

https://dspace.org/

Exploring the South African craft policy framework : a case-study of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme in KwaZulu-Natal

Robertson, Nicola Ayana

2015-02-13
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/16971

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Exploring the South African craft policy framework:

A case-study of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme in KwaZulu-Natal

Nicola Ayana Robertson



A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor: Chantal Collet

February 2014

ABSTRACT

The report explores the South African craft policy framework using, as a case-study, the iSimangaliso Craft Programme in KwaZulu-Natal, and its attempts to assist rural women craft producers through a partnership with a major South African home décor chain store. The purpose was to examine the feasibility of South African craft policy in the rural context, the extent to which rural women benefit from craft production and sales in the market economy; and the constraints on the actors in the craft sector (including the crafters) with regards to the creation or transformation of rural craft producers into small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs).

The study used the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) framework to shift the research focus away from craft for economic benefit to the broader perspective of 'tangible and intangible costs and benefits'. The livelihood outcomes the women crafters pursued, the strategies they adopted to achieve them, and the extent to which the Craft Programme fitted into their lives were examined. An actor-oriented approach helped determine the 'social interface' or dynamics between the actors in the sector when they try to implement craft policy. The research was qualitative, and mixed methods such as semi-structured interviews and focus groups were used to gather data. Thematic content analysis was used to mine data for information relating to the main research questions.

The study found that the women crafters draw on multiple strategies to cope and that craft is desirable for its ability to 'fit' with other livelihood strategies. The study also found that SMME development policy created a strain on both craft producers and government agencies. It is suggested that a 'context-sensitive' and people-centred framework for craft development is needed.

The South African government needs to consider the contexts of craft producers and develop appropriate interventions aligned to the social and economic outcomes that people pursue. One possible option is the social enterprise 'market intermediary' model which provides services to its target population to help them access markets. This model could leverage resources from both sectors to create truly economic and social value for rural craft producers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to dedicate this research report firstly to the women of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme who unknowingly have had a major influence on my life. This report is also dedicated to all the hard-working rural women on the continent who I respect and admire greatly.

I would like to thank all the respondents that participated in this research and gave their time either for interviews or focus groups. I would like to extend my thanks to the iSimangaliso Authority for allowing me to complete this research, and specifically to Bronwyn James and Nonkululeko Lafuleni.

This report would not have been possible without the assistance of my supervisor, Chantal Collet; my academic mentor, Reason Beremauro; and my academic editor, Rob Hamilton. I would like to thank them for their dedication in assisting me to complete this report.

I would like to extend a very special thanks to a friend and mentor, Colleen Crawford Cousins, for firstly training me to become a “development practitioner”, and secondly for her unending support of my studies and my career.

I would like to thank my friend and ex-colleague Zamokuhle Nkosi for assisting me with this research and for taking time away from his business to act as my interpreter in the field. And also to all my close friends who supported me during the period of my studies.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my family for giving me the opportunity to complete these studies, and in doing so, giving me the opportunity to change, to grow, and to learn. None of this would have been possible without their unwavering support, both financial and physical. Thank you very much Mac and Barbara Robertson, Dawn Robertson and Praveen Naidoo, and to the rest of my family who are always kind and supportive.

To my (now five-year-old) son Bayanda Robertson Sibiya – mommy is finally finished with her studies, let’s play!

ABBREVIATIONS

DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
CCDI	Cape Craft and Design Institute
CIGS	Cultural Industries Growth Strategy
CSP	Customised Sector Programme
IPAP	Industrial Policy Action Plan
KZN DEDT	KwaZulu-Natal Department of Economic Development and Tourism
MAPPP-SETA	Media Advertising Publishing Printing Packaging Sector Education Training Authority
NLDTF	National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund
NWCDI	North West Craft and Design Institute
SEDA	Small Enterprise Development Agency
SETA	Sector Education Training Authority
SMME	Small Medium Micro Enterprise
UNCTAD	United Nations Council on Trade and Development

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts, Culture and Heritage Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

(Nicola Ayana Robertson)

_____day of_____ 2014

Contents

ABSTRACT i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

ABBREVIATIONS iii

DECLARATION iv

Contents v

Chapter 1 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2 Formal outline of the Craft Programme 5

1.3 Rationale 7

1.4 Theoretical framework 8

1.5 Structure of the report 10

Chapter 2 12

Literature Review 12

2.1 Introduction 12

2.2 Policy document analysis 12

2.3 The developmental state 15

2.4 SMME policy 16

2.5 People-centred participation 19

2.6 Craft producers in the global marketplace 21

2.7 Craft literature themes 22

2.8 Key constraints in developing nations **23**

2.9 Current paradigms **23**

2.10 Benefits of craft development **26**

Chapter 3 ..... **27**

Methodology **27**

3.1 Introduction **27**

3.2 Research methods **29**

3.3 In-depth interviews **29**

3.4 Focus group discussions **30**

3.5 Key informant interviews **32**

3.6 Method of analysis **33**

Chapter 4 ..... **34**

The views of the women and issues in the Craft Programme **34**

4.1 Introduction **34**

4.2 Profiles of the women **34**

4.3 Survival strategies **37**

4.3.1 Education 37

4.3.2 Multiple income earning aspirations 37

4.3.3 Training 38

4.3.4 The importance of social groups 39

4.3.5 Church 39

4.3.6 Stokvel and gardening groups 40

4.3.7 Political parties 40

4.3.8 Groups and belonging 41

4.3.9 Natural resources 42

4.3.10 Coping strategies in times of crisis 42

4.3.11 Financial services 43

4.3.12 Remittance income 43

4.3.13 Vulnerability 44

4.4 The iSimangaliso Craft Programme 45

4.4.1 Attraction to craft 46

4.4.2 Benefits of production for a home décor chain 50

4.4.3 Challenges crafters face when their understanding of business is limited 50

4.4.4 Challenges crafters face doing business in the marketplace 52

4.4.5 Challenges with production 53

4.4.6 Challenges with transport 54

4.4.7 Challenges with delivery 54

4.4.8 Challenges with payments 55

4.4.9 Challenges managing production costs 56

4.4.10 Challenges with communication 57

4.4.11 Market Access Challenges faced by crafters 58

4.4.12 Accessing orders through the Craft Programme 58

4.4.13 The limitations of local markets 59

4.5 Summary 61

Chapter 5 63

The views of government and the structures within the craft sector 63

5.1 Developmental state/ SMME policy 63

5.2 People-centred participation vs. bottom-line thinking 72

5.3 Summary 75

Chapter 6 77

Discussion 77

6.1 Introduction 77

6.2 Craft producers in the global marketplace 79

6.3 Craft research themes: agency/women 82

6.4 Current paradigms 83

6.5 Benefits of craft development 87

Chapter 7 89

Conclusion 89

Bibliography 97

Interview Schedule 103

Focus Group Schedule 103

Appendix 1: Consent forms **104**

Informed Consent for Participating in an Interview **104**

Informed Consent for Participating in a Focus Group **106**

Appendix 2: Key informant interview schedules **109**

2.1 Home decor chain **109**

2.2 iSimangaliso Authority **110**

2.3 DAC, DTI and KZN-DEDT **111**

Appendix 3: Crafters interview and focus group schedule **113**

3.1 Interview questions **113**

3.1.1 Vulnerability Context 113

3.1.2 Livelihood Assets 114

3.1 .3 Craft Activity 118

3.2 Focus group questions **119**

3.2.1 Craft Activity 119

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The iSimangaliso Authority is the management authority of the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, a World Heritage Site of spectacular natural beauty and rich biodiversity in northern KwaZulu-Natal. The Park is unique for its diversity of fauna and flora, resulting from a variety of different ecosystems, including coral reefs, beaches, subtropical dune forests, savannah and wetlands.



