain in-depth understanding of the crafters' personal lives and experiences in Cape Town.

1.7.2 Quantitative research methods

The quantitative research method is a systematic and objective process that uses numerical measurement tools to gather data in order to reveal laws of relationships and causality to investigate a particular problem (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:130). This research employed a questionnaire as survey tool. The questionnaire included questions aimed at gaining insight about the crafters' activities which they engaged in to sustain their livelihoods.

1.7.3 Sampling

Sampling is defined as the process of selecting units of analysis, such as people, groups, artefacts or settings in a manner that maximises the researcher's ability to answer research questions set in a study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). A sample size of 50 traders was targeted in this research using the random sampling method. The random sampling method is a technique where each sampling unit in a clearly defined population holds an equal and independent chance of being included in the sample (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This research however, initially intended to administer questionnaires to 50 participants. The intended number was reached, but however, only 38 traders completed the structured questionnaire for different reasons. This represented 76% of the target which was high enough to achieve the intended goals. Reasons such as, some crafters having gone to trade at other markets like the Harbour. To this regard, the choice of the random sampling technique was better preferred as it helps eliminate bias.

1.7.4 Structured questionnaire

A structured questionnaire was administered to respondents in the case study area of Hout Bay. The questionnaire covered personal and socio-economic information such as gender, age, educational background and number of dependents. Questions also elicited data relating to the quality of life of crafters, their vulnerabilities and the impact that craft markets have made on their livelihoods. The advantage of using a questionnaire for data collection is that it can elicit a large amount of information.

1.8 Qualitative research methods

Qualitative research is primarily concerned with understanding and interpreting the underlying meanings of human actions as presented by the participants under study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). It regards people as self-directing, rational beings who constantly construct and change interpretations of their world to give meaning to their everyday lives. Thus, this methodology is particularly relevant to the nature of research because it provides an insightful perspective on social action. The qualitative method of participant observation was also used to enable the researcher to directly engage with the crafters in order to gain an in-depth understanding of their attitudes, operations and experiences.

1.8.1 Participant observation

Participant observation as a qualitative research method has roots in traditional ethnographic studies that permit researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study, in their natural habitat through witnessing and partaking in those activities (Kawulich, 2005). Therefore in this study, the researcher, as one of the refugee traders, was intimately involved in the trading of natural skin products at the Hout Bay craft market. This enabled the researcher to both participate and observe activities at close range with the added opportunity to interact with crafters while they traded their wares.

1.8.2 Semi-structured interview

The semi-structured interview was used to draw in-depth information from the interviewees. Purposive sampling was the method used to identify respondents. The questions for the semi-

structured interview and their sequence are usually determined in advance while the others evolve as the interview progresses (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

In this study a semi-structured questionnaire using open-ended interview questions was administered to ten crafters and two market co-ordinators from the Hout Bay Lions Club which runs the market. The questions elicited information relating, to how the crafters perceived their quality of life as crafters in South Africa as opposed to their previous situation in Zimbabwe and the contribution of crafting to their household sustainability. Other questions relate to challenges which Zimbabwean traders face with regard to capital and accessibility to customers and markets, to maximise their selling.

1.9 Data analysis and presentation

In this study quantitative data was analysed using Stata Version 12 and presented in the form of tables, graphs and charts. Qualitative data was also transcribed and analysed thematically by organising the data into themes and categories. This data was then presented in the form of text and where necessary, direct quotations from interviews were used.

1.10 Ethical considerations

Laws et al. (2003) pointed out that the question of ethics play a significant role in every aspect of research for development work. The important ethical issues to be considered in this study included avoiding harm to respondents, communicating information with regards to the research and obtaining informed consent from participants. In addition, the participants' right to privacy, anonymity, involvement in research and fair return for assistance, was respected and upheld. Information obtained from the interviewees was treated with confidentiality. Also information about the context of the study and its being strictly used only for academic purposes was relayed to participants in seeking their consent. Participants were informed that they could freely withdraw from the study at any time and that they could refuse to answer questions which they felt were sensitive. The ethical code of the University of the Western Cape was adhered to and before starting the research ethical clearance was granted to the researcher.

1.11 Chapter progression

This study was organised into the following five chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 1 provides a brief background of the research and establishes its broader context. Thereafter, the problem statement, the aims and objectives of the research, the research questions and the research design and methodology were presented.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature review

This chapter firstly presents a discussion on the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach as the theoretical framework underpinning the study. This is followed by a literature review of source material relating to the informal sector and its establishment, the existing policy framework of the informal sector in South Africa. Finally, the chapter reviews literature pertaining to street trading and the South African arts and craft sector.

Chapter 3: Overview of case study area

In this chapter, information pertaining to the study area in question, namely the Hout Bay craft market was examined. Firstly, a brief history of the town and its population composition was presented. This was followed by a discussion of the socio-economic characteristics of residents, with particular reference to the Zimbabwean refugees living in the area.

Chapter 4: Data analysis and presentation of findings

This chapter presents and discusses the research findings of the investigation.

Chapter 5: Summary, conclusion and recommendations

The final chapter presents a summary of findings, conclusion and the recommendations derived from the research findings. The chapter highlights the key findings and recommendations that may benefit both policy makers and stakeholders.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study by providing a discussion of the refugee crisis in the world and the informal economy. It then presented the background for the study as well as its significance. It identified the aims of the study, and introduced the research methodology. The next chapter presents the conceptual framework and literature review of the study.



CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as espoused by DFID (1999) presents the main factors that affect people's livelihoods, and the typical relationships between them. It is a framework that can be used in both planning new development activities and assessing the contributions to livelihood sustainability made by existing activities. In theory, the world of poverty is an abnormal, temporary condition which could be overcome by the world of wealth through development as articulated by Logan (2002). The rationale underpinning the framework is that people pursue their preferred livelihood outcomes by drawing on a range of capital assets to pursue a variety of livelihood strategies. Thus the choice of livelihood strategy is driven in part by people's preferences and priorities.

In this study the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) is the theoretical approach that will be employed to gain insight into the lives and welfare of Zimbabwean refugees in the arts and craft sector who are plying their trade at the Hout Bay craft market. Arts and crafts are often typified as a livelihood activity for the poor, especially when the formal sector offers few opportunities (Dokter, 2010). This chapter commences by examining the theoretical framework and the various organs of the Sustainable Livelihoods theory. This is followed by the literature review which provides the context for this study by an examination of the informal sector and its establishment, the regulatory framework of the informal sector in South Africa, street trading as well as an overview of the South African arts and crafts sector to determine its benefits to the Zimbabwean refugee crafters under study.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 The Origin and Conceptualisation of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The origins of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as a concept is attributed to Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway through their discussion paper presented at the Institute of Development Studies in London in 1992, advocating for the achievement of sustainable livelihoods as a broad goal for poverty eradication (DFID, 1999). A few years later, Farrington et al (1999) developed and designed the livelihoods framework for the British government's Department for International Development (DFID). According to

Ashley and Carney (1999:47), “this has become the most popularly used livelihoods framework in research and development interventions to date”. The sustainable livelihoods approach seeks to develop an understanding of the factors that lie behind people’s choice of livelihood strategies through support of the positive aspects (factors which promote choice and flexibility) while mitigating the constraints or negative influences as shown in Figure 2.1 below (Ellis, 1999). In 1992 Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway proposed the following composite definition of sustainable rural livelihoods, commonly applied at household level:

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and contribute net benefits to other livelihoods at the local or global levels in the short and long term (Chambers and Conway, 1992:2).

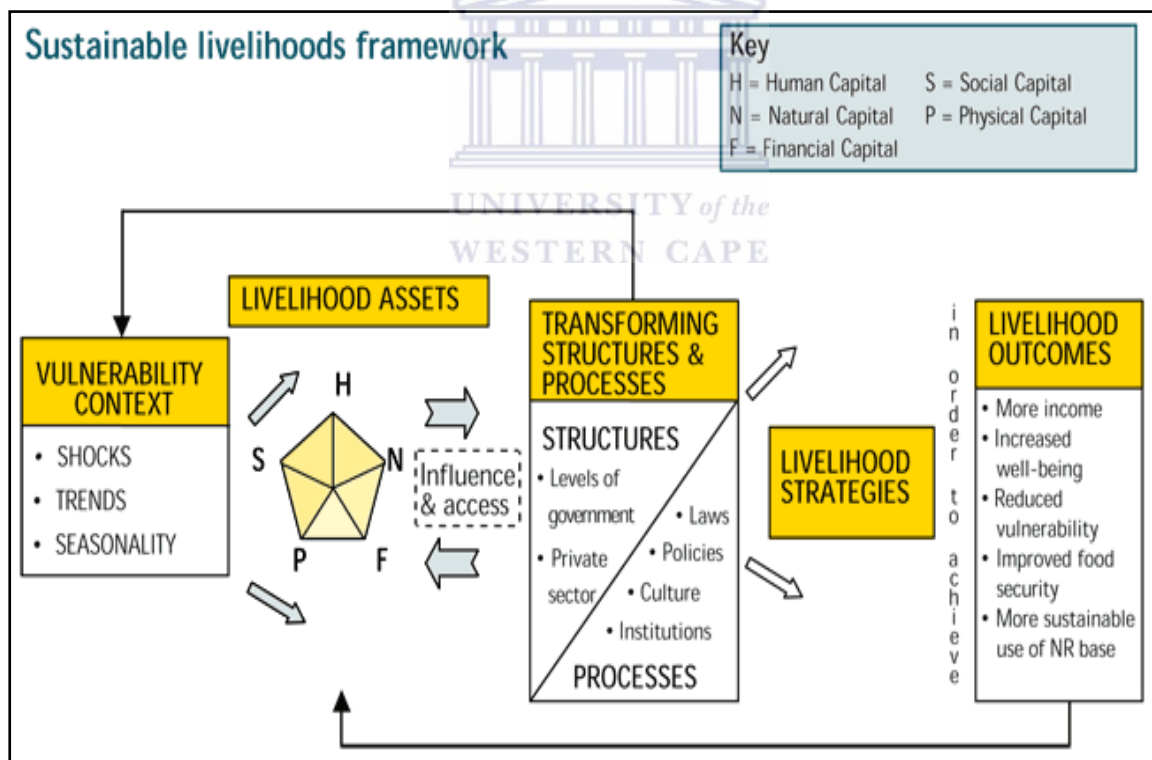


Figure 2.1: The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, 1999).

Chambers (1995) further expands on the concept of sustainable livelihood intensity where livelihoods are dependent on a multiplicity of activities and resources. Contrary to the

traditional approaches used by development agents to tackle issues of poverty which identified and addressed the needs of the poor, the sustainable livelihoods approach seeks to improve lives by building on people's available assets. The framework in Figure 2.1 above shows how, in different contexts, sustainable livelihoods can be achieved through access to a range of resources such as natural, economic, human and social capitals combined in pursuit of the different livelihood strategies. The theory provides a more realistic framework for assessing the direct and indirect effects on people's living conditions compared to the one dimensional productivity or income criteria (Scoones, 1998). In pursuit of people's emancipation, the traditional focus on evaluating development by only looking at the Gross National Product (GNP) per head has been shifted to look beyond mere economic growth into how that growth can be distributed among the population through the capability approach (Sen, 1990). In terms of its applicability to development interventions, sustainability is more about achieving the ability to keep changing and improving people's "response-ability" to inevitably shifting circumstances (Kaplan, 1999). Thus, according to Krantz (2001), the SLF's main focus is on increasing people capabilities to provide for themselves and the ability to lift them out of poverty. Thus choice of livelihood strategy is driven in part by people's preferences and priorities (Baumann and Sinha, 2001).

"By drawing attention to the multiplicity of assets that people make use of when constructing their livelihoods, the SL Approach produces a more holistic view on what resources, or combination of resources, would be important to the poor, including not only physical and natural resources, but also their social and human capital" (Krantz, 2001:4). Therefore, in this study what resources or combination thereof, help crafters to be able to derive their livelihoods. The kind of resources that these crafters use will help guide the researcher in assessing and understanding whether there have been improvements on the crafters livelihoods.

2.1.2 Transforming structures and processes

Transforming structures and processes constitute the organisational structures and institutional processes that link various elements together. Organisational structures can be divided into the public and the private sector as shown in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 Organisational structures

| The public sector | The private sector |
|---|---|
| -Legislative (political) bodies at various levels (i.e. local government to national) | -Commercial enterprises and corporations |
| -Ministries and departments | -Civil society membership organisations (of varying degrees of formality) |
| -Judicial (courts) | |
| -Parastatals/quasi-government agencies | -NGOs (international, national, local) |

Source: DFID (1999)

Structures are the engines that drive the functioning of processes through the promulgation of legislation and policies that govern institutions. For example, without legislative bodies there is no legislation, or without traders, markets would be limited to direct traders between buyers and sellers as articulated by DFID (1999) in their guidance sheets on sustainable livelihoods. Lack of appropriate governing structures constrain development as in the case of poor service delivery and dysfunctional markets where people become vulnerable. On the other hand processes regulate the way in which structures and individuals operate and interact. Thus, for example, in the case of craft markets, there are standard operating practices to be followed when doing business such as crafters being apportioned trading sites to conduct their business. According to Bamu and Theron, (2012) for one to become a trader they are required to apply for trading licences/ permits from the municipality which gives them permission to conduct their business. However, due to the bureaucratic government structures and the cumbersomeness of the registration process, these regulations are not strictly followed, especially in the informal sector as traders become despondent and end up erecting stalls haphazardly. Hence, their being referred to as a nuisance because they end up causing overcrowding. As depicted in the Table 2.1.2, these processes constitute policies, legislation, institutions, culture and power relations (DFID, 1999).