The iSimangaliso Craft Programme, which provides a case-study for this research project, was formed by the iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority in 1999, the same year that the Park was declared a World Heritage Site. The World Heritage Convention Act gives the iSimangaliso

Wetland Park Authority a mandate to deliver tangible benefits to communities living in and around the park, and, therefore, the conservation strategy in the region must acknowledge the development needs of the people living in the region (Jampol, 2008). Development initiatives in the park must balance protection and rehabilitation of the environment with social and economic development, and should empower historically disadvantaged communities (Jampol, 2008). The Authority offers a range of integrated rural development programmes to address the development needs of communities. The Craft Programme provides focused support for income generation for women. Many of these rural women are older, deprived of a formal education and unlikely to be formally employed (iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, n.d.).



The Craft Programme was designed as an intervention to build the capacity of crafters to produce and sell their craft products in a range of higher-value markets. The Programme sought to build upon the existing skills and materials of the crafters, who were selling their products in local markets and on the sides of roads at very low prices, barely covering raw material costs. There was very little product diversity, and competition between crafters for the local tourist market drove prices down (iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, n.d.).

In northern KwaZulu-Natal, the craft scene is dominated by women who weave a range of grasses into products such as baskets and traditional sleeping mats *(amacansi*) from locally sourced raw materials such as palm *(ilala)* and grass *(isikhonko).* The products are predominantly utilitarian and are produced for use in households. The women use traditional weaving techniques that have been passed down over centuries and traditional dyes produced from local plants or roots.

The Craft Programme initially organised about 400 women in the region into 24 craft groups. The Programme used market information to guide a product development process aimed at selling craft to urban markets. Product development, improved quality standards and a range of new colours were introduced to add value to craft products. The Programme also focused on training in costing and pricing, marketing, economies of scale in materials, transport, producing volume, negotiating with buyers, and producing and delivering orders. The criterion for the Programme's success was improved income for crafters.

Over the years crafters participating in the Programme have had exposure to product development, production management, market linkages, organisational development and craft enterprise training (iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, n.d.). This study specifically explores the South African craft policy framework using the iSimangaliso Craft Programme as a case-study. The study attempts to determine the following:

1. Is the current South African craft policy framework realistic and appropriate in rural areas such as northern KwaZulu-Natal?
2. Have rural women participating in the Authority's Craft programme in northern KwaZulu-Natal benefitted from craft production and sales?
3. What are the perspectives of the actors in this case-study with regard to the creation or transformation of rural craft producers into small micro medium enterprises (SMMEs)?

The study aimed to answer these questions by focusing on a specific period in the implementation of the Programme (between 2005 and 2007), when the Programme was in partnership with a home décor chain. During this period earnings from craft sales peaked and the Craft Programme's policy goal of securing a market for large-scale production was realised. This spurred craft groups into the management of large-scale production of orders, quality control and self-organised delivery of products.

South Africa's craft development policy suggests that we measure the impact on crafters in economic terms, in order to determine the extent to which the partnership was beneficial. However, in this study, the analysis of this intervention took a more nuanced approach by focusing on the livelihoods of crafters and shifting the focus away from purely economic benefits. The analysis sought to better understand factors driving the participation of crafters. By using a livelihoods analysis, the study attempts to determine whether or not the Craft Programme articulated or spoke to the livelihood strategies in the region and the extent to which crafters' lives were enhanced or constrained.

Secondly, the study also considers whether South African macro-economic policy is sensitive to the constraints of rural development. It highlights the need to determine more appropriate craft development strategies for rural craft producers, whilst emphasising the need for a rural development strategy that both considers and transcends economics.

The study also illustrates some of the synergies and challenges between different economic departments in the state sector, such as the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), and their policies on SMMEs. The challenges for the various departments in defining their roles and responsibilities within the craft sector and their determination to support the development of viable SMMEs are examined.

The case-study also examines the interface between the actors who undertook the partnership. The iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, a parastatal organisation, and to some extent the driver of government policy, initiated the Craft Programme; the home décor chain was the market for, or buyer of, craft products; and the craft producers were the primary beneficiaries of the partnership. The study demonstrates the need for collaboration and cooperation across a range

of government agencies concerned with economic, social and cultural development: the private sector (the market) and the craft producers (the primary beneficiaries of craft policy).

In this study the iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority became the intermediary between rural crafters and the home décor chain in order to implement a craft programme. The craft strategy attempted to link crafters directly to markets. The notion was that by removing the middleman, fair trade was promoted and crafters were less likely to be exploited. The study illustrates the challenges that rural crafters experienced in attempting to access high-end markets and to manage the relationship with buyers. These challenges could not be overcome without an intermediary (in this case the iSimangaliso Craft Programme).

This study attempts to provide a point of departure to think critically about the current craft policy framework in the context of rural development. This requires thinking hard and honestly about the challenges of rural craft development. Is there sufficient evidence that rural craft can deliver economic and cultural value?

1.2 Formal outline of the Craft Programme

Seeing the potential for generating income for people from linking traditional skills to urban markets, the Authority designed the Craft Programme. The Programme recruited prominent South African product designers with well-established links to both South African and international markets, to design and develop products that increased crafters' access to high-end décor markets. They later embarked on a nine-month full time training initiative in partnership with CreateSA (MAPPP-SETA), to train young urban design graduates to work with rural crafters.

The programme also provided training to crafters in craft enterprise skills and product development. They focused on costing, pricing, marketing, economies of scale in materials, transport, producing volume (co-operating to bring down costs and deliver goods), negotiating with buyers, and producing and delivering orders.

The Craft Programme set up marketing links based on the principle of fair trade between the crafters and markets. As part of the training programme, each craft group leader made a marketing trip to Durban, where they were introduced to a buyer and learned the city - where to stay, how to get around, where to buy materials, and where to sell their products. These trips practically demonstrated the sessions on pricing, quality and market differentiation.

Many of the challenges facing craft groups arose because of the power relations that emerge between people in resource poor areas. Product developers were frequently called on to work with the social and institutional issues that constrained craft groups' progress and success. The craft groups benefited from frequent visits from product development and organisational development specialists.

The Programme's approach was developmental, participatory and learner centred. It placed the self-reliance of crafters at the centre of the programme strategy. It aimed to build the self-esteem and self-reliance of crafters through developing their creative and analytic capacity. Successful craft groups involved in the programme organised their own materials, negotiated with buyers, produced and delivered orders, and received payment independently of the Authority.