Table 2.1.2 Processes

| Policies | Legislation | Institutions | Culture | Power relations |
|-----------------|--------------------|---|-------------------|------------------------|
| Macro | International | Markets | Societal | Age |
| Sectoral | agreements | Institutions that regulate access to assets | norms and beliefs | Gender |
| Redistributive | Domestic | | | Caste |
| Regulatory | | Rules of game within structures | | Class |

Source: DFID (1999)

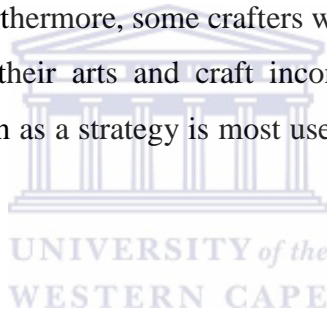
2.1.3 Institutions

Institutions refer to organisations, establishments, institutes, or centres devoted to the promotion of a particular cause or programme. They represent regularized practices or patterns of behaviour structured by the rules and norms of society which have persistent and widespread use (Scoones, 1998). Institutions can either be formal or informal, are often fluid and ambiguous and are frequently imbued with power. As such institutions directly or indirectly mediate access to livelihood resources which in turn affect livelihood strategy options and ultimately the scope for sustainable livelihood outcomes (Krantz, 2001). Thus, organisations are made up of groups of individuals bound together by some common purpose to achieve certain objectives as postulated by North (1994). Lomnitz (1988:54) expound that “order creates disorder.” The inconsistency of state control is that official efforts to eliminate unregulated activities through the propagation of rules and controls often increase situations that contribute to growth of informal activities. For instance, the constant harassment of traders by municipal police make them abscond and flout regulation controls by haphazardly erecting stalls in undesignated areas which compound to spatial problems. By so doing traders tend to evade high taxes, fine payments or government regulation which affect their profit maximisation and business operations. As a result when rules expand, opportunities to bypass them increase parallelism (Lomnitz, 1988). The informal economy hence creates its own informality. The institutional context can therefore be seen as a two-way street in the

sense that policies that help sustain livelihoods of the poor can also help governments achieve their own policy targets (Morse and McNamara, 2013).

2.1.4 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies refer to the diversified methods applied by people in making choices that expose them to opportunities for the benefit of sustaining livelihoods. Hence strategies denote the range and combination of activities that people choose in order to bring about desired outcomes. Northcote (2015) indicated that crafters employ the diversification strategy through different forms. These include, persistent searches for new craft markets, attending festivals and events held seasonally in different places and supplying retail shops with products to intensify their marketing and sales. Majority of Zimbabwean crafters, according to Northcote (2015) diversify by making different kinds of craft. For example wood carvers were seen to be involved in the making of wire and beads art arguing that materials are cheaper and easily accessible. Furthermore, some crafters work as domestics and gardeners as another strategy to supplement their arts and craft incomes, while attending markets on weekends. Besides, diversification as a strategy is most used as a mitigating risk factor in the business.



2.1.5 Livelihood Assets

At the core of the SLA is the assessment of the various capitals assumed to reinforce livelihoods at individual, household, national or community levels. Assets, as expressed by De Satge et al (2002), are resources which are exploited in order to achieve a livelihood. The generation of livelihoods can be perceived as the means by which households exploit their capabilities and assets through engagement of activities to accomplish numerous livelihood outcomes. Positive outcomes include increased well-being, more income, greater equity, improved food availability and a more sustainable use of the natural resource base. Therefore, assets cease to be just means by which people earn a living but rather they also construct meaning for the individual's world (Bebbington, 1999). In conceptualizing livelihood assets, Bebbington (1999) further notes that the ability of crafters to make use of assets is mediated by the contextual environment in which their work is embedded. The larger contextual environment includes institutional, cultural, social and economic factors as well as global changes which all have an effect on the local environment. Crafters may thereby not have

access to all of the necessary assets but have, through their different experiences, learned to combine the various levels of resources at their disposal (Bebbington, 1999).

Livelihood assets comprise five different portfolios as shown in Figure 2.2 below. However, as indicated below, there are vulnerabilities that impact on these assets.

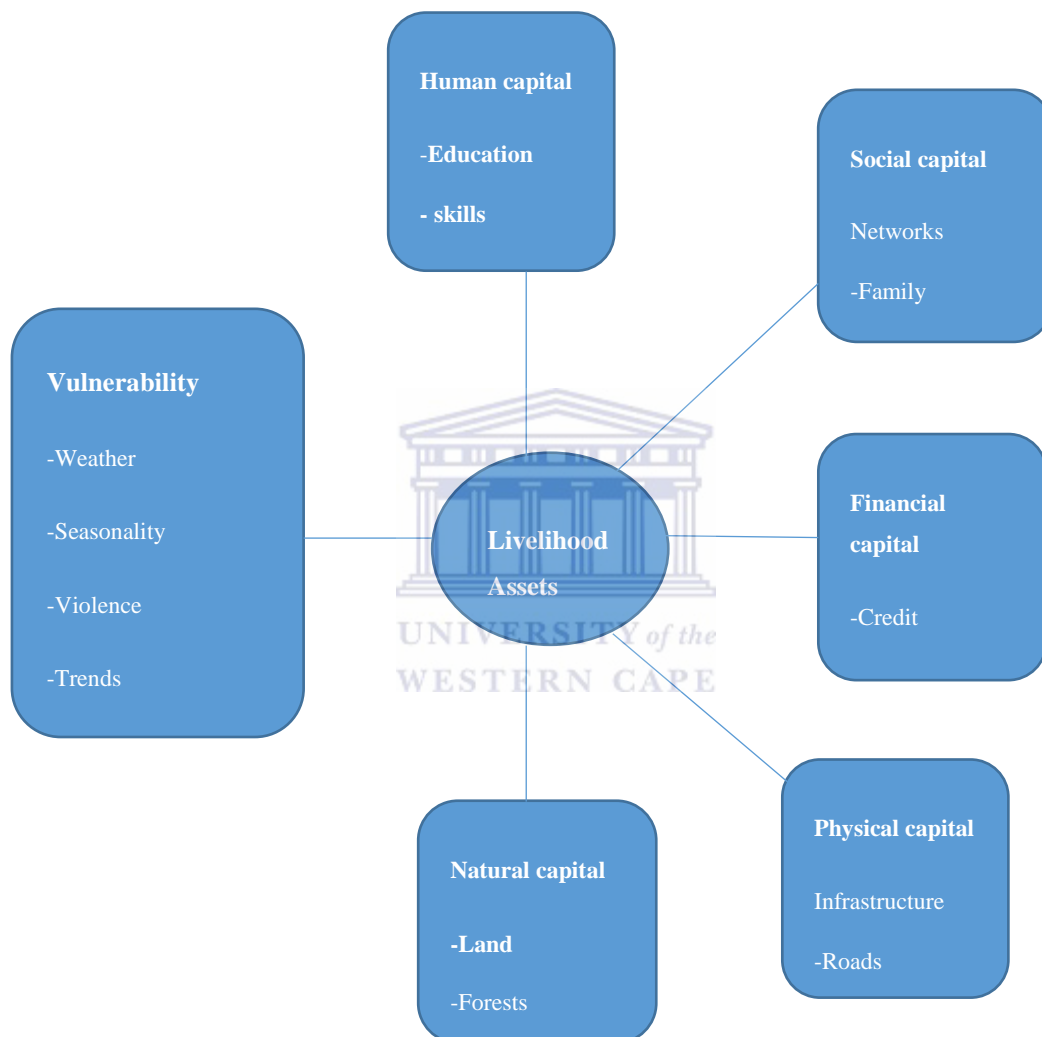


Figure 2.2 Livelihood asset portfolios (DFID, 1999)

2.1.5.1 Human Capital

Human capital as a livelihood asset characterises the knowledge and skills that assist people in employing their acquired knowledge through education and training in order to realize their livelihood objectives. It also recognises good health which provides people with the

ability to work. Sen (1995) stresses that human capital enables people to produce more and become more efficient. At the household level, human capital can be a factor in the amount or quality of labour available which can vary depending on the household size, skills level or health status.

2.1.5.2 Social Capital

Social capital, as defined by Putnam (2000), refers to the interconnections among individuals. It fosters relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges that facilitate co-operation among people or communities. More so, it contributes to people's sense of well-being through identity, honour and belonging. Networks are groups, associations or organisations that help reinforce relations within social capital. Network assistance reduces transaction costs while providing a basis for informal safety nets, especially among people in the informal sector who have no entitlement to employment benefits such as pension or medical aid. Strengthening of social capital not only facilitates market competitive advantages but it enables people to share ideas, learn skills from each other and be able to depend on each other in the case of emergency. Crafters in this case can depend upon friends or family for income to start or expand their businesses. Social capital is therefore the capacity of networks to mobilise resources in order to obtain beneficial outcomes for individuals. DAG (2012) elaborates that the ability of individuals to mobilise resources on the basis of trust, common norms and constructive communication, together with the prioritisation of information sharing, skills training, learning and education, contributes to the formation of networks that increase emancipation, security and sustainability.

2.1.5.3 Financial capital

Financial capital denotes the financial resources at the disposal of people to be able to buy raw materials required for production in order to achieve livelihoods. This financial capital can be cash or liquid assets such as livestock or other assets which people can convert in order to achieve different livelihood strategies. Savings provide people with the ability to be self-reliant. Other financial capital such as credit facilities by banks provide relief if people are able to meet conditions but these have liabilities attached, such as repayment with interest (DFID, 1999).

2.1.5.4 Physical capital

Physical capital as a portfolio of livelihood assets comprises basic infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications, equipment and shelter that enables people to meet their basic needs and to become more productive. Infrastructure such as roads and rail affords easy access to markets where crafters display their goods for sale. According to DFID (1999), producer goods are the tools and equipment that people use in order to function more productively. Therefore infrastructure can only be regarded as an asset if it can facilitate improved service provision to enable people to meet their needs; otherwise poor infrastructure disturbs the smooth running of operations. True as it may be, this however is not the case for these crafters as they lack storage for their art, information pertaining craft events and shelter to protect them from the sun, wind or rain. Instead they have to provide themselves with gazebos or umbrellas which work better only during summer but not in other seasons like the rain season. Hence, it affects their operations and profit, and impacts on their livelihoods.

2.1.5.5 Natural capital

Natural capital refers to the natural resources used for the benefit of deriving sustainable livelihoods. These include land, water, air, forests and marine/ wild resources. Natural capital is a key element in sustaining livelihoods, especially in the arts and crafts sector which is the focus of this study. Many crafters use natural resources such as trees for wood carvings and stone for stone sculptures. Mineral extraction and wildlife skins, bones and even teeth are also of importance in making jewellery such as rings, earrings, wristbands or necklaces. It is a form of capital that is less costly to crafters since they collect it free of charge. There is also the advantage of recycling material in the case of wood crafts thereby minimising waste. For example, wine barrels disposed of by wineries have become valuable capital for Zimbabwean crafters who recycle them into mirror frames, tables or musical instruments. However, if not well managed, natural capital can result in a devastating shock to livelihoods and the environment such as shortage of food, health hazards, deforestation, soil erosion, water and air pollution as well as drought.

2.1.6 Vulnerability context

With regard to sustainable livelihoods, Chambers and Conway (1992) identified three factors which make livelihoods vulnerable. These are shocks, trends and seasonality. Vulnerability can be defined as the degree of exposure to shocks and stress and the proneness to food insecurity. It further implies characteristics that usually restrain individuals, households, communities, countries or an ecosystem, the capacity to anticipate, manage, resist or recover from the impact of natural hazards or threats (De Satge et al. 2002). The level of vulnerability of an individual is usually consistent with how weak or strong their livelihoods are. Moreover it considers the occupational activities the people are engaged in, the range of assets they have access to for pursuance of their livelihood strategies as well as how influential their supportive social networks are over them (De Satge et al, 2002). Thus, vulnerability context frames the external environment in which people exist and have limited control over. In this case shocks such as changes in weather and increase in price of commodities especially those used by crafters, affect their income thereby impacting their productivity and livelihoods.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 The Informal Sector

2.2.1.1 The international context

The term informal sector was coined by Keith Hart, a British anthropologist through his 1971 study of low-income activities among unskilled migrants from Northern Ghana who had failed to find paid employment. However scholars such as Chen (2012) claim that even though interest in the informal sector has waxed and waned since the early 1970s, the concept resurfaced in the 1990s and has since then proved to be useful to many policy-makers, activists and researchers. It is estimated that about two-thirds of workers world-wide work in the informal sector (World Bank, 2009). In developing countries the informal sector activity is said to be between 30% and 80% of the work performed in major towns, whereas in Africa the estimate for the informal sector activity amounts to two per every three people whose livelihoods are dependent on it. World statistics on the informal sector employment comprise of 82% in South Asia, 66% in Sub-Saharan Africa, 65% in East and Southeast Asia and 51% in Latin America of non-agricultural employment (Vanek et al, 2014:1). In the Middle East and North Africa informal employment is 45% of non-agricultural employment while Eastern



Europe and Central Asia indicate the lowest level of 10% which reflects the legacy of the centrally planned economy because informal activities were considered illegal or even forbidden (Vanek et al, 2014).