Success in the craft programme was measured by the growth of crafter self-organisation and self-reliance, the number of craft groups operating in the target area (particularly in land claimant communities), and the financial value and continuity of orders. The programme was dynamic with craft groups moving in and out of production based on available orders. The Authority's role was to find funding support and new markets for emerging craft groups while maintaining orders for existing groups.

During this time social changes occurred that allowed much greater intra-programme communication and cooperation. Initially very few rural people had cell phones, cell phone coverage was poor and communication with and between groups was a lengthy and expensive process involving driving around setting up meetings or using scarce and expensive public transport. Once cell phones were ubiquitous and coverage was good, telecommunication radically changed the programme's modus operandi and opened up many more possibilities for self-organisation.

Representatives from each craft group learned how to set up and use an email address, and how to send cell phone photographs of product to buyers. It was envisaged that over time, crafters would be able to play a much more effective role in receiving and disseminating information regarding orders, samples, deliveries, and issues relating to products and payments (iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, n.d.).

It is important to note that at the time of writing this report years had passed since the initiative with the home décor chain and I was unable to retrieve any documents detailing the specifics of the programme; namely figures of how many products were sold, unit size of orders, the amount of money earned per craft group and/ or per crafter. I relied primarily on my own memory and the information provided by the crafters, and how closely that correlated with my first hand recollection of the initiative.

1.3 Rationale

The focus on women's economic transformation and development in South Africa is deliberate and is predicated upon several factors. More women than men in Africa live below the poverty line (Gettu, 2012). Some of the major reasons for the high poverty rates amongst women (especially those living in rural areas) are low levels of education or a lack of education, limited access to economic resources, and cultural practices that discriminate against women (and in particular, property inheritance).Collectively, these factors impede women's social and economic empowerment (Gettu, 2012). The higher unemployment rate amongst South African women is a clear indicator that women are more affected by poverty than men. Black rural women, in particular, have lower incomes and less job security than men (Goldblatt & McLean, 2011). Within this context, the South African government views the production and sale of craft as a viable means for the alleviation of poverty, especially in rural contexts.

The iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority designed the Craft Programme as an attempt to implement the policies set out in the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) of 1998. The challenges and difficulties the Programme has experienced in terms of poverty alleviation are of

national strategic importance, and should be documented as a contribution to the rural development debate (iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, n.d.).

The extent to which the South African craft policy framework is implementable in the rural context and the extent to which it is a catalyst for rural development are explored in this study.

The Craft Programme model presents a unique case study of rural craft development programmes in South Africa. Study of this programme will hopefully assist in understanding the disjuncture between South African craft policy (as first outlined in CIGS),the subsequent craft development strategy initiated by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI),and the lived reality of rural women in northern KwaZulu-Natal. The study also analyses the extent to which craft policy could be effectively implemented on the ground in a rural area in northern KwaZulu-Natal between 2005 and 2007.

This study highlights previously undocumented challenges in implementing craft policy by adopting a livelihoods approach and by focussing on the views of the Programme participants. Impact assessment with regard to craft programmes tends to be driven primarily by economic determinants. This study will attempt to reveal how craft affects the lives of rural women, and will factor in multiple aspects and benefits of craft production based on the 'livelihood outcomes' that rural crafters consider important.

1.4 Theoretical framework

In this section I discuss the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) framework and its value in this study in terms of shifting the perspective away from economic determinants of 'success'. I also discuss the actor-oriented approach, which I used to critically examine the differing perspectives of actors involved in the South African craft sector.

A concept of growing importance in the development debate is that of 'sustainable livelihoods' (Scoones, 1998).The Institute of Development Studies (IDS) draws on Chambers and Conway (1992) and others to define sustainable livelihoods as comprising of capabilities, assets (including

both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base (Scoones, 1998:5).

The framework acknowledges that livelihoods are shaped by many changing 'forces and factors', and that 'people-centred analysis' requires an investigation of people's assets, their objectives (the Livelihood Outcomes which they are seeking) and the Livelihood Strategies which they adopt to achieve these objectives (DFID, 1999).

Livelihood Strategies is the term used to describe 'the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals' (DFID, 1999:23). Livelihood Outcomes happen when Livelihood Strategies are employed (DFID, 1999).Some examples of Livelihood Outcomes are: greater income, enhanced well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and a more sustainable use of the natural resource base.

In the Sustainable Livelihoods(SL) framework an important idea related to Livelihood Outcomes is that as outsiders, researchers should 'investigate, observe and listen', and they should refrain from jumping to conclusions or making judgments about 'the exact nature of the outcomes that people pursue' (DFID, 1999:25). We should not assume that people are only concerned with increasing their income and we should try to understand 'people's priorities, why they do what they do and where the major constraints lie' (DFID, 1999:25).

Whilst the primary objective of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme is to improve the income of crafters, the SL approach suggests that programmes be judged on their contribution to the achievement of the Livelihood Outcomes that the crafters themselves consider important (DFID, 1999). This study attempts to describe the crafters' desired Livelihood Outcomes and the extent to which the Craft Programme assisted them in achieving these outcomes.

The analysis includes an overview of livelihood needs and strategies, an assessment of how craft activities fit into and affect these needs and strategies, and recommendations as to how the Craft Programme can have a greater impact on livelihoods and increase the participation of crafters (Ashley, 2000). Ashley (2000:14) states that rural development in practice is often focused on cash income and employment generation but that in countering this 'the livelihoods perspective helps to shift the focus to a broader range of tangible and intangible costs and benefits'.

This study also draws on the actor-oriented approach advocated by the development sociologist Norman Long. The actor-oriented approach seeks to develop an 'ethnographic understanding of the 'social life of development projects – from conception to realisation – as well as the response and lived experiences of the variously located and affected social actors' (Long, 2001:14-15). The approach facilitates an understanding of the ways in which the actors operate, the differences between their formal objectives and goals, and the objectives that emerge through the practices and strategies pursued. The approach recognises that practice is not a smooth translation of policy into reality. The process is often uncontrollable and the results uncertain.

The approach also acknowledges that people confront one another with different understandings, beliefs and commitments in their interactions. Long developed the concept of 'social interface' to analyse the dynamic of these interactions and uses this concept of social interface to explore how development interventions enter the life-worlds of local actors and institutions (Brümmer, 2007).

The social interface in this study is the 'space' within which government policy-making bodies, the management of the Craft Programme, the management of the home décor chain, the Craft Programme staff and the crafters meet and encounter each other's differences, while engaging with a common problem. All the actors bring different interpretations and try to promote their own interests (Brümmer, 2007).This study aimed to understand such differing interpretations and to examine the interface between craft policy and implementation.

1.5 Structure of the report

This chapter presented the arguments made in this report. The next chapter includes an analysis of the craft policy documents relevant to this study, and I review some of the literature pertaining to the study.

Chapter three will discuss the methodology adopted in gathering the data for this study. Chapter four gives the reader some insights into the views of the women in the Craft Programme, and also discusses some of the challenges of the Craft Programme.

Chapter five discusses the views of government with regards to craft policy and implementation and explains the structures within the sector. Chapter six is a discussion about the findings in the study, and in chapter seven I discuss some of the recommendations for craft policy and the craft sector based on this study. I also make a number of recommendations based on my research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief analysis of the craft policy documents relevant to this study.

I then examine some of the literature pertaining to the study. The chapter includes a short discussion of the notion of a developmental state and then analyses some of the debates regarding craft policy in the context of the developmental state. The chapter also focuses on SMME development policy in the context of the craft sector and rural development.

2.2 Policy document analysis

These documents were collected and reviewed before the research began. Policy documents relevant to the craft sector were analysed thoroughly: specifically the White Paper on Arts and Culture, the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS), the DTI's *Sector Development Strategy for Craft or Customised Sector Programme (CSP)*, and the DAC's *Mzansi's Golden Economy: Contribution of the Arts, Culture and Heritage Sector to the New Growth Path*.

The 1996 White Paper for Arts, Culture and Heritage was South Africa's first significant policy development pertaining to the arts since 1994. In the document craft is considered integral to arts, culture and heritage. The White Paper emphasises the potential of the sector for providing employment 'for large numbers of people in rural and urban communities and in a wide range of formal and informal industries' (DACST, 1996:17). The document also acknowledges the coordinating and promotional role that government must play within the sector. Emphasis is placed on the need to overcome the lack of coordination within the sector by facilitating cooperation between the government, parastatal organisations and non-governmental organisations at national, provincial and local levels. The feasibility is mentioned of an agency or

other mechanisms acting to provide opportunities for the development and marketing of the sector (DACST, 1996).

In 1998 'craft' was identified as one of the four pillars of potential for economic growth, together with music, publishing, and film with the South African Craft Industry Report, prepared for the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS). The report states why the craft sector is considered important by the government:

> *Craft provides employment for vulnerable segments of society; craft is an entry point into the economy for rural South Africans; most craft business is small business and the development of SMMEs is vital for the economy; craft is a source of innovation for the entire economy and design and innovation in the manufacturing industries is vital for long-term economic growth and overcoming barriers to international trade; craft is linked to and can impact on the development in other industries such as tourism, formal manufacturing and retail sectors; the development of the country's skills base and labour pool is a national priority; there are growing export and local markets for craft products (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998).*

The CIGS provides policy recommendations for the development of craft sector. Research had shown the need for both a rural and an urban strategy for expanding the craft sector, if the sector was to 'realistically increase the income generated in the two different craft enterprise environments'. The strategy looks at the 'logic and potential benefits, the targeted audience or recipients and recommended interventions' (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998:86). The development of the craft sector was seen as being for the benefit of 'vulnerable' and economically disadvantaged segments of South African society, such as rural women, disabled people, street children and the unemployed.

The principles of craft policy are described in the CIGS. They are:

(1) A small business approach is preferable to a welfare approach: strategies should not merely promote social welfare for unemployed people. The interventions made by the public sector and/or NGOs should not become unsustainable sheltered workshop enterprises with no strong market connection; and become dependent on charity and financial support from external sources.

(2) Government commitment should be as follows: craft support activities and craft product consumption should be incorporated into the mission and operations of all national and provincial government departments. In doing so craft production can be transformed into a significant employment generating, low capital and expandable part of the macro-economic growth strategy for South Africa. Informal traders must be integrated into the formal economy.

(3) Social and economic sustainability means that the growth of the sector must be socially and economically sustainable. The principle of sustainability must be acknowledged by policy makers and craft development agents as the foundation for public sector interventions in the craft sector. Projects that do receive support must be researched comprehensively to establish their level of social and economic sustainability.

(4) Cultural heritage issues mean that South African culture must be promoted to raise awareness of craft domestically and internationally. The products of South Africa's diverse cultures must be exhibited to achieve a better understanding and interest in them. Craft is a means of cultural expression through which we can promote African heritage (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998).

The CIGS recognises that 'the needs of rural communities in South Africa are intimately linked to shortages of infrastructure, information, supplies, services, and income-earning opportunities' (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998: 89). The central challenge identified is the creation of huge numbers of income-earning opportunities within rural communities in South Africa. Most rural craft enterprise is 'survivalist', i.e. characterised by poverty and the need to survive, as opposed to viable SMMEs.

The policy identifies various hurdles to rural craft enterprises. A major hurdle is that there are no purchasing and marketing institutions linking small producers to large buyers in the private or public sector. Access to markets is limited by the producers' poor design skills and poor quality, the lack of availability of quality raw materials, and the high costs of transportation to deliver products to the market. Rural communities are described as struggling to access support services owing to a lack of interfacing mechanisms and methods of communication between public sector service providers and craft producers. Rural producers are perceived as needing access to comprehensive sourcing services that can establish reliable and reasonably priced supply lines for the raw materials that they need. The policy also mentions that there are limited cash and

credit facilities available to survivalists, and they are unable to wait long periods for payment or enter into supply agreements with retailers that require 30 to 90 days to pay. Finally, crafters are described as having limited access to banking facilities, which are usually situated in towns or urban centres. The factors described are all connected to 'the general isolation of rural communities from urban areas and complexes' (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998:90).

The aims and strategies for craft sector development are outlined in the CIGS. They are: 'to facilitate growth and development in the craft industry; to generate jobs and wealth for rural crafters in particular; [and] to raise awareness both locally and internationally as to the cultural significance of craft' (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998: 89).

The policy documents analysed emphasise programmes and interventions on the supply side. Little is suggested regarding how to go about creating demand-pull for rural craft products or fostering the macro environment required for creating a thriving rural manufacturing economy. Whilst the understandings of rural craft development constraints are well documented in the CIGS, the interventions suggested demonstrate a lack of understanding of the level of input required to undertake rural craft development initiatives. Suggestions for publications and directories to provide information to assist craft producers demonstrate a lack of understanding of the target audience, i.e. illiterate or semi-literate rural women. The craft sector is unthinkingly cast into general SMME development and support programmes currently maintained by DTI.

More current craft strategy is dispersed between the Department of Arts and Culture, in *Mzansi's Golden Economy – Contribution of the Arts, Culture and Heritage Sector to the New Growth Path*, and the Department of Trade and Industry, in its Sector Development Strategy for Craft or Customised Sector Programme (CSP). The policies of both departments are influenced by government's macro-economic policy frameworks – currently the New Growth Path.

2.3 The developmental state

This study is broadly located within the framework of development studies and the notion of the developmental state. The 'developmental state' refers to the model used by many East Asian

nations to modernise their economies (Gumede, 2009). A developmental state sets specific development goals and then single-mindedly mobilises society to achieve industrial modernisation (Johnson, 1982). Developmental state theory is based on the idea that a centralised state must secure its development objectives by interacting with the private sector from a position of authority (Wade, 1990).

Developmental states are concerned with ensuring sustained economic growth and development through 'high rates of accumulation, industrialisation and structural change' (UNCTAD, 2007: 60). The developmental state plays an active role in the direction, pace and goals of development. The state does not leave development to uncoordinated market forces or an 'invisible hand' to allocate resources in the economy (Johnson, 1982). Africa does not have a good record of constructing development states. Few African countries have managed 'to use the state effectively to stimulate high growth rates, boost trade and slash poverty' (Gumede, 2009:6).