Informal sector employment in countries such as Uganda, Kenya and Ghana is reported to surpass employment in the formal sector standing at 90% of the total labour force (AU, 2008) while Niger and Tanzania are at 76%, Mali 72% and Togo 83% (UN, 2015). This exposé of the growth of the informal sector implies that how governments treat the sector will have a profound impact on employment, growth, equity and sustainability (Barnett and Sparks, 2010). Nevertheless authorities, especially in developing countries, see the informal sector as a marginalized, “survival” sector which mops up excess or entrenched workers (AU, 2008) instead of considering it a vibrant, entrepreneurial part of the economy that stimulates economic growth and job creation so as to give it proper planning and support.

2.2.1.2 The South African context

The 2013 survey undertaken by Statistics South Africa demonstrated that about 7% of the population operate in the informal sector (StatsSA, 2014). Out of the 1,5 million people who operated non-VAT registered businesses, as many as 1,4 million are in the informal sector. The number of persons running informal business declined from 2,3 million in 2001 to 1,1 million in 2009 but rose again to 1,5 million in 2013. This rise could be attributed to reasons such as the 2009 global financial crisis which led to the shrinking of the formal sector as well as insufficient job creation and non-attractive incentives to promote local investment as mentioned earlier in Chapter One. Informal businesses in South Africa are predominantly operated by Black Africans because of their previous history with apartheid which did not allow them to work in urban areas. The sector is also dominated by people from other countries on the continent who came in search of peace and greener pastures, running away from political violence or war in their countries.

The proportion of the working age group population involved in informal activities as revealed in the 2013 Quarterly Labour Force Survey by province were as follows: Limpopo had the highest at 6,3%; Mpumalanga 6,1%; Gauteng 5%;KwaZulu-Natal 4,7%; and the Western Cape 3% (StatsSA, 2013). Thus in a country with high unemployment of more than 25% mainly impacting on the youth, the informal sector should be given serious

consideration as an alternative to empower people and reduce the levels of poverty and crime as well as the burden on social grants. According to Portes and Haller (2001), we encounter informal activities in our everyday life when we purchase watches, handbags or books from a street vendor or hire an immigrant woman as a domestic worker or child minder. Such activities are nonetheless usually unappreciated in terms of their monetary value and end up being paid for accordingly.

Operators involved in the informal sector usually operate on little or no capital and often have little market knowledge, forcing them to become survivalist enterprises compared to those in the formal sector. Thus they work for just enough to meet their basic needs necessary for subsistence whereas formal sector enterprises seek growth, expansion and profit maximisation.

Although informal economic activities are often considered a spatial problem by municipal planners in terms of where to locate informal trading zones, they remain an integral part of the economy with the potential to prevent higher levels of unemployment and poverty (LED Network, 2012). The comparison of the informal economic sector by province clearly depicts the relationship between unemployment and the sustainable livelihoods' premise that the informal economy can be a viable substitute for unemployment for many people. What distinguishes the informal sector from the formal sector is basically where and how products are produced and exchanged. Thus, although linked to each other in an exploitative relationship, the formal and informal sectors can be severed by tension, competition and rivalry due to production levels, technology, machinery and professional training (DFID, 1999).

Throughout South Africa, municipalities are seen to be struggling with the management and regulation of informal trading, mainly in urban centres. This has resulted in overcrowding and overcapacity which has led to competition for urban space, sewage dumping and improper disposal of waste harmful to both the environment and people. On many occasions authorities become absolutely hostile to informal workers by harassing them and closing down their operations without warning. For instance, Tissington (2009) points out that a number of clashes took place between the eThekweni metropolitan municipal officials and over 7000 informal traders at the Early Morning market in Warwick Junction in the Durban

Central Business District (CBD) in 2009. This confrontation transpired as a result of the attempted eviction of informal traders to pave way for the development of a shopping mall. Likewise, in June 2009 City of Cape Town officials and traders in the Mitchells Plain town centre clashed over the traders' eviction in an attempt to allocate them specific trading sites (Tissington, 2009).

Similarly, in 2005 the government of Zimbabwe embarked on a clean-up operation of the informal businesses in urban areas code named "Operation Murambatsvina" (translated as Operation Drive out Filth) which was a politically motivated demolition and eviction campaign that destroyed a very productive and vibrant informal sector (Tibaijuka, 2005). The economic activities of the sector which were dominated by manufacturing had successfully progressed into exports as well as supplying locally manufactured furniture to the retail sector providing for income generation and the survival of many households. These examples show the disregard by authorities in coming up with viable policies that can help the informal sector to become a recognised sector that can assist in reducing unemployment and eradicating poverty.

2.2.2 Regulatory framework of the informal sector in South Africa

The central government of South Africa, in its National Framework for Local Economic Development, specifically instructed municipalities to focus on the development of supportive policies to assist in the integration of informal traders in the business environment of the cities (Department of Planning and Local Government, 2006). In the Western Cape, the by-laws regulating informal trading currently exist in the three administrations of Cape Town, South Peninsula and Tygerberg. All three by-laws are guided by the Business Act, No. 71 of 1991 (City of Cape Town, 2003). The scope of this informal trading covers policy on street/kerb side trading, trading in pedestrian malls and markets such as craft, flea markets and special sector-based markets. In addition, it also caters for trading at road intersections and in public open spaces (Bamu and Theron, 2012).

The key principles that direct the City's approach to informal trading are economic, social and spatial. Thus economically the objective is to have highly accessible and visible locations for the advancement of tourist-related trading in order to derive benefits for informal traders from the tourism potential. Socially, the City seeks to use the expansion of the informal

trading infrastructure as an opportunity to improve the general environmental conditions of the historically disadvantaged communities. Spatially it intends to dispense space for informal trading in accordance with the broad Spatial Planning Framework of the city and the local area Spatial Development Frameworks (DPLG, 2006).

2.2.2.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa stipulates that the state needs to respect, defend and uphold all rights as mentioned in the Bill of Rights. Section 22 of the Constitution which deals with issues of “Freedom of trade, occupation and profession”, plainly expresses the right of every citizen to choose their trade, occupation or profession freely and states that it may be regulated by law” (RSA, 1996:9). The Bill of Rights 7 (1) further enshrines the rights of all people living in the country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. Moreover, the Constitution in Section 16(1c) grants everyone the right to freedom of expression which includes freedom of artistic creativity. With respect to the creation and administration of by-laws, the Constitution grants that municipalities have the right to administer street trading by-laws which intend to promote development by instituting a balance between the need for regulation and prevention of the infringement of people’s freedom to choose their economic activity (Section 155 (6b)). Thus, the informal sector, like the formal sector, should be regulated but not in a manner that is likely to hinder growth or deter people from seeking dignified survival.

2.2.2.2 The Business Act No. 71 of 1991

The Business Act No. 71 of 1991 is a national statute that gives authorization of by-laws to municipalities meant for the administration of informal trading at local government level. The statute further deals with the licensing and transaction of business during operating hours (SALGA, 2012). This Act, subject to and in compliance with section 6A (1), (2) and (3) in terms of the allocation of trading bays, stipulates that only bona fide traders are eligible to get trading space. In its distribution it gives priority to the unemployed, and historically disadvantaged persons as well as traders who trade four days per week or at least forty-five weeks per year compared to casual or occasional traders. The Act is however, restrictive in terms of equitable apportionment of space by allowing only one bay per person and that once allocated space, traders may not sell or sublet to other people (Bamu and Theron, 2012).

2.2.2.3 Street Trading

The massive influx of foreign migrants into South Africa has seen a rise in the growth of street traders or hawkers, especially in major cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. Street trading is one of the most visible elements of informal trading which occupies public spaces and often inhibits free movement of people due to its haphazardness. In developing countries street trading has grown to be a major contributor to informal job creation because of effects such as: the global financial recession of 2009, which resulted in many people losing their jobs, wars, misappropriation of resources especially in Africa, and drought caused by inadequate rainfall, forcing people to resort to other means for survival (Goldman, 2003).

In South Africa, there are currently two pieces of legislation governing street trading which is the Business Act No.71 of 1991 explained above and the Municipal Notice Act 96 of 1995. The two acts provide the context which allows functionality of street trading as regulated and managed according to each province's regulatory framework. According to SALGA, (2012) street trading can be divided into those hawkers operating from street pavements, road intersections, spaza shops or mobile trading such as caravans, bakkies and containers. As a result, this leads to congestion and unfavourable working conditions as these traders move from one area to another in search of demand for their products.

2.3 The South African arts and crafts sector

According to Van Eden (2011), informal selling of arts and crafts is not a new phenomenon in South Africa as it occurred at peri-urban locations along tourist routes even during the apartheid years. Today, South Africa's attraction as an international tourist destination and regional gateway has amplified the in-migration of people from the African continent, influencing the scope and nature of informal arts and crafts product offerings. This is attested to by the significant growth of the sector due to limited employment opportunities existing in the formal sector. Typically these workers are unskilled or semi-skilled (Rogerson 2000:677, Cohen, 2004:277). To the untrained eye the dispersed craft traders might give the impression of a disordered gathering of people trading whatever possible wherever they can. Instead, craft traders by and large form part of a multiplicity of subgroups that tend to sell specific combinations of products at specific locations (Van Eden, 2011). For instance, when

comparing cities in South Africa, Van Eden (2011) found that Cape Town hosts the largest number of traders in the arts and crafts business with 32% of the traders selling art and crafts, while only 13% operated in Johannesburg, 11% in eThekweni and 6% in the Tshwane metropolitans. In her research Van Eden (2011) stated that 6% of the arts and crafts traders in Johannesburg manufacture their own products, 28% in Tshwane, and 36% in Cape Town while 78% of the traders in eThekweni manufacture as well as sell their own wares.

Hnatow (2009) points out that art and crafts production offers distinct advantages such as minimal start-up capital, flexible working hours, the ability to work at home, the use of local skills using natural resources and having the freedom to manage one's own business. However Sen (1990) reiterates the proverbial argument that wealth is evidently not the good that people are seeking; which in this case study I would say that trade is merely useful to the Zimbabwean crafters for the sake of their livelihood sustainability. Judging by the activities undertaken by crafters this could possibly mean that they are not necessarily after wealth accumulation but rather survival because of the nature of their businesses which rarely grow into big businesses where they can create recognised wealth. Sen (1990) postulates that, in judging the quality of life, people should consider what they are able to achieve. Furthermore, Sen (1990) perceives that different people and societies typically differ in their capacity to convert income and commodities into valuable achievements. For example, in the case of these crafters a person with household assets such as a car, stove or refrigerator would sell for cash (as start-up capital) to buy art equipment or crafts for business. However, Ligthelm and Masuku (2003) argue that growth in the arts and craft sector is not only because the unemployed have established survivalist enterprises but should be considered a result of entrepreneurs seizing lucrative business opportunities. Silberschmidt (2005) noted that the craftsmanship involved in the production of wire and bead art is a key site for masculine pride among the Zimbabwean male traders where they compete to exhibit their artistic skills and through which they demonstrate innovation and conventional masculine ideals. This is also stressed by Matshaka (2009) who posits that the alternative livelihood option of wire and bead craft is central to Zimbabwean migrant men's masculinity. She points out that beyond earning an income these men construct a positive self-image and masculine supremacy through their trade.

Furthermore, Matshaka (2009) postulates that earning power becomes closely linked to financial autonomy as it gives these traders the possibility to successfully provide for their families. She points out that for some; craft market trade provides an avenue to ownership of fixed assets and property such as land, houses, cars and cattle in their countries of origin. Thus craft markets present the traders with a platform not only to construct themselves as entrepreneurial but also to become autonomous agents in their trade. Many tend to see their trade as an innovative stepping stone to which one day they will seek to accumulate enough capital to start bigger and better business ventures such as manufacturing and retailing on a grand scale.

Like other economic activities, art and craft making can be regarded as a market oriented activity which can be interlinked with a number of economic sectors. Streams of tourists, especially in Cape Town, provide ample business opportunities for traders in the art and crafts market operations. Kuiters (2008) noted that urban tourism generators or attractions often relate to unique spaces and places where cityscapes reflect the commercialisation of the needs and desires of tourists. The potential relationship between the informal selling of arts, space and place considerations and tourism flows are a crucial factor in understanding the geography of craft market trading. As a result this has the potential for increased sales from exports as well as appealing to local markets for home decoration thereby improving the livelihoods of crafters, including Zimbabwean refugees, whose livelihoods depend on it and are the main focus of this study.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) as a theoretical framework employed in this study. The chapter further explored the origin and conceptualisation of the SLA and explained the concepts within the framework, what they constitute and how they can be used by the poor to improve their circumstances through craft markets, as well as the vulnerability context which may possibly affect their operations. The literature review examined the international and South African context of the informal sector. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the regulatory framework and an overview of the South African arts and crafts sector. This will be further explored in the following chapter

that focuses on the case study area of Hout Bay where the participants under study conduct their business.



CHAPTER THREE: DELINEATION OF CASE STUDY AREA

3. Introduction

This chapter describes the case study area of Hout Bay, its socio-economic characteristics and the demographic composition of the population that resides in it. The chapter begins by describing the location of the case study area before looking into the origins of Hout Bay and the formation of the highly-populated suburb of Imizamo Yethu where some Zimbabwean refugees live. The chapter then briefly discusses the economic background of Hout Bay and the dynamics that shaped and influenced the policies and livelihoods of the population. The final section will analyse the socio-economic situation facing the community and examine the lives of Zimbabwean refugees living in the township whose livelihoods are sustained through craft markets.