The South African government has explicitly set out to construct a democratic developmental state. Scholars such as Gumede (2009) question South Africa's ability to construct a developmental state in its specific political, social and economic context, while also deepening its democracy. Gumede (*ibid*) argues that South Africa as a democratic developmental state is a work in progress but that the country's stability may depend on successfully achieving the goals of development and democratisation. South Africa's democracy is in trouble if it does not develop the majority of its population, the poor, and incorporate them into the economy (Du Toit & Neves, 2013).

2.4 SMME policy

South Africa's craft policy framework leans towards supply-side interventions. However, in the context of a developmental state the policies for craft development should also consist of demand-side interventions that create a favourable economic environment, stimulated by high rates of agricultural growth and sound infrastructure and social services. Successful rural craft producers have a favourable economic environment. In order to promote the rural SMME economy in Asia it was recognised that absent or inadequate infrastructure was an important element of the macro-

economic environment that needed to be addressed to promote the rural SMME economy. China, Indonesia and Taiwan have stimulated the markets for rural production enterprises by building rural infrastructure. However, the lack of infrastructure in sub-Saharan Africa has reduced the potential of rural craft and the rural non-farm sector (Rogerson, 2000).

In the context of a developmental state the craft policy framework would be characterised by the right policy mix. The appropriate quality and content of policies is needed to stimulate the craft sector. This means 'getting the right policies in place, which includes getting the sequencing right and having the flexibility to change quickly when a strategy is not working' (Gumede, 2009: 10). The craft policy framework is also not effectively implemented in South Africa and should contribute to the success of a developmental state. Furthermore, it is not flexible and there is no willingness in government to experiment with what would work best at a given time and place.

Rogerson (2000: 204) advocates for the design of 'a complementary blend of interventions, on the one hand, for boosting the demand for the goods offered by rural producers and, on the other hand, for a set of supply-side interventions designed to assist rural entrepreneurs to enhance their often limited capacity to exploit the production opportunities presented to them'. He outlines three broad categories of policy interventions to assist the rural manufacturing economy and crafts (Rogerson, 2000).

The first set of policies is to expand the demand or markets for goods from rural producers. Within this category are macro-economic policies for sustained growth in rural areas in agriculture and tourism, or policies to reserve certain markets for rural producers through direct controls or through fiscal policies, i.e. lowering taxes on rural products, or government procurement rules to promote subcontracting linkages between rural producers and larger enterprises or urban-based enterprises. In Sri Lanka the government explicitly set out to develop rural small-scale industries by providing government assistance through providing sales outlets for crafts.

The second set of policy interventions could provide appropriate price incentives or market signals for rural producers, thus creating an 'enabling environment' for rural producers. This could involve improving unfavourable terms of trade between rural and urban areas, ensuring that rural producers are not discriminated against in government spending programmes, maintaining

realistic exchange rates, favourable domestic and import taxation, investment credit, and government involvement in product promotion and marketing.

The final group of policies relate to supply-side interventions which address rural producers' constraints. These policies acknowledge that there is a need for more than an 'enabling environment', but also a need to help rural producers respond to new opportunities. Supply-side interventions must address the obstacles faced by rural producers, such as that market signals may not reach rural areas because of a lack of communication; crafters may be illiterate/semi-literate, or channels of information don't exist or work; producers are not able to respond owing to an absence of markets or because banks, support services, training or technology sources are unavailable or inaccessible; support service providers may not have the capacity to respond to the needs of rural producers; and rural producers may have limited technical or business management skills, and, therefore, their ability to respond to new opportunities or changing market conditions is constrained.

Rogerson and Rogerson (2011) discuss some of the key interventions in craft development, specifically those pursued by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). These are initiatives that the DTI has taken to maximise the development impact of the craft sector in South Africa, as the sector is viewed as 'a strategic sector because it has the ability to contribute to economic growth' (Department of Trade and Industry, 2010:158).

The first is the implementation of a network of integrated craft hubs which will facilitate access to markets, provide information on market access for craft enterprises, provide business solutions and market-driven solutions to supply chain problems, provide a link between rural producers in the informal economy that allows them to meet market demand, and ensure market-pull for local craft enterprise development. The second is support for crafters to exhibit and participate in trade shows through which they can gain further access to markets.

Rogerson and Rogerson (2011) argue that the international experience supports cluster support programmes. The support for cluster development is in recognition of the fact that SMMEs cannot compete individually for market opportunities that require increased production capacity, consistent standards and regular deliveries. The integrated craft hub concept and support for

trade shows are viewed as promising interventions to catalyse the craft sector in South Africa. Rogerson and Rogerson (2011) view them as policy initiatives that have shown promising results.

2.5 People-centred participation

The central idea of 'economic growth' in development policy has been broadened to include notions of development as 'human-centred'. In order to assess the levels of development in countries, indicators have been expanded from those measuring material gains only to those that measure other aspects such as nutritional levels of the population, health status, literacy levels, educational access and environmental quality (Throsby, 2008). Sagnia (2005: 5) states that there is a growing realisation that economic criteria alone cannot provide quality of life which ensures human dignity and well-being and that 'there is clearly a need to transcend economics without abandoning it'.

As a result of the 'persistent poverty and extreme inequality' (Hunter *et al.*, 2003: 3) experienced in South Africa today, and the pressure on government to deliver economic empowerment, growth and employment to citizens, the 'economic bottom line' is privileged in government's thinking about craft (Gaylard, 2004). There also appears to be an underlying assumption that government investment must translate into self-sustaining craft businesses (Gaylard, 2004).

Gaylard (2004) provides an insightful review of the craft industry ten years into democracy. His analysis of the primary obstacles to the growth of the craft industry highlights the absence of a meaningful interface between producers and markets, i.e. the majority of craft producers are unable to adapt their work, modes of organisation and production to market demands and opportunities, and crafters struggle to make a living when they are both conceptually and geographically removed from real or potential markets. Gaylard also acknowledges that the poor performance of the sector has been aggravated by the loss of cultural traditions and practices over the last century. This cultural capital should be the creative foundation for producing saleable craft and has been considerably eroded.

Gaylard skilfully outlines the progress made by the sector in ten years and describes three critical issues that must be addressed. They are: to develop a clear institutional arrangement for craft development or a statutory body to coordinate existing policies, programmes and projects across relevant government departments and between the public and private sectors; to strengthen the skills base in the craft sector, and address the critical shortage of skilled people and agencies to provide support to craft producers; and to employ greater sensitivity in choosing appropriate models for developing craft production. Gaylard explains that there is a need to think more carefully about the underlying purpose of craft development in South Africa. *Why* we do craft development impacts on *how* we do it.

In South Africa craft must equal *money* and *work* (Gaylard, 2004), hence we should create craft businesses. However, research shows that there is far more to craft production than money and work. There are different models for craft production that can be considered if South Africans look more carefully at what has been done in the past, and use this to create a more refined and context-sensitive framework for policy and programmes relating to craft development. Gaylard (2004) describes this as the long-term policy challenge.

Morris (1996) explores some of the tensions between social and cultural imperatives and the economic approaches to craft development in his analysis of craft development models in South America. Morris's (1996:130) study found that wages were 'a confusing and arbitrary criterion for measuring the success of an artisan development programme' and a particularly profound finding was that the people earning the highest incomes felt that craft had the least beneficial effect on their lives. One of the examples he gives is of a pottery factory in the Dominican Republic, which despite paying its potters good salaries and providing flexible working hours could not maintain a permanent workforce. Workers did not experience job satisfaction and the highest turnover of staff was amongst the potters who were paid the most. Morris found that the locals could not relate to pottery and its design, which was divorced from the local aesthetic. Although the goods were handmade they were mass-produced and had no cultural significance: the products were essentially mainstream and met global demands.

However, traditional weavers in Mexico who earned far less found the income that they earned to be vital. Initially the women weavers sold their goods for the value of the raw materials and earned nothing for their labour. By joining an association of Maya women producing traditional textiles

they then made a supplementary income. The women found that this small amount of cash made a significant difference in their lives. The association also helped previously marginalised Mayan women to become successful at marketing and organising. Master weavers gained a respected place in their communities, held leadership roles and gained a major economic alternative. The women managed to revive the ancient weaving traditions and made textiles an art form, and this served as a steppingstone towards cultural pride.

Morris (1996) surmises that income figures cannot tell the full story and although in most cases gross income was small, whereas its impact on families and communities was significant. He finds that, 'The social and cultural advantages of making and selling crafts – becoming a working woman instead of a housewife, becoming an artisan instead of a labourer – are often as important as making money. Artisans cited education, training, and pride in craftsmanship as the highest rewards. Qualitative changes in the artisan's life are the criterion for success' (Morris, 1996:115)

2.6 Craft producers in the global marketplace

Morris explores how craft producers make their money in the global market-place, since anyone who cares about craft seems to have an opinion on what is best for craft producers. Should they preserve traditional art, or work in a co-op as opposed to a factory? Should they export? Is selling souvenirs unacceptable because it is a 'form of cultural prostitution'? (Morris, 1996: xix). These are the principles that Morris explores because they essentially shape *how* we go about craft development; it shapes the direction of our craft production model.

Morris (1996: 135) highlights the importance of global markets and their influence on the craft production model:

> *The creative strength of an artisan organization lies in their power to transform the lives of artisans and their communities. The market guides that power with the inevitability of fate. Without dictating the form of the organization or limiting its social goals, each artisan market compels a specific course of action that leads to a specific benefit down the road.*

Whether a change in production methods or an alliance with foreign designers, the organization's response to the market has a social impact that increases along with sales.

If a craft production model or programme is to be successful it must balance the demands of the market, the needs of the craft producers, cultural traditions and constantly changing situations (Morris, 1996). This balance can prove difficult to achieve.

Another criterion for success in this market is the ability to understand foreign standards of quality in design and manufacture, to provide competitive prices, and to deliver goods within specific time-frames. Craft producers must learn to produce durable products that are uniform in size, colour and shape. Morris's study shows that craft producers in rural communities know little of the world in which designer goods are sold and their customers know nothing of them. The crafters have to make a cultural shift and gear themselves to adapt to 'the other' (Morris, 1996).

2.7 Craft literature themes

Rogerson (2000) distinguishes a first and second generation of rural craft research. The first generation was produced by international development agencies and researchers who began to place rural craft producers on the policy agenda and it was recognised that craft production could contribute towards achieving rural development. This research discovered and uncovered the developmental potential of rural craft.

The second generation of rural craft research highlighted the common constraints which confront such activities in the developing world and noted that that the constraints were a mirror of the problems of rural small enterprise development as a whole in the developing world. The research shed light on the significance, organisation and constraints on rural craft producers. A strong theme in this generation of craft research was the critical importance of craft for the livelihoods of rural women. Rogerson (2000: 206) states that 'gender differentiation and the exploitation of subordinate rural women producers are common threads in the developing world experience of handicraft manufactures'.

This study is entirely different in that it demonstrates how a craft programme can in fact contribute to the empowerment of women. The study (like Morris's) attempts to demonstrate that no matter which market women craft producers enter, they find a 'broader social purpose' (Morris, 1996: 139). Morris found that for the women he spoke with (as for many women), leaving the house, getting organised, and earning money were 'revolutionary actions' (Morris, 1996:140). Selling craft is a stepping-stone to improving their lives and is one of the few available to rural women.

2.8 Key constraints in developing nations

Rogerson's (2001) study uses the international experience of developing nations to define the key constraints blocking the expansion of rural craft production for employment and income opportunities. He pinpoints improved access to markets and improvements in marketing (including design) of craft producers products, raw material shortages, limited access to finance, limited access to appropriate technology, lack of management or business skills, and weaknesses in institutional support structures and inadequate support systems. Rogerson draws from key issues surrounding rural craft producers across the developing world. Twelve years since Rogerson's analysis we can draw on our own rural craft development successes and failures to re-address our policy framework.

Rogerson's final analysis is that it is evident that promoting rural craft as a livelihood strategy would 'demand a complex package of interventions' that address all of the above-mentioned constraints (Rogerson, 2001:211).

2.9 Current paradigms

In Mueller's (2006: 1) critique of current paradigms in rural development, environmental sustainability and poverty alleviation, she argues that the state is no longer seen as 'the engine of production, growth and equity' and that 'new paradigms' in development favour micro-entrepreneurship rather than industrialisation as a way to overcome poverty and achieve rural

development. Mueller's argument is essentially to explain why donors cannot continue to operate in a vacuum, and ignore poorly functioning governments and macro-economic policy when devising their micro-level solutions.

Mueller explains how the state sets the macro-economic policy or the 'rules of the game' within which actors must operate but that donors or analysts find ways to ignore poorly functioning states, and institute micro-level initiatives as substitutes which they think will solve the problem. Mueller stresses the importance of government in setting sound macro-economic, political and social policy, and also the importance of not separating the macro from the micro as the two affect each other, and sectors do not exist in isolation. When we misconceive problems and solutions we can design systems that are bound to fail, especially in promoting rural development and alleviating poverty.

Mueller uses a case in Uganda to illustrate how donors can get it wrong. Donors assisted local groups to develop organisations to protect the environment in an area where the environment was of little interest to the community members. Their livelihood was mostly derived from off-farm activities and they did not work the land for their income. As a result, the local groups did not make an effort to sustain the project. It appeared that the donors had not spent time developing their understanding of how the rural community made its income or what their incentives were to engage with certain rural development initiatives and not with others.

In some instances the South African government ignores the fact that rural incomes and employment are affected by macro-economic and national considerations. Governments must consider participation and social issues. A seemingly perfect technical solution for craft development, i.e. SMME development, may not be the perfect solution for all places and all times, as seems to be the case with craft development in the rural context. Mueller stresses the importance of adopting integrated strategies of development where the macro and micro are brought together and not seen as separate sectors and issues.