3.1 Location of the case study

The case study area is situated within the small picturesque town of Hout Bay, located 20km from the City of Cape Town in the Western Cape Province. Prior to the 1994 democratic dispensation, on 23 May 1987, Hout Bay declared itself a Republic and elected Len Pothier as its first president. The declaration was made at a time when the country was still considered a pariah state under the Apartheid regime (Cape Times, 2007). The town designed its own passport, national dress and national anthem. The original Republic of Hout Bay passport was a brainchild of Stanley Dorman, a business owner of the Mariner's Wharf. According to the Cape Times (2007), the passport became immensely successful, generating worldwide publicity. It received recognition from countries such as Egypt and Mexico. The passport was sold for R10 and included incentives as well as discounts amounting to at least R100 to encourage tourist attraction to the town. The proceeds from the sale of the passports were channelled towards serving the communities of Hout Bay under projects administered by the Rotary Club (Cape Times, 2007). However, the Republic of Hout Bay was not intended or recognised as a Unilateral Declaration of Independent (UDI), instead this was an expression of resistance, which was mainly a marketing ploy. The town is home to the majestic Chapman's Peak route which is recognised as one of Cape Town's leading tourist destinations (West Cape News, 2015). To date, in celebration of the return of the Cycle Tour and the Two Oceans Marathon over Chapman's peak, the passports are sold as an incentive in

various Hout Bay business outlets in support of worthwhile causes such as raising funds for scholarships and projects such as Operation Medical Hope which distributes medical equipment within the town and the Cape Town metropolitan area.

3.2 Origins of Hout Bay

Hout Bay has been habitat to the Khoi-San (Bushmen) people since the Late Stone Age. According to Miller (2004), the remains of this tribe have been found in caves in the valley dating back to between 100AD and 500AD. Historically, Stone Age people were known to be hunter gatherers. As the first settlers of the Hout Bay valley, the Khoi-San people lived on fishing and agriculture while also being herders if they were not hunting and gathering food (Miller, 2004). They were disposed of their land with the arrival of the White settlers under colonial and apartheid policies. In the mid-1600s when Jan Van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape, he sent some farmers to Hout Bay. They started off as woodcutters since the area was a wealth of lush forests from the tips of the surrounding mountains which today has been turned into the Table Mountain National Park. By the 1950s all of Hout Bay, besides a small reserved area above the harbour, became classified as a “Whites” only area whilst the small reserved area was designated as a mini homeland to provide labour for the fishing industry (Monaco, 2008).

3.3 The economic background of Hout Bay

Hout Bay is a vibrant town with a thriving fishing industry. Its three biggest economic activities have been fishing, mining and agriculture, even though agriculture is fast decreasing due to the expanding population. Fishing in Hout Bay has been very successful ever since the first farmers used their catch of fish to feed their labourers. In the early 1800’s, Hout Bay started exporting snoek fish to Mauritius (which continues even today) in exchange for sugar. With its growing exports, the fishing industry developed processing sheds in 1890 and a canning company in 1903 (Miller, 2004). Later the industry started exporting fish to France, the United States and Australia. Due to the large catch of a variety of fish a harbour was built in 1937. Today two large companies operate from the harbour the South African Sea Products and the Chapman’s Peak Fisheries which belong to the Dorman family who run the Mariner’s Wharf. To date, the Dorman family is the only Hout Bay pioneer fishing family that retained controlling interests in the industry.

Apart from fishing, the town was also a productive farming area. The Ruitersplaats and Kronendal were the town's first two farms to be established in 1681. According to Miller (2004), the farms were established as a result of the outbreak of war between the French settlers and the Dutch settlers, causing a shortage of grain in the town. The late 1800s saw the further establishment of the Moddergat, Nooitgedacht, Oakhurst and Uitkyk farms to supply grain for the Dutch East India Company (Miller, 2004). During the years that primary activities such as farming and fishing dominated, workers and family members were housed by their employers. As White farmers increased Blacks became employed as domestic workers and gardeners. Since then Hout Bay's residential areas have been rapidly expanding while commercial farming has fast decreased.

During the apartheid era, shelter was extended to workers in accordance with the Group Areas Act No. 41 (RSA, 1950) and the Black Homeland Policy/ Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (RSA, 1970). Single sex hostels were developed for work-permit approved Africans while a limited area of the harbour was established to specifically cater for Coloured people (Monaco, 2008). Even though low income black workers had been employed for decades in Hout Bay, the Native Urban Areas Act No.21 of 1923 entrenched urban segregation and controlled African mobility by stating that "the Native should only be allowed to enter urban areas which were essentially the White man's creation when going to administer to the needs of the White man and should depart therefrom once they cease to administer" (Soni and Maharaji, 1991). This Act was amended to the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act No.67 of 1952 (RSA, 1952) to enforce influx control laws against black people as a means of controlling domestic migrant labour and to restrict the provision of low income housing for black people over the years by forcing them to go back to their homelands (Kok, 2006). The Act was later amended to the Black Labour Act No.67 of 1965 which conversely maintained segregation and stipulated that blacks needed to have work permits. In the event of expiry of the work permit blacks were given thirty days to leave the city for their homelands. The repeal of this Act in 1984 saw an influx of black migrants from the Transkei (which functioned as a 'reserve' area for black South Africans) to urban areas such as Hout Bay in search of employment where they joined fellow blacks living in hostels. This led to overcrowding in the harbour community. The absence of formal housing for Africans added to the constantly growing problem of informal settlements. Years of

exploitation have left the harbour community and the black informal settlements such as the Imizamo Yethu Township in deep poverty.

3.4 The formation of Imizamo Yethu Settlement

Imizamo Yethu, translated as “collective effort” and popularly known as Mandela Park, is a township on the slopes of the mountains of Hout Bay overlooking the valley (Monaco, 2008). The area was once the site of the Regional Services Council’s Forestry Station. It was however converted in February 1991 when the government of the Western Cape allocated the site to meet the housing needs of the Hout Bay black squatter community. The residents were attracted to the valley by employment opportunities created by the fishing industry and by the expansion of housing developments in the white dominated areas. The informal settlements of David’s Kraal, Disa River, Blue Valley and those near the beach, Sea Products, Princess Bush and Kadotsloot grew out of the need for the workers to live close to their source of employment (Monaco, 2008).

The fishing industry attracted people in search for employment. This led to an influx of African migrants and facilitated the growth of the African squatter population despite apartheid laws not providing housing for the African population (Gawith, 1996). As Chaskalson and Duncan (1984) explain, the Black Labour Regulations of 1968 institutionalized the migratory labour policy through labour bureaux and the contract labour system. The purpose of these measures in dealing with labour and residence were meant to curb migration to urban areas, inhibit families not already residing in town from settling there and to ensure that their presence in town was to provide labour for the white communities. This policy nevertheless proved impossible as migration could not be prevented and growing contempt of the law was met with resentment in black urban communities (Chaskalson and Duncan, 1984). Single sex hostels were set up for work-permit approved Africans but migrants were prohibited to live with their families. The Black African squatters were dissatisfied with the move to resettle them in the Hangberg area above the Hout Bay Harbour which already was home to the Coloured community. In 1986 the black African squatters demanded for action to be taken in order to resolve their housing crisis and that a more suitable area be allocated for resettlement. The reason was that black Africans were segregated during apartheid and were not allowed to own property in Hout Bay. In defiance

of the unfair practices and the control laws of the time, they started building shacks and brought their families to live with them (Vestbro, 1999).

Today conditions in Imizamo Yethu remain even worse because of the influx of immigrants from other African countries. Overcrowding, conflict between different ethnic groups and the huge influx of rural black people led to the allocation of land by the Cape Provincial Administration. According to the Cape Times (2007), the total available land in the Imizamo Yethu settlement is 34 hectares. Of this portion, over 18 hectares have already been used for informal settlements. While a court order and a provincial proclamation prevented the development of shacks on the remaining 16 hectares originally earmarked for amenities, the area has become smaller over the years due to further invasions.

3.5 Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of township residents

3.5.1 Housing infrastructure

Imizamo Yethu is one of the typical townships established in 1991 to cater for the low-income black Africans who provided labour to the white community in Hout Bay. Of the 34ha that was bought for residential settlement, it was determined by the white dominated Rate Payers Association (RPA) that 18ha be used for residential purposes while the remaining 16ha be reserved for community facilities (Mojapelo, 2008). The ruling was however, not welcomed by the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) who argued for the need for more land as the apportioned hectares were not enough to meet the demand for housing for the people. To this day the issue of land in the township has remained the base of tension between the white population of Hout Bay and SANCO as the former resent the idea of more blacks flocking to the area.

The housing infrastructure in the township is a mixture of small brick houses and shacks. The shacks are constructed from corrugated iron sheets, wood and plastic. It has over two hundred small low-income houses built for the community through donor funding by the Niall Mellon Foundation in Ireland to try and provide people with decent accommodation (Jessop, 2013; Mojapelo, 2008). Situated on the mountain slope and inappropriate for low-income housing, the township suffers from the constant problem of water running down the steep slopes of the mountain, flooding the streets and homes, especially during the rainy season. Furthermore the

community is characterised by dirty roads full of potholes due to lack of maintenance, blocked and leaking sewer pipes because of over capacity, insufficient sanitation and piles of uncollected garbage in back yards due to lack of municipal services which all pose the risk of disease outbreaks in the area.

Table 3.1 Housing profile of Imizamo Yethu (StatsSA, 2011)

| Housing type | Black African % | Coloured % | Asian % | White % | Other % | Total % |
|---|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Formal dwelling | 22.7 | 50.3 | 13.3 | 62.5 | 17.2 | 23.2 |
| Informal dwelling (Backyard shack) | 14.4 | 22.3 | 20.0 | 12.5 | 23.0 | 15.0 |
| Informal dwelling (Shack not in backyard) | 62.5 | 26.1 | 66.7 | 25.0 | 58.9 | 61.3 |
| Other | 0.4 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 3.1 shows a high number of Black Africans (62,5%) and Other (58,9%) living in informal dwellings compared to other groups. That is because housing for blacks was based on the idea that they should only be in the urban areas to serve the whites. Mojapelo (2008) also states that under apartheid there was no housing and land provision for the African people in Hout Bay. Jessop (2013) observed that housing has been a big issue since the influx of refugees became highly problematic in terms of accommodation. Therefore refugees moving into the township have compounded already limited resources and inadequate facilities. The township’s carrying capacity has increased, leading to the erection of additional shacks in order to meet the demand for accommodation.

3.5.2 Demographic profile of Imizamo Yethu Township

The following tables show the demographic profile of Imizamo Yethu township based on gender, age, education, and employment as enumerated in the 2011 Census held in the country by the South African Statistics department.

Table 3.2 Demographic profile by Gender (StatsSA, 2011)

| Population Group | Male % | Female % | Total % |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Black African | 49.7 | 41.9 | 91.6 |
| Coloured | 1.6 | 2.1 | 3.7 |
| Asian | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| White | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Other | 3.4 | 1.0 | 4.4 |
| Total | 54.9 | 45.1 | 100.0 |

The demographic profile above shows that Black Africans constitute the highest population with 91,6% living in Imizamo Yethu township. This is attributed to the fact that it was a township established for low black income earners such as domestic workers and gardeners who supplied labour to the white community in the Hout Bay area. According to Oelofse (1996), the township has a significant number of migrant labourers from the Eastern Cape, Khayelitsha and other African countries in search of employment.

Table 3.3 Age category of residents (StatsSA, 2011)

| Age Category | Black African % | Coloured % | Asian % | White % | Other % | Total % |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 0-4 years | 1.7 | 11.6 | 7.4 | 12.5 | 4.5 | 11.4 |
| 5-14 years | 12.9 | 19.4 | 3.7 | 6.3 | 5.0 | 12.7 |
| 15-24 years | 19.9 | 18.2 | 18.5 | 12.5 | 17.1 | 19.7 |
| 25-64 years | 54.9 | 49.0 | 70.4 | 68.8 | 72.3 | 55.5 |
| 65-older | 0.6 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 3.3 above depicts the age composition of Imizamo Yethu's population. The largest category is the 25-64 age groups which constitutes the labour force of the community. The population is mainly composed of black African youths who spend their day roaming the streets without any gainful activities due to unemployment in the area.

Table 3.4 Educational background of residents (StatsSA, 2011)

| Education level Adults (20+) | Black African % | Coloured % | Asian % | White % | Other % | Total % |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| No schooling | 4.0 | 3.6 | 28.6 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 4.1 |
| Grade 1-6 | 11.5 | 31.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.3 | 12.1 |
| Grade 7 | 5.3 | 9.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 5.2 |
| Grade 8-11 | 48.0 | 45.0 | 42.9 | 33.3 | 47.8 | 47.9 |
| Grade 12 | 28.5 | 9.9 | 28.6 | 66.7 | 28.7 | 27.9 |
| Tertiary | 2.6 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.4 | 2.6 |
| Other | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 3.4 above shows the educational profile of the Imizamo Yethu community where, judging by the figures, the low education levels may be another factor contributing to the high levels of poverty, unemployment and low income among the residents. As a township it can be said to have quite low numbers of people that manage to complete at least primary or secondary education. The lower percentages of people able to reach grade 12 or tertiary level could be attributed to the negative effects of alcoholism, gangsterism, drug abuse, child abuse and teenage pregnancies among other poverty-related social ills within the township. As articulated by Mojapelo (2008), the group most affected by alcohol and drug abuse are the youth both in and out of school while teenage pregnancy is also high among girls resulting in them not completing their education. Jessop (2013), in support, expressed that progress and development in the township is limited because of lack of education in the community as many children are abused, drop out of school due to problems of alcoholism, drug abuse and crime.

Table 3.5 Unemployment rate of residents (StatsSA, 2011)

| Rate % | Black African | Coloured | Asian | White | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| Unemployment rate % | 36.59 | 33.46 | 25.00 | 23.33 | 21.47 | 32.84 |
| Labour absorption rate % | 52.91 | 40.31 | 75.00 | 40.00 | 68.47 | 53.34 |
| Labour force participation rate % | 79.53 | 63.57 | 100.00 | 60.00 | 87.19 | 79.41 |

Table 3.5 shows a high rate of unemployment of 32,84% in Imizamo Yethu township, the black African group being the most impoverished because of their being historically disadvantaged. More so, was the racial divide in the social composition which regarded other groups as superior while banning Africans from working in urban areas during apartheid. Jessop (2013) points out that the township is riddled with unemployment due to the peoples' lack of skills namely competence skills, technological skills and social skills.

According to the census conducted in 2011 the population of Imizamo Yethu township stood at 15 538 and the number of households was 6009 (StatsSA, 2011). The demographic profile shows that the population is predominantly black African with 92%. Out of this population 31% is aged 20 years and older, and have completed matric. The township has a labour force of 67% which is employed while 23% of the households live in formal dwellings and 38% of the households have access to piped water in their dwelling or inside their yard. Also according to the census 62% of the households have access to a flush toilet connected to the public sewer system, while 80% have electricity in their dwellings (StatsSA, 2011). However, much of the electrification is illegal connections as many shack dwellers within the township have been found to be using electricity without being registered.

Moreover, the large proportion of migrants in the township makes it unique in being a culturally integrated township compared to other areas. The diverse nationalities from countries such as Angola, Malawi, Namibia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Zimbabwe make up the bulk of foreign refugees living in the township alongside local

Xhosa migrants from the Eastern Cape. The refugees left their homes for various reasons including fleeing from war, political violence, mis-governance and economic meltdown in search for peace and stability as well as better standards of living. These reasons are similar to those stated by the World Bank (1999) that most refugees came to South Africa escaping from poverty and destitution in their own countries, as well as civil wars and political instability. Nonetheless, this inundation of refugees has also put a strain on employment opportunities for a population that is already suffering high unemployment. This has resulted in competition for resources. However, most foreigners thrive on self-employment through arts and crafts, motor maintenance, carpentry and flea markets where they sell items ranging from gadgets to second hand clothing.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed overview of the case study area. It examined the origins of Hout Bay, its socio-economic background and housing infrastructure. In addition, the formation of Imizamo Yethu township was outlined. The information presented paints a picture of Imizamo Yethu township as a poverty stricken community occupied by a young population who are in search of employment. Because of the high rate of unemployment, many residents earn their livelihoods in the informal economy including trading in craft markets. Last, but more important, is the influx of refugees into the township making it unique in that it is a multi-culturally integrated township compared with other townships in Cape Town. This chapter has provided the context for the following chapter which presents the research data and findings of the investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4. Introduction

Sustainable livelihoods, as applicable to development interventions, are about achieving the ability to changing and improving people's response-ability to inevitably shifting circumstances (Kaplan, 1999). The generation of livelihoods can be perceived as the means by which households exploit their abilities and assets through engagement of activities to accomplish numerous livelihood outcomes. The key feature of SLF is that it recognises people as actors with assets and capabilities who act in pursuit of their own livelihood goals. Employed activities and resources demonstrate the diversification of the livelihoods used by households to construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in the struggle to improve their standards of living (Ellis, 1999). This chapter provides the data analysis and presentation of findings based on the empirical fieldwork in the case study area. It begins with a quantitative analysis of the characteristics of participants and their demographic and socio-economic profiles before qualitatively analysing the socio-economic conditions and improvements of Zimbabwean refugees sustaining their livelihoods through craft markets. The Zimbabwean refugees are the main participants in this study and this chapter also documents the constraints they face in conducting their business. The chapter concludes by highlighting the limitations of the study.

4.1. Participants' Profile

Out of the intended 50 research participants, the researcher managed to access a total of 38 respondents who answered the research questionnaire. Thereafter, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 crafters and two members of the Hout Bay Lions club who are involved with the day-to-day running of the market. The respondents' age composition ranged from 18 years to over 60 years. However there was gender disparity with a total of 26 males and only 12 females responding to the questionnaire. Similar findings were experienced during the qualitative interviews where males out-numbered females. Of the 10 participants interviewed, only four were female. Various reasons were cited such as the push factors for these crafters leaving their own homelands which included unsustainable economic conditions, and the political and social degeneration in Zimbabwe between the years 2007 and 2008 as discussed in Chapter One.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics

Age Profile

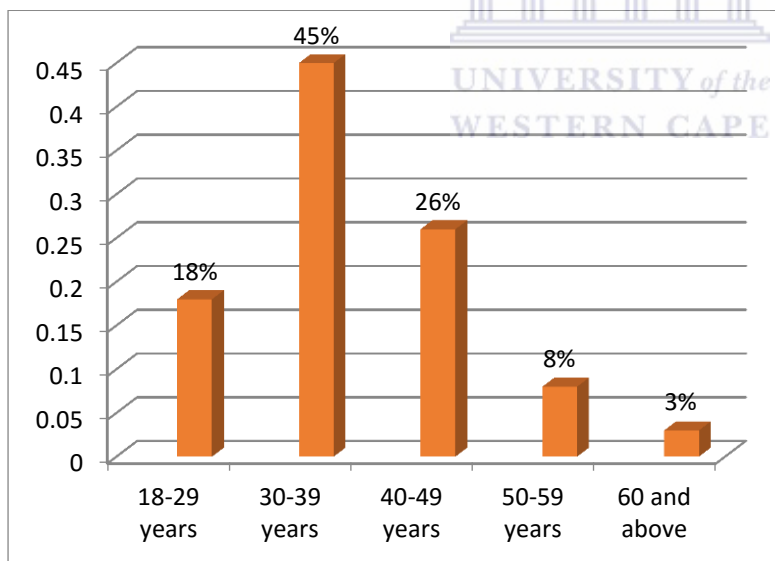


Figure 4.1 Age profile of the Zimbabwean crafters.

The age category analysis illustrated in Figure 4.1 shows that 18% of the crafters lie in the age group 18-29 years, 45% in the 30-39 years and 26% within the 40-49 years. Only 8% fall within the 50-59 years and 3% are in the age group of 60 years and above. The age group of

30-39 years was found to be the main dominant in the craft market trade. This could be because this was the age group which was highly affected by the economic downturn which saw the closure of companies due to the ill-fated land reform programme and the hyperinflation experienced in Zimbabwe in 2008. This situation forced them to seek refuge in South Africa in search of better living conditions as discussed in Chapter One.

Gender Profile

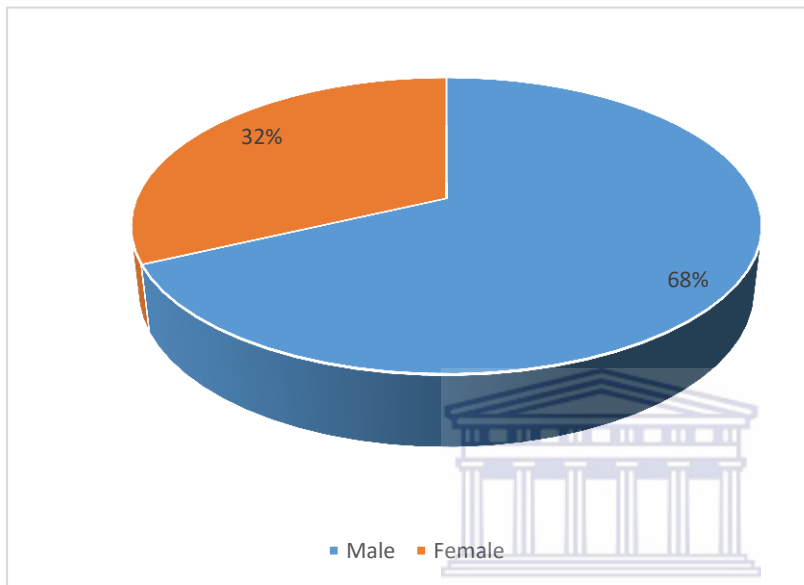


Figure 4.2 Gender of Zimbabwean crafters.

The gender profile presented in Figure 4.2 shows that 68% (26) of the research participants in the study were male while (32%) (12) were female. This distribution of fewer women than men could possibly be attributed to cultural practices. In Zimbabwe women hardly ever crossed borders in search of work for it was accepted as a man's duty to support the family. However the deepening economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe during the period 2008 saw change in the gendered migration pattern, with women being forced to leave the caring of families in the hands of relatives such as grandparents in order to join their male counterparts in search of work to help support the family (Matshaka, 2009). Another interpretation could be that the wire and bead craft business is a more masculine job where women feel they cannot spend the day twisting wires as it is hard labour

Educational Background

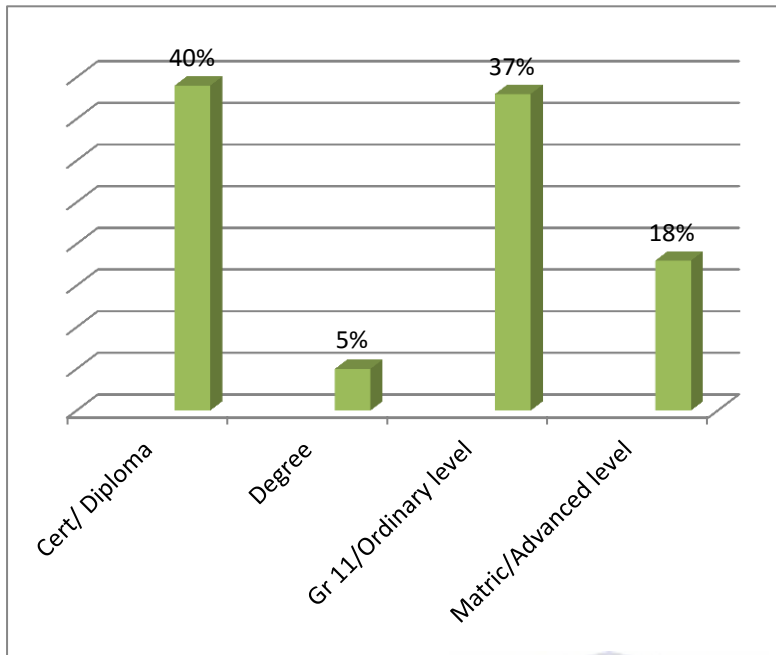


Figure 4.3 Educational backgrounds of the Zimbabwean crafters.

Figure 4.3 above shows that the sample population of participants who took part in the study were a highly literate group. As shown in the graph, 40% (15) of the participants completed tertiary education during which they attained certificates or diplomas while 5% (2) managed to complete university education. A total of 37% (14) attained secondary education up to Ordinary Level (Grade 12) while 18% (7) completed Advanced Level (Matric). However, when these people first migrated to South Africa, they anticipated finding jobs in the formal sector since they were well equipped with skills and education. They did not anticipate the tough competition within the formal sector in terms of employment as alluded to in Chapter One. Therefore, after failing to enter the formal employment sector, they were forced to apply their capabilities as entrepreneurs in the arts and crafts sector. Qualitative interviews revealed that most of the crafters had no knowledge or experience of arts and crafts when they arrived in South Africa. Therefore, because of the need to survive they had to learn from others how to make wire and bead art. This is discussed in further detail later in the chapter.

Table 4.1 Economic characteristics of participants

| Employment status | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Self-employed | 34 | 89% |
| Working for someone | 4 | 11% |

Table 4.1 indicates that 89% (34) of the crafters are self-employed. They produce and sell their own artwork, while only 11% (4) work for other people. The self-employed category constitutes mostly male crafters who produce wire and bead artwork. As mentioned earlier in chapter two, this involves hard labour and can be done under trees or in open spaces which costs them nothing in terms of rental expenses. The crafters' work is mainly done with their bare hands and small tools which require no electricity or big machinery. The researcher found that 11% of those working for other people are mostly women employed to sell on behalf of those crafters who produce bigger pieces of art from workshops such as stone sculptors and scrap metal smiths because they require the use of heavy machinery and electricity.