Mueller explains that micro-enterprise is encouraged in acknowledgment that many rural poor don't own land and can't rely on agriculture to survive. But that micro-enterprise does not offer a substitute for employment, an assured wage, or much hope for improving the lives of rural poor in the future. She also explains that what is produced may not be sold, or markets for the products

may be limited due to a glut of similar products (agricultural or non-agricultural), lack of quality control, the high cost of transport, or high international standards.

Mueller (2006: 8) states that 'paradigms opposed to strong centralised state-propelled development often have supported what purported to be more people-oriented micro-enterprises'. Government's intention is to support small enterprises where farming is unviable, land is inadequate to support consumption, and where few jobs are available for the rural poor. But they ignore the reality that in developed nations one out of two small businesses fails, even though the conditions may be better and more supportive. Mueller states that it should not be surprising that many small enterprises in developing nations fail.

Another critical question asked by Mueller (2006: 8) is whether development agencies, small business entrepreneurs, and government in this case neglect to analyse 'whether the desire to have a local bread factory, a stall-feeding project, or to produce local potato seeds, tools, and crafts is something that can turn a profit'. She suggests that on closer inspection we may find that a good deal of micro-enterprise development is unviable and unprofitable. Instead, we should be looking at what prevents small enterprise from growing and maturing into medium and large scale businesses that can offer rural employment. Craft policy documents in 1998 noted 'the dominance of survivalist enterprises in the rural areas of South Africa, especially in the craft sector' (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998: 89). Fifteen years on, despite extensive craft development policy, strategy and implementation, rural craft enterprise is still largely a 'survivalist' enterprise, i.e. characterised by poverty and the attempt to survive.

Mueller finds the lack of a fair environment prevents small enterprises from moving up, and that small businesses in developing nations face hostile government laws, regulations, and tax regimes required to grow their businesses. Micro enterprises stay small to avoid the state and to operate without harassment. Foreign direct investment also avoids investing in countries with hostile business environments. Thus, progress in manufacturing is stunted. Mueller explains that micro entrepreneurship is embraced as a panacea for rural development, but that there is a conceptual problem with the approach, and the state creates barriers to obstruct entrepreneurs and the business climate in general. Mueller's suggestion is that if we are to address the problem of rural poverty and development we need to consider the possibility of developing manufacturing and industry to create employment opportunities.

2.10 Benefits of craft development

McCarthy and Mavundla (2009) explore the craft industry in KwaZulu-Natal as a poverty alleviation strategy for rural women. The authors use case-studies of craft groups that they were directly involved with as researchers, product developers, and facilitators at a grassroots level. They also worked with the craft groups to assist them to view their craft activity as a business, rather than as a hobby. The themes emerging from their research emphasise the need for external interventions such as development programmes to create a viable craft industry. The authors also document the positive impact of craft on the lives of crafters and observed lifestyle changes taking place.

However, in the study they view the input from either government or other organisations as crucial to the success of the crafters. Crafters were afforded education and business management lessons that assisted them to succeed. McCarthy and Mavundla (*Ibid*) acknowledge the challenges of the sector but state that the positive results help motivate and give credence to its further development.

This chapter included an analysis of the craft policy documents relevant to this study, and I also reviewed some of the relevant literature. The next chapter will discuss the methodology adopted in gathering the data for this study.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research is qualitative and is based on a case-study design. A case-study design is 'an approach to studying a social phenomenon through a thorough analysis of an individual case' (Kumar, 2005:99). The case-study approach is a methodology used when an in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg, 1991) and it is designed to draw out nuances from the viewpoint of the participants by using multiple sources of data. The data that is relevant to the case is gathered and organised with the case in mind. An intensive analysis follows the specific details of the case (Kumar, 2005).

This case is a study of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme during a period in which crafters (Programme participants) began supplying a home décor chain. Two approaches underpin the methodology: the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach and the Actor-Oriented approach. The SL approach was used to gain an understanding of the significance of the Craft Programme for the livelihoods of the Programme participants. The actor-oriented approach was used as an analytical tool to delve into the perspectives of the actors (Kristinawati, 2011).

Given the financial constraints involved in travel to the region and practical considerations such as accommodation, coupled with the work required to complete the research, I planned to explore in detail the livelihoods of eight crafters from four different craft groups in the iSimangaliso Craft Programme, who produced orders for the home décor chain. In addition, I planned to hold two focus group discussions with two of the craft producer groups in the region. The craft groups were based in different regions of the iSimangaliso Wetland Park and surrounds. I understood that the experiences of these crafters would differ, depending on their geographical location and the different materials that they used. Some women lived closer to main roads and had better access to tourist markets; others lived in more remote locations and did not have access to the same resources within the park or to tourists. I believed that such factors would have a direct impact on people's livelihood strategies and on their incentives for craft production.

My interpreter, Zam Nkosi, and I spent five days in the region in November 2012, conducting interviews and focus groups. In 2003, both Zam Nkosi and I had been selected as graphic designers to participate in a year-long full-time training initiative with CreateSA (a MAPPP-SETA project) and the iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority. The initiative trained emerging designers and design graduates to work in partnership with rural women in the region, taking a developmental approach. We were both later employed by the iSimangaliso Authority as part of a product development team for the Craft Programme and assisted craft groups to meet the requirements of the home décor chain.

In 2005 we worked collaboratively with craft groups in the region between Sodwana Bay and Kosi Bay, but neither of us had worked collaboratively with the craft groups interviewed for this study. However, I was familiar with and had worked directly with craft groups from the Ingwavuma region: the Mpondwana Craft Group (whilst training in 2003 and later in 2006 for the production of orders) and the Mngomezulu Craft Group (in 2006 for the production of orders). Zam Nkosi had worked with the KwaJobe Craft Group in 2003 during his training, but neither of us had worked with the Zamimpilo Craft Group during our time with the Craft Programme. Both of us worked for the Craft Programme until 2006. Six years had passed since our time of working in the field but the crafters remembered us and associated us with the Craft Programme. We did our best to minimise this by explaining our new roles since leaving the Craft Programme and the iSimangaliso Authority. Each day required time for travel between regions and enough time to conduct at least one interview and one focus group. The key informant interviews were conducted in January 2013.

The method used to collect detailed qualitative data for this study included jot notes and detailed notes (Bernard, 1994). It is also important to note that as the researcher I was familiar with the context through participating in the Craft Programme for several years before the research was conducted. During this time spent working with and engaging with the crafters I had come to know these women well, and had been involved with them closely in a professional and personal capacity. Therefore my research methods entailed participant observation (Bernard, 1994). This form of qualitative research is described by Spradley (1979) as ethnographic research and it enables the researcher in “understanding how other people see their experience.” (1979: 4). It requires the researcher to experience the life of research participants as much as possible. This method enabled me to document many spheres of the crafters lives through both interaction and observation. Anthropologists utilise the method of participant observation during research

because it allows the researcher the opportunity to listen, observe and participate in the community/ society being studied (Bernard, 1994).