Table 4.2 Monthly incomes of crafters

| Monthly income | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Less than R 2000 | 1 | 3% |
| R 2001-R 5000 | 14 | 37% |
| R 5001-R 10000 | 22 | 58% |
| Above R10000 | 1 | 3% |

Table 4.2 above shows the monthly income received by crafters in the event of successfully selling their wares. As noted in the table, 3% (1) whose income is less than R2000 are mostly women working for other crafters and this income comprises paid wages. However, some of these low income earners dealt in an assortment of items such as hand bags, wallets, toys,

tablecloths and other accessories which are usually sourced from Chinese retail shops for resale. Nevertheless, due to competition with Chinese retail shops selling similar merchandise these crafters are forced to price their products relatively low in order to sell. The 37% (14) who earn between R2001 and R5000 were a group composed of crafters who mainly deal in wood carvings while the highest earning group of 58% (22) earning between R5001 and R10000 constitutes the wire and bead crafters. The majority in the group were people who have mastered their trade and who now design various forms of artwork such as; rhinos, kudus, sheep, lions or buffalo head sculptures as well as household utensils. Those selling between R5001 and R10000 worth of wares were also a highly mobile group of crafters who go to several markets per week to intensify their product sales because they could afford the high transport costs. It should be noted that only 3% (1) responded that when they manage to sell their craft they could earn above R10000, the reason being that their type of craft is stone carvings which are heavy and durable. The stones used were granite blocks imported from Zimbabwe or other provinces of South Africa which they used to carve different kinds of animals such as lions, dogs or cheetahs. Their pricing in this case was very high citing the labour input in producing the final artwork ready for sale, and was also very time consuming. It is however important to note that these earnings of above R10000 were not guaranteed constant income because the products were dependent on customers such as galleries or international art collectors who buy the art for trade fairs or art exhibitions which usually are seasonal. However, sentiments of their ability to remit money home to family when they get big sales were also expressed.

Table 4.3 Marital status of Zimbabwean crafters

| Marital status | Percentage |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Divorced | 3% |
| Living with partner | 11% |
| Married | 61% |
| Married but separated | 3% |
| Single | 21% |
| Widowed | 3% |

From Table 4.3, it can be observed that 3% of the respondents were divorced, widowed or separated from their spouses. The 3% of married but separated crafters said the economic melt-down in Zimbabwe forced them to live apart where one was in South Africa trying to work while the other remained in Zimbabwe taking care of the children and looking after the family assets such as their houses and cattle in the rural areas. About 11% of the participants responded that they live with their partners to try and help each other in earning a living or reduce the expenses of living apart. They also cited security issues saying that living in the townships on their own, especially for women, was not safe as they were exposed to criminal activities such as rape and housebreakings. These issues were also asserted by Fuller (2008), who cited rape and house breakings as huge problems faced by women living in townships because of the cramped living conditions. As a result they were considered easy targets. The married respondents were the highest at 61%. This majority explained that they did not want to live separately to avoid the difficulties and temptations of distant relationships. The 21% of single respondents answered that while in Zimbabwe their life became unbearably difficult due to lack of employment opportunities, therefore they decided to migrate to South Africa in search for a better life. This response was in line with Matshaka (2009)'s findings that the youth experienced a high rate of poverty and unemployment and lost hope in Zimbabwe

until they were invited by friends to come to South Africa. They started to earn a livelihood through selling goods at the road junctions to improve their lives.

Ability of crafters to speak at least one SA Language

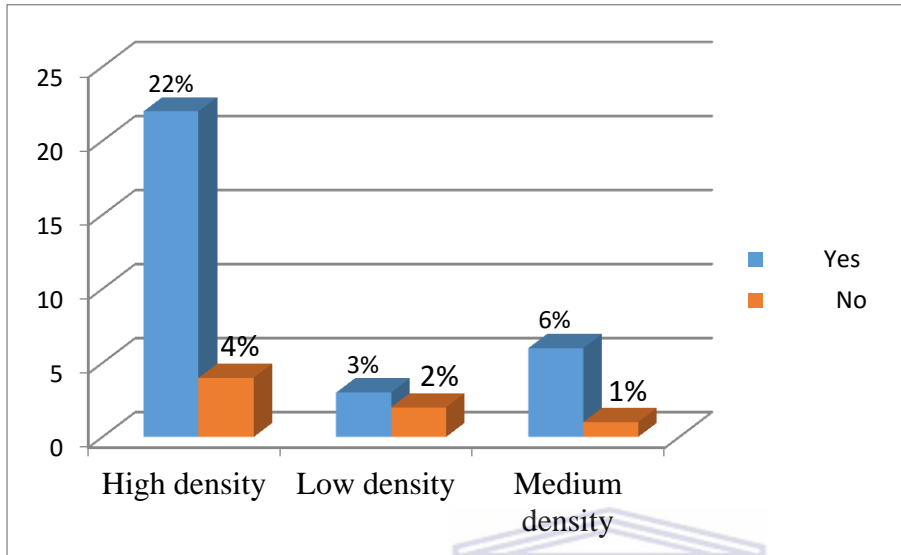


Figure 4.4 Ability of crafters to speak at least one SA language

The majority of the crafters have the ability to speak the two official indigenous languages of Zimbabwe, Shona and Ndebele. 22% of these participants living in the high density suburb (Imizamo Yethu) positively responded to the question as to whether they were able to speak at least one of the languages spoken in South Africa. The participants responded that it was easier for them to assimilate with the local people in the township and hence chose to stay with them because rentals in the township were cheaper. Some crafters added that because of cheaper rentals they were able to save and remit money to relatives back home (see chapter two). The other 3% and 6% participants residing in the low and medium density suburbs respectively cited the level of violence in the townships and the experienced xenophobia in 2008 as the reasons why they chose to reside where they live. Thus judging by their craft earnings this only justifies also the reason why the majority stay in the high density suburbs as rentals were cheaper and it accommodates fulfilment of other duties such as savings in terms of their livelihoods.

However, the remaining respondents split as follows: 4% residing in the high density area even though they could not speak cited cheaper rentals as the pull factor for them to stay in

the high density suburb as this gave them the opportunity to make savings and be able to remit money home, whereas the other 2% in the low density and 1% in the medium density suburbs responded that due to their inability to speak any of the local languages they considered it worthy to reside in the areas where they live to avoid xenophobia. The participants further argued that even though one is able to converse in the local language, the locals were generally hostile to migrants because they think migrants live better lives compared to them, sentiments also in line to Matshaka (2009) in chapter two. “The xenophobic attacks that we sometimes experience in high density suburbs as a result of this mode of thinking by the locals impacts on our livelihoods as we are unable to do business for lengthy periods of time” said one crafter. Moreover Sigsworth et al (2008) added that different markers such as language, form of dressing and cultural practices make migrants vulnerable to exploitation and xenophobia. The authors expounded that language in particular was used by the majority of migrants to impose silence on themselves as a measure of safety.

4.3 Perceptions on socio-economic improvements by crafters

The researcher conducted qualitative interviews with 10 respondents to extract further information on how crafters sustain themselves as well as to gain deeper insight into one of the key aims of this study, which was to explore the nature of the arts and crafts trade within the Hout Bay craft market in the Western Cape. The respondents gave varied answers.

Particular responses that mostly resonated with wire crafters were to pride themselves in bringing a new type of art into South Africa. Many were proud of their creativity and hard work in trying to make ends meet without stealing from anyone. One of the respondents remarked that “we Zimbabweans are creative and hard-working in order to earn a decent living without stealing from anyone unlike our fellow South Africans who are lazy and always lament that government should provide”. According to him, on his arrival in the Western Cape there was nothing like the current wire and bead art, so he joined others and became pioneers of this form of art, teaching themselves under the shade of a tree (in open spaces) to create all sorts of art objects ranging from flowers and animal sculptures to kitchen utensils such as baskets, fruit bowls, trays and lampshades, among other things. They acknowledged that before their arrival there was the traditional beaded artwork made by the Xhosa/ Zulu people, which however did not include wire. The traders pointed out that as with

every new innovation their wire and bead art quickly spread among Zimbabwean males after the realisation of the art's uniqueness and its fast acceptance by craft markets and society at large.

Majority of these crafters commented that once one perfects the skill, it rewards quite well monetarily. Matshaka (2009:9) in her work highlighted that "entry into wire trade among these Zimbabwean crafters was a more esteemed trade, a more masculine domain through which they were able to demonstrate their artistic skills and produce uniquely distinguished crafts." Similar views were also shared by Silberschmidt (2005), who expressed that the craftsmanship involved in the production of wire and bead art was a key site for masculine pride where men showcased their artistic skills and demonstrated innovation. Thus, the crafters believe their renowned wire and bead art assisted them to establish themselves as pioneering economic agents whose art was only inherent to their Zimbabwean culture (Matshaka, 2009).

Another crafter said that other foreigners involved in art and craft trading tried copying their wire and bead art but failed to produce items as well made as those crafted by Zimbabweans. He elaborated that as Zimbabweans they managed to create their own niche which became their source of livelihood. This view was also shared by Barker and Ricardo (2005) who commented that through crafting and selling wire and bead crafted goods, Zimbabweans entered the informal sector as a way of managing economic marginalisation in the host country. The craft activities and resources demonstrate the diversification of livelihoods which, as alluded to by Ellis (1999), is a process by which individuals or individual households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in the struggle for survival and to improve standards of living.

4.3.1 Livelihood support through craft markets

In response to the second aim of the study which was to determine the extent to which craft markets contributed to supporting the livelihoods of Zimbabwean refugees using the sustainable livelihoods approach as the analytical framework, respondents said that they were now able to feed and clothe their families, pay rent and pay for their children's education, with some even managing to send their kids to boarding schools which they could not afford before. In addition, some crafters said that through art and craft they have managed to

improve their livelihoods by buying/building themselves houses, cattle and other assets back home and even remit money home to benefit their families. This admittance to improved livelihoods is also in line with Matshaka's (2009) findings that through this forced livelihood option of wire and bead craft trading, these Zimbabwean traders view themselves not only as innovative economic agents but also as industrious and responsible people who use their earnings to accumulate fixed assets such as houses and cars, save for future ventures as well as being able to send remittances back home to help support their extended families.

4.3.2 Enhanced welfare of crafters

Due to the economic and social hardships back home, the majority of respondents expressed their appreciation in having improved their well-being in terms of basic provisions such as clean water, electricity, hospitals as well as a much improved environment in terms of job opportunities unlike when they were still in Zimbabwe. While others argued that despite having well equipped hospitals, their healthy lifestyle in terms of feeding on organic foods had vanished since they were now exposed to genetically modified foods (GMOs) resulting in them being vulnerable to diseases. However, others felt that their lives have drastically changed from being formally employed back home into being forced to survive on crafts even though they had a tertiary education. They felt that they were now working harder than when they lived in Zimbabwe, leaving them with no family time as they move from craft market to craft market in order to make ends meet. Others expressed the view that they were better off selling their crafts here than their fellow compatriots who remained in Zimbabwe working for the government.

They added that being self-employed was for them more attractive compared to full-time paid jobs, the common rhetoric being that they were their own bosses working at their own pace with no pressure or exploitation as articulated in Matshaka's (2009) research. A similar view was also shared by Hnatow (2009) who pointed out that arts and crafts production offer distinct advantages such as minimal start-up capital, flexible working hours, the ability to work at home, use of natural resources and the freedom to manage one's own business. Furthermore Matshaka (2009) authenticates that the arts and crafts trade presented these crafters with the platform not only to construct themselves as entrepreneurial but also as autonomous agents.

4.3.3 Use of environmentally friendly practices

Another vital point highlighted by the respondents was that the arts and crafts business of wire and beads used environmentally friendly practices with no trace of carbon footprint as there were no gas emissions, air or water pollution likely to cause health hazards. This fell in line with Kumar et al's (2013) view that arts and crafts generally have low energy requirements. The authors expanded that production processes applied in craft making typically have a low carbon footprint and promote the use of locally existing materials that were usually recyclable materials. In view of this, it can be deduced that these crafters were socially and environmentally responsible and did not contribute to the effects of climate change which in the long run results in the disturbance of the ecosystem which in turn affects livelihoods.

4.3.4 Use of recycled materials

One of the most important findings of this research was that crafters mostly use recycled materials. One crafter remarked that “the arts and crafts we make is mainly from recycled materials such as wire, metal, wood and paper from thrown away objects from which we turn junk into ornaments of sentimental value”. The crafters proved that nothing goes to waste as by using recycled materials they can turn them into various forms of art such as wire and metal animal sculptures, flowers, lampshades, household utensils, tables, stools, shelves or musical instruments. More so, they also alluded to their ability to revive the usage of long abandoned old buildings which had become hideout places for criminals engaged in robbery activities, murder and illegal substance abuse in Hout Bay. To this regard another crafter said, “With our art business we have managed to bring change to communities where people now feel safe to spent time outdoors with their families and friends while enjoying shopping and other entertainment.”

4.3.5 Relationship between tourism and the craft sector

Another theme relevant to the research was the relationship between tourism and the craft sector. The two have different value chains but share a transversal with the potential to augment each other (Dokter, 2010), as craft sales to tourists generate income that support crafters' livelihoods. The promotion of tourism through art was another significant issue

pointed out by the crafters as they indicated that with their unique art and craft they were contributing to the boom of tourism in the country as well as promoting the exchange of culture. They alluded to tourists buying their art to take back home as souvenirs or presents for friends and relatives. However in complementing this relationship it could be noted that a number of mechanisms were used to address poverty reduction with regards to tourism such as direct sales of goods and services to visitors by crafters, supply of goods and services to tourism enterprises by small enterprises, employing the poor as well as reinforcing linkages within the informal sector economy to work together to meet demand when it rises, for the benefit of all rather than a few. Thus tourism does not exist in isolation but can instead represent a strong economic opportunity for many, directly or indirectly through the volume of visitors as they require accommodation and food services.

4.3.6 Arts and crafts creating a market competitive advantage

In response to a competitive urge crafters commented that their arts and crafts served as key drivers of specialized competence in the manufacturing of unique products. They exuded pride in retailers giving them orders for their artwork to sell in their shops. Some crafters citing the competitive benefits of wire and bead art said that, “even the Chinese who are known for their quick production of commodities at cheaper prices have failed to imitate their artwork”. Thus art and crafts provide them with the “power to” and the “power from” which gives them the freedom to perceive themselves as able and entitled to occupy their own decision-making space. Crafters’ production as espoused by Kumar et al (2013) presents an opportunity to provide a source of earning and employment for the low skilled and unemployed, improving their status within the household. The authors further point to investing in artisans’ crafts as leading to a trickle-down effect of improved health and educational outcomes for future generations of the most marginalised populations. They emphasized that the craft sector had the potential to provide stable employment and income generation to diverse households as well as to those with different levels of education if given recognition by governments.

4.4 Constraints encountered by crafters in their business

There are several constraints which negatively impact on informal trading. These include the following:

4.4.1 Lack of access to financial services

Like many entrepreneurs, crafters face operational challenges due to lack of working capital. As a result this reduces their production levels as they fail to fulfil bulk orders because they lack the capital to purchase the required quantities of raw materials. The majority of these Zimbabwean crafters said that they had bank accounts with First National Bank (FNB) and Capitec. Access to these bank accounts was made possible by the general work permits given to them by the Home Affairs Department in 2011. As articulated by one crafter “we foreigners even though we possess work permits, banks in this country do not provide as with any loans since we don’t have other documents as title deeds for collateral.” Moreover, the banks do not provide credit facilities to foreigners with unregistered companies as most crafters have not registered their crafts. Besides this, the banks require collateral such as title deeds for them to facilitate loans which most migrants do not have as they are tenants. Furthermore, the banks, according to Bamu and Theron (2009), cite poor recovery rates and misuse of funds on the part of the crafters as reasons for denying them funding, arguing that they do not keep traceable accounts that show their monthly income flows. These challenges were echoed by Kumar et al (2013) who posited that lack of access to financial services such as credit and savings inhibit crafters who produce at relatively low volumes and at irregular intervals, creating fewer opportunities to market products on a large scale.

4.4.2 Lack of access to strategic trading positions at markets.

Some crafters expressed concern with the way stalls were allocated at craft markets. They raised issues such as being allotted unproductive sites while their White counterparts got stalls in locations with high customer traffic. This confirmed a similar observation by Mupedziswa (1991) who stated that more often the informal sector operators have to be based at sites sanctioned by the relevant authorities. As such the stall’s position would not be necessarily strategic in terms of customer traffic which disadvantages the crafters’ enterprises. One crafter said they were forced to go along with the allotment of stalls and were afraid to challenge stall allocation procedures as this would result in their expulsion from the market.

4.4.3 Limited access to education and training

With regards to education and training, crafters conceded that the business of arts and crafts required continuous training as it involved a lot of innovation. “This business has improved my livelihood unexpectedly that I think if I could get affordable vocational training institutes to enhance my skills I will embrace the opportunity” said one crafter. “When I first came here I did not know anything related to the wire and bead artwork, so I had to learn from others but given the opportunity for further education and training I definitely will take it as I want to see my art selling internationally in future”, said another crafter.” The majority of the crafters admitted to having limited access to training in areas such as business skills and technical training to help them improve their innovation and creativity.

4.4.4 Lack of collective bargaining power

In response to the question of whether they belong to any business or social network, the crafters alleged that it was very difficult for them to form associations or networks for protection because they compete amongst themselves. One participant stated that he saw no benefits in belonging to a network because Zimbabweans were prone to competition among themselves. Another crafter expressed fear of his art designs being copied hence the reason why he preferred working individually. While others expressed that their kind of arts and crafts were of high quality, and brings in more money hence they saw no need to be involved in any networks as they were making good money on their own. There were mixed feelings, however, and the researcher found out that those struggling would prefer to have networks to help improve their businesses while those who had managed to penetrate the market attributed their success to hard work. Despite having discussed with them the advantages and disadvantages of working individually, many remained adamant that it would only promote laziness among them because everyone knew that the reason they were here was to work.

4.4.5 Lack of information and harsh regulation processes

Generally the majority of crafters lack information pertaining to registration procedures and how permits to operate at craft markets could be obtained. The female interviewees, especially, had little knowledge with regard to trade exhibitions or trade fairs which could help showcase and intensify the marketing of their products. Most of the male crafters cited

stress and the cumbersomeness of the registration process for permits or cards that give permission to exhibit, resulting in them becoming discouraged (Bamu and Theron, 2012).

4.4.6 Limited access to infrastructure, tools and equipment

Some crafters lamented “we as crafters have limited access to business infrastructure such as manufacturing and storage space. We have no space from which to store our art or raw materials especially if one is into manufacturing.” Lack of infrastructure such as storage space, sheds, ablutions and water within market areas make the crafters feel unimportant and inferior to their formal sector counterparts who they said have provision for everything. Apart from the problem of infrastructure there were the escalating costs of raw materials, tools and equipment which posed huge challenges for crafters in trying to expand their businesses. Similar views were shared by Kumar et al (2013) who explained that lack of tools and machinery of high quality to match demand and productivity levels inhibits crafters from growing their businesses. One crafter responded that “with his metal craft he sees an opportunity to build himself a registered business, only that he lacked heavy duty welding equipment and a computer to enable him to create quality designs and set a website to showcase his designs”.

4.4.7 No database of craft traders

Regarding the keeping of a database of crafters involved with the market, market officials responded that there was no reliable database. They claimed that the small levels of operations by crafters made it difficult to calculate proper numbers of crafters due to their high mobility as well their being involved with various markets every week. The officials further cited the limited trading spaces allocated to them by municipalities as another reason why they could not keep a constant database since they also hired casual crafters who were difficult to keep track of. They explained that when issues are raised in terms of operating sites the bureaucracy experienced was very time consuming. This showed that the informal sector in developing countries was still very much considered a nuisance, instead of regarding it as a form of income generation that helps alleviate poverty. This confirms Davies and Thurlow’s (2009) assertion that the informal sector was most often considered by municipal planners as a spatial problem (in terms of where to locate informal trading zones) rather than an integral part of the local economy and a key factor preventing even higher levels of

unemployment. What is forgotten is that craft business is entrepreneurship which crafters in this case depend upon for their livelihoods together with their households.

4.4.8 Persistence of crime and violence

The problems of crime and violence were cited in relation to the places of residence, especially in the townships where most of the crafters live, such that they constantly live in fear. They alleged that they are mugged for their hard earnings by the locals who know that they are traders. Many crafters expressed fear of the locals who they claimed to be xenophobic and often robbed them of their cell phones which prohibit them from exploring markets far away from where they live. Most participants noted that there was a perception by locals that foreigners came to steal their jobs therefore they should share the profits they make from living a good life in South Africa. This is also articulated by Landau (2006) who wrote that “Zimbabweans, like other African migrants, are particularly alienated and stigmatised by locals and media which construct them negatively, labelling them a threat to the local people”. When seeking employment they are seen as poor, desperate, and are frequently involved in anti-social activities. Furthermore, Amogelang Mbatha quoted the Minister of Small Business Enterprises saying, “...foreigners, if they want to curb violence and looting, should share their trade secrets with the locals in the townships where they live” while responding to the xenophobic violence in Soweto (Business Report, 2015). However, some crafters said that they have not encountered serious violence because of their ability to converse in the local languages.

4.4.9 Harsh weather conditions

The harsh weather conditions usually encountered in Cape Town were cited by crafters as a major challenge to their operations as the market is held in the open air. This was articulated by one crafter who said, “In winter we rarely trade because of it being the rainy season that no customers visit the market place. As a result we do not make any money as we are forced to stay away”. Furthermore in winter some markets close and only reopen in summer, citing the low volume of customers. “This heavily impacts on our business and savings making it difficult to maintain the same living standards”, added another crafter. Hence they were left with no choice except to depend on their summer savings in order to support their families, pay rent and be able to keep their children in school.

4.5 Limitations of the study

While undertaking this study the researcher encountered several limitations that were also worsened by the prevailing social environment. The first limitation involved budgetary constraints because the researcher operated with limited resources. The second limitation was that some crafters refused to participate in the study citing that they did not know what the research would be used for or who would access it, fearing that they could end up being forced to pay tax even though the ethical conduct had been explained to them as in chapter one. The third issue expressed by some participants was research fatigue. They said that it was a sheer waste of their time since previously they had taken part in research which did not benefit them in any way. The fourth limitation was the refusal by some crafters to participate because they were illegal refugees without documentation so they feared deportation. They did not trust the purpose of the research even though it was explained to them.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided the data analysis and presentation of the research findings. The chapter began by analysing the participants' profile and demographic data. It then presented the crafters' perceptions on their socio-economic improvements, analysing the extent to which craft markets contribute towards supporting the livelihoods of Zimbabwean refugees using the sustainable livelihoods approach. The chapter further discussed the constraints encountered by crafters which impede on their business operations. Lastly a discussion on the limitations of the study provided a synopsis of the challenges faced by the researcher while conducting the research. These findings in turn inform the final conclusions and recommendations discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5. Introduction

This chapter provides the summary findings of the research, presents some theoretical reflections based on the information provided by the respondents and offers recommendations for stakeholders and policy makers. The study focused on the role of Hout Bay craft markets in sustaining the livelihoods of Zimbabwean traders using the analytical lens of the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF). The study centred on three main aims which were to explore the nature of the arts and crafts trade at the Hout Bay craft market in the Western Cape, to determine the extent to which craft markets contribute towards the livelihoods of Zimbabwean refugees and to identify constraints and opportunities faced by the crafters in the case study area.

5.1 Theoretical reflection

The sustainable livelihoods approach seeks to promote choice, opportunity and diversity, through a combination of activities and choices that people undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals. People's access to different levels and combination of assets is the major influence on the choice of livelihood strategies. It helps identify how people's livelihood strategies can be strengthened and made sustainable (Farrington et al, 1999). Thus the SLA's main focus is to promote increasing people's capacity to provide for themselves and the ability to uplift them out of poverty. Scoones (2008) postulated that the need to improve livelihoods ought to be founded upon an understanding of what is required and this must entail an appreciation of the diverse range of factors and processes that comprise a livelihood.

5.1 2 Assets and capitals

The sustainable livelihoods framework explained how different contexts of livelihood are achieved through access to a range of resources comprised of human, natural, social, physical and financial capitals. As noted in Chapter 2, De Sage et al (2002) commented that resources are exploited in order to achieve a livelihood. The findings of this research are aligned to the above sentiments and it was found that the crafters in Hout Bay enhanced their livelihoods with regard to improving their human, natural, social, physical and financial capitals. This

enabled them to have considerable improved overall quality of life for themselves and their families.

5.1.3 Vulnerabilities

Vulnerabilities are events and occurrences often outside people's control and usually negatively impact upon them. Household opportunities in terms of the vulnerability context as expressed by De Satge et al (2002) can be enhanced or restricted by factors in the external environment. With regard to vulnerabilities, findings of this research indicate that the arts and craft business is often plagued by factors such as harsh weather conditions such as winter rainfall and heavy winds which impact negatively on crafters livelihoods. The findings showed that the arts and craft business is seasonal and also determined by trends in terms of sales and pricing. In this regard respondents reported that craft business booms during the peak period of summer, while it slumps in winter which is the rainy season in the Western Cape. These vulnerabilities therefore affect the crafters profits and reduce their incomes, thereby impacting on their livelihoods.

5.1.4 Strategies

Strategies relate to the range and combination of activities crafters employ in order to sustain their livelihoods. Research results of this study, in line with Northcote's (2015) findings, indicate that diversification is the main strategy used by crafters to help support themselves and their households. The majority of crafters were found to use strategies such as the constant search for new venues and outlets to intensify maximum exposure and sale of their crafts. This includes supplying some retail shops with their art and crafts for marketing as well as selling. The other strategy was that some crafters travelled long distances to sell their products at international events that take place in other towns, for example the Grahams town International Festival. The researcher also found that diversification was a strategy frequently used by crafters to not only wait for potential customers to come to them, but alternatively followed them to areas which they frequented for shopping. Furthermore diversification as a strategy was more particularly employed as a measure to minimise risk.

5.2 Summary findings

The data analysis and findings from the conducted fieldwork examined both the positive factors as well as the negative factors which inhibit growth and the smooth operations of the arts and craft business for the Zimbabwean traders. The findings highlighted the crafters' positive perceptions of their socio-economic improvements compared to their lives before coming to South Africa.

The general perceptions were that there was great improvement in terms of their livelihoods as the majority were now able to feed, clothe and provide a better education for their children with little difficulty. Matshaka (2009) in chapter two expressed that these crafters had managed to gather assets such as houses, cars and cattle which they could not afford to buy if they had remained in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the respondents viewed themselves not only as innovative economic agents but industrious and responsible people who used their earnings to accumulate fixed assets such as housing and vehicles, and save for future ventures as well as being able to send remittances back home to help support their extended families.

Overall responses indicated that respondents had enhanced their welfare through crafting as many attested to being able to lead sustainable lives. They further expressed relief at being their own bosses, working at their own pace, and without pressure. Similar sentiments were echoed by Hantow (2009) in chapter two who also aired that art and crafts production offered distinct advantages such as minimal start-up capital, flexible working hours, the ability to work at home, the use of local skills using natural resources and having the freedom to manage one's own business. These were the advantages of working in the arts and craft sector as this form of employment provided the crafters with flexibility and a platform for innovation and creativity.

Despite many positive aspects relating to their work in the informal sector, a number of constraints were encountered by crafters in their day-to-day business operations. These were issues such as lack of access to financial services, the harsh regulation process and the lack of bargaining power to expand or grow their businesses. Lack of legal documentation seemed the biggest impediment for the majority of the crafters as this limited their operations in terms of accessing financial aid to enable them to participate in major events which in turn could give them a better platform to improve their incomes. In conclusion however, it can be said

that art and craft making can like other economic activities be regarded a market oriented activity with the potential for exports as well as appealing to local markets of home decoration thereby improving the livelihoods of crafters.

5.3 Recommendations

The research findings showed that informal economic activities were a global phenomenon as seen from the continuing refugee crisis due to wars, mis-governance and the lack of formal job creation. Therefore the informal sector assumes the primary means of income generation and livelihood and as such should be given serious consideration by government and policy makers because of the role it plays in reducing poverty and unemployment.

The following recommendations provide guidance in promoting the informal sector to become sustainable and support livelihoods:

- Business assistance models targeting marketing are vital to blend social and commercial goals to provide value added services, particularly in purchasing of raw materials and intermediary trading. The Ministry of Small Enterprise and Development should therefore embrace and strengthen decentralisation of production models for the benefit of small scale operators such as crafters to encourage entrepreneurship and their development into the main stream economy.
- Competitive markets are valued by their economic efficiency and receptiveness to clients hence cannot function in the absence of traders (be they individuals or organisations). Therefore advocacy is required for the government to create a more favourable environment for crafters' entrepreneurship and markets accessibility. The main drive of the advocacy would be to push the government to create systems that can enable the craft sector to graduate into becoming part of the mainstream economy, capable of stimulating incomes and improve the livelihoods of those dependent on social security in the long run. Also government should facilitate infrastructure development to enable crafters to carry out their business with ease in terms of transportation and communication.

- Government should, however, engage in dialogue and workshops through relevant authorities (for example, the Ministry of Small Business Enterprises) to discuss fair, creative and innovative mechanisms to help impart knowledge and skills to crafters to enable them to own livelihoods. The move will promote cohesion and encourage cross-pollination of ideas and skills for the benefit and development of society.
- Government policies such as the trading site allocations policy tend to be poorly executed and fail to have a significant impact on crafters' lives. Therefore policies and regulations should be put in place that levels the business playing field for the formal and informal sectors. This will lead to advancement for all.
- There is a need to harness the potential within the craft sector in order to preserve different traditional arts and crafts, strengthen the sector to enhance sustainability and improve crafters' income. Effective and efficient harnessing of crafters' capabilities will provide skills that will help contribute to the country's economic growth and human development through employment creation for the benefit of livelihoods as well as the generation of tax revenue.
- Politicians and community leaders should desist from making provocative utterances especially when campaigning for example that foreigners/refugees are responsible for the current problems of crime, unemployment and competition for resources, resulting in poverty. Such unfounded and offensive remarks incite hatred, resulting in xenophobic violence.
- Lastly, workshops should be promoted through agencies in order to build multi-share holder approaches that will help develop the informal sector. In the arts and crafts sector, there is a rich knowledge of culture which can be exchanged among the diverse groups of people which may as a result, end up crossing boundaries and allow nationalities to have a shared identity for the peace and prosperity of all.

5.4 Areas for further research

Governments in developing countries should stop treating the informal sector as a nuisance since it has the ability to tackle the ills of unemployment and poverty. In this regard arts and crafts can create innovation and specialised entrepreneurship which if well supported can transition into formal employment. The findings of the study illustrated that there is a need for further research to investigate the elusive nature of these informal activities and harness them into the mainstream economy to contribute towards the GDP and the payment of tax.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided a summary of findings of the study, indicating that trading in craft markets by Zimbabwean crafters has positively transformed their livelihoods as most came to South Africa with very little or no capital. The theoretical framework applied in the study has revealed that livelihoods can be enhanced through diversification of resource portfolios such as human, natural, social, physical and financial capital. Literature sources call for more consideration to be given to the informal sector as a source of livelihood which can help reduce unemployment and alleviate poverty. In doing so it requires careful planning in terms of the broad Spatial Planning Framework of the city and the local area Spatial Development Frameworks (DPLG, 2006) that promote development of infrastructure to create a favourable environment for business. This however can only be achieved if government and other stakeholders promote the informal sector as a potential vehicle for employment creation.

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APPENDICES:

Appendix A

Questionnaire for Zimbabwean craft traders based at the Hout Bay craft market.

My name is Tracy Zambara, a student at the University of Western Cape, Cape Town, in South Africa. I am conducting research to assess the livelihood sustenance of Zimbabwean traders through trading at the craft markets in the Hout Bay area, Cape Town, South Africa. In light of this, you are invited to fill in this questionnaire. All information collected in this questionnaire is anonymous and confidential. The information that you provide will be used solely for academic purposes. It will take about 30 minutes to fill in this questionnaire. Your participation and input will be highly appreciated.

Section A: Personal information

1. Age

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| 18- 29 years | |
| 30-39 years | |
| 40-49 years | |
| 50-60 years | |
| 60 years and above | |

2. Gender

| | |
|------|--------|
| Male | Female |
|------|--------|

3. Marital status.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Single (never married) | |
| Married | |
| Living with partner (co-habiting) | |
| Married but separated | |
| Divorced | |
| Widowed | |

4. Highest educational qualification.

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Grade 11 or Ordinary level | |
| Matric or Advanced level | |
| Certificate or Diploma | |
| Degree | |
| Post Graduate Degree | |



5. Employment status.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Self-employed | |
| Working for someone | |
| Working with friends/family | |
| Other | |

6. Residential status in South Africa

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Undocumented | |
| Asylum Seeker | |
| Refugee (Section 24) | |
| Student /Work permit | |
| Permanent Resident | |

7. Size of your household, i.e., the number of people, including yourself who live in your house for at least three months of the year.

| | |
|------------|--|
| Live alone | |
| 2 people | |
| 3 people | |
| 4 people | |
| 5 or more | |



8. How would you describe the area where you reside?

| | |
|----------------|--|
| High Density | |
| Medium Density | |
| Low Density | |
| Other | |

9. What mode of transport do you use?

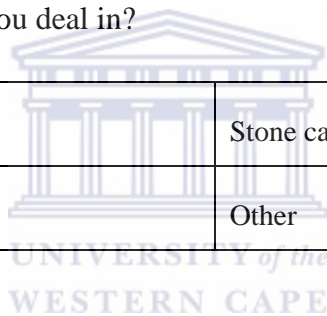
| | |
|------------|--|
| Own car | |
| Taxi / Bus | |
| Train | |
| Other | |

Section B: Experience of the craft business

This section of the questionnaire explores respondents' experiences of the craft market business in Hout Bay.

10. What type of craft do you deal in?

| | |
|----------------|----------------|
| Wire and Beads | Stone carvings |
| Wood carvings | Other |



11. Where do you produce your craft?

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| At home | Workshop |
| Back yard industry | Open space |
| Gallery | |

12. Who do you consider your biggest customers?

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| European tourists | Local tourists |
| Asian tourists | African tourists from the continent |

Give reasons for your answer.

.....
.....

13. Are you able to speak or understand any official South African language?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

If no, how does this affect your relationship with customers? Explain.

.....
.....

14. What is the average selling price of your art as the finished product? Please verify costs and structure of price per product by filling in the table.

| Size of product | Selling price per item (in Rands) |
|------------------------|--|
| Small | |
| Medium | |
| Large | |

15. What would you say is your average income per month?

| | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Less than R2000 | R 5000 – R10 000 |
| R 2000 – R 5000 | R 10 000 or more |

16. What is your production (manufacturing) level? Please give your answer in terms of the number or quantity of what you can make.

.....
.....

17. Do you think there is room for improvement? If yes, please explain how?

.....
.....



End of Questionnaire. Thank you very much for your participation.

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Appendix B

Semi-structured questionnaire for Zimbabwean craft traders based at the Hout Bay craft market.

My name is Tracy Zambara, a student at the University of Western Cape, in Cape Town, South Africa. I am conducting research to assess the livelihood sustenance by Zimbabwean traders through trading at the craft markets in the Hout Bay area, Cape Town, South Africa. In light of this, you are invited to fill in this questionnaire. All information collected in this questionnaire is anonymous and confidential. The information that you provide will be used solely for academic purposes. It will take about 30 minutes to fill in this questionnaire. Your participation and input will be highly appreciated.

Crafters' perceptions regarding their crafts and craft markets

This section explores respondents' perceptions regarding their experiences with their crafts and craft markets.

1. Which are the best-selling months for your type of products and why? Give reasons for your answer.

.....
.....

2. What seasons of the year would you say you feel the most vulnerable in terms of your trading and why?

.....
.....

3. Do you perceive that your current situation has improved from when you were still residing in your home country? Explain how.

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

.....
.....

4. Please rank your previous quality of life according to the scale

1. Poor
2. Fair
3. Good
4. Very Good
5. Excellent

5. Please rank your current quality of life according to the scale

1. Poor
2. Fair
3. Good
4. Very Good
5. Excellent



6. In terms of your livelihood, which of the following from the given responses would you say has positively impacted your life? Please rank according to importance.

1. More Income
2. Increased well-being
3. Improved food quality
4. Very little change
5. No change

7. Are you a member of any network/ association?

| | |
|-----|--|
| Yes | |
| No | |

If yes, what benefits do you get as a result of this membership?

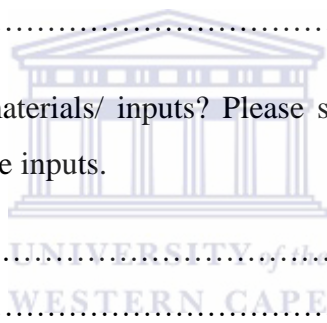
.....
.....

8. As a crafter what do you say are the most difficult problems you encounter in the business? Please Explain.

.....
.....

9. Do you buy your own raw materials/ inputs? Please specify the type of raw materials/ inputs and frequency of buying the inputs.

.....
.....



10. What are your future plans for your arts/ crafts? (Where do you see yourself?)

.....
.....

End of Questionnaire. Thank you very much for your participation.

Appendix C

Letter of consent: for Zimbabwean crafters in Hout Bay.

I, have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

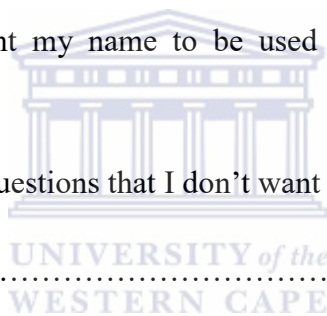
I agree to take part in this research.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to explain myself.

I am aware that this interview might result in research which may be published, but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).

I understand that if I don't want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.

I may also refuse to answer any questions that I don't want to answer.



Participant Name:

Participant Signature:

Interviewer's name:

Interviewer's Signature:

Date:

If you have any questions concerning this research, feel free to call : Tracy Zambara, cell no 0782042201 or my Supervisor Dr Sharon Penderis, Tel +27 (0) 219593858/6.

Appendix D

INFORMATION SHEET (Questionnaire for Zimbabwean foreigners in Cape Town (Hout Bay))

Project Title: The role of Hout Bay markets in sustaining the livelihoods of Zimbabwean traders:

What is this study about?

My name is Tracy Zambara, a student at the University of Western Cape in South Africa. I am conducting research to assess the livelihood sustenance by Zimbabwean foreigners through trading at the craft markets in the Hout Bay area, Cape Town, South Africa. It is believed that the results of this study will assist Zimbabwean foreigners, policy makers, municipalities, locals (the unemployed) and other interested stakeholders with information that might improve their quality of life and to finding coping mechanisms that enhance their livelihood sustainability. In view of this, I am inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a Zimbabwean foreigner in Cape Town and your ideas and opinions will be of great value to this study. Your participation and input will be highly appreciated.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

If you agree to participate in this research project, you will be asked to fill in a questionnaire aimed at evaluating the livelihood sustenance by Zimbabwean foreigners surviving through trading at craft markets and assessing the level of impact of this operation. It will take about 30 minutes to 1 hour to fill in the questionnaire.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information, including your name will be kept confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone. Only pseudonyms will be used in the final report and in all published reports to protect your privacy. Your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. This research project involves making audiotapes and photographs of your products. All information obtained from the interview will be treated with strict confidentiality and will be used for research purposes only. The questionnaires will be kept securely in a locked filing

cabinet in my research room that will only be accessed by me. Furthermore, you and I will be asked to sign a consent form that binds me to keep to what we would have agreed upon.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the researcher to learn more about the level of the livelihood sustenance of Zimbabwean foreigners in the craft markets, and also look at the opportunities and threats involved in this relationship. It is hoped that this study will allow policy makers, development practitioners and various stake holders to have a deeper knowledge and understanding of the challenges which foreign refugees face in terms of their livelihood sustainability, hence this study seeks to bring about informed and better ways of improving policies on livelihoods sustainability and informal trading.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

This research will not expose you to any harm as a result of your participation.

What if I have questions?

If you have any questions feel free to contact Tracy Zambara, the researcher, at 5 Hampton Court, Howard Hamlet, Pinelands 7405, Cape Town, South Africa. My phone number is +2778 2042201 and my e-mail address is vrrtess@yahoo.com.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact my supervisor Dr Sharon Penderis at The Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape. Her telephone number is +27 (0) 21 959 3858/6.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Professor Julian May

Head of Department: Institute for Social Development

School of Government

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17

Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