This means that the brief period of time spent with interviewing the women in 2012 was premised on familiarity, intimacy, and understanding – which, not insignificantly, are vital to the kind of recommendations I suggest should take the place of the current paradigm.

3.2 Research methods

The study used various methods which enabled me to gather rich and nuanced data, as well as to explore the differing perspectives of the varied actors. The study used policy document analysis, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. The mix of approaches and methodologies ensured that the questions raised were answered as best as possible.

3.3 In-depth interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with five Craft Programme participants instead of the envisaged eight. The reason for this was that the length of time required to conduct an interview using questions based on the Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) approach was more substantial than initially expected. The initial questionnaire was edited and refined after the second interview had been conducted, because questions that were repetitive were identified and some of the questions elicited similar responses. We also realised that we would not conduct the required number of interviews in the time-frame if we did not revise the questionnaire.

Women from four different craft groups (Zamimpilo, KwaJobe, Mponwanda and Mngomezulu) were interviewed. Two women from Zamimpilo were interviewed, as well as one woman from each of the remaining craft groups. The Zamimpilo and KwaJobe craft groups are in different parts of the iSimangaliso Wetland Park region. The Zamimpilo craft group use *isikhonko*, a regional

grass, free for collection, as a raw material. The KwaJobe craft group use *ilala* palm which they sourced from local raw material suppliers in the nearby town of Mbazwana. The Mpondwana and Mngomezulu craft groups are some distance apart, but are both based in the Lubombo mountain range on the border of Swaziland. They use a material extracted from the sisal plant which they source from women over the Swaziland border who are raw material suppliers.

The interviews elicited detailed information about the livelihood strategies of the five women within the context of the SL approach. The interviews also solicited information on how the production and sale of craft either enhanced or constrained their lives, how they benefited from the income generated by craft sales, and their perspectives with regards to the transformation of their craft groups into craft enterprises (SMMEs). Issues that arose from the crafters during the discussion were followed up on. In this way new information provided by the participants was pursued further (Rule &John, 2011). The interview method was suited to the crafters, who have low literacy levels and would have struggled to fill out questionnaires (Rule &John, 2011).The method allowed us to obtain in-depth information by probing (Kumar, 2005) and rich data was gathered from the process. The process also allowed us to put the questions in a form that was understood by the respondents and to repeat a question if it was misunderstood (Kumar, 2005). For the purpose of this study an interpreter was used as all participants were Zulu speakers. We discussed the questions beforehand to ensure that the questions were mutually understood.

3.4 Focus group discussions

Information collected from the interviews was complemented by data gathered through focus group discussions. I intended to conduct two focus group discussions (FGDs) with Programme participants. However, because the individual interviews using the SL approach took a long time to conduct and running focus groups based only on craft activities was less time consuming, the time saved on conducting fewer individual interviews allowed us to conduct an additional focus group discussion. Nevertheless the third focus group consisted of only three craft group members rather than the minimum number of respondents envisaged for all the focus groups, which was eight.

Each focus group was made up of individuals from the same craft group and they were interviewed as a group. Focus groups were conducted with the KwaJobe, Mpondwana and Mngomezulu craft groups. The questionnaire for the focus groups specifically enquired about the period when the Craft Programme had partnered with the home décor chain and focused on craft activities. In the FGDs we solicited information about how the production and sale of craft either enhanced or constrained the crafters' lives, how they benefited from the income generated by craft sales, and what their perspectives were regarding the transformation of their craft groups into craft enterprises (i.e. SMMEs). The discussions were guided by the predetermined topics. The interpreter was the facilitator and moderated or guided the interview, while the crafters discussed the topics that were raised. The data collected comprises what the crafters said during the FGDs.

Focus group discussions are well suited to a study of this nature. Morgan (1998:9) asserts that 'Focus groups are fundamentally a way of listening to people and learning from them'. They are guided group discussions that generate in-depth understandings of participants' experiences and beliefs (Morgan, 1998). As the researcher, my aim was to comprehend the participants' meanings and interpretations. This helped me to gain an understanding of the issues (topics discussed) from the perspective of the participants and to obtain a better understanding of their points of view. The participants discussed their shared lived experiences and this allowed me to access information that did not present itself in the semi-structured interviews. The focus group discussions afforded crafters a voice and an opportunity to define what was relevant and important in their experience of the Craft Programme.

Passive participants are less likely to discuss issues freely in an interview process as the dynamic is defined primarily by the interaction between the researcher and the participant. The focus groups were used to counter this challenge. In the focus groups the crafters had an opportunity to interact with one another rather than with the researcher, and were more open and communicative in the company of people with shared backgrounds. The focus groups allowed participants to connect with others and establish opinions during the session. Crafters were also able to use one another to help jog their collective memory of the period during which they engaged with the home décor chain. The combined use of semi-structured interviews and focus groups allowed information to be cross-checked.

3.5 Key informant interviews

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with key informants. These were individuals chosen specifically for their knowledge of the policy or institutional influences on the Programme (e.g. the Craft Programme coordinator, and Directors and Deputy Directors at DTI and DAC). Other actors who were central to the partnership were also interviewed, such as the individuals employed by the home décor chain who were responsible for managing the partnership with the Craft Programme. The semi-structured interviews allowed for flexibility during data collection (Rule & John, 2011).

Three individuals from the iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority were interviewed. Two of these individuals were employed by the Authority. One of these individuals was responsible for the initiation of the Craft Programme and was the coordinator for the Programme at the time that the partnership was initiated. The other individual was a product development facilitator for the Craft Programme at the time of the partnership, but had recently become the new training and capacity building coordinator. This individual was responsible for the Craft Programme at the time of interview.

One of the individuals interviewed had resigned from the organisation. The reason that she was pursued for an interview was because at the time of the partnership this individual was the training and capacity building coordinator for the Authority and headed the Craft Programme. There were questions relating to the details of the partnership which could only be answered by this individual.

The Director of Creative Industries at the DTI was also interviewed. Cultural Industries is part of the Industrial Development Division at the DTI. This individual had a long history of experience in the arts and culture sector in South Africa and was previously employed by the MAPPP-SETA, which provided some of the funding to the Craft Programme during its years of partnership with the home décor chain. The Deputy Director of Craft Development at DAC was also interviewed. Craft Development falls under the Cultural Development Unit at the DAC. This individual had for many years played a role in the craft sector in South Africa.

Another individual interviewed was the Project Manager of Sector Development at the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Economic Development and Tourism (KZN DEDT). The respondent was unfortunately uncooperative and declined to answer most of the questions, citing them as 'political'. However, it should be noted that the respondent was asked the same questions as other key informants were.

The differences in orientation and priorities of the actors were assessed for different political, social and cultural standpoints. How the actors described the objectives they pursued was compared. The interplay of different positions was analysed by looking at concrete forms of cooperation, at the roles that different actors play within the sector and at the most important issues taken up by different actors. For this purpose, actors were asked to describe and evaluate cooperation and to assess to what extent they saw their objectives represented and reached by the iSimangaliso Craft Programme (Brümmer, 2007).

3.6 Method of analysis

The data for this research was analysed using thematic content analysis. Once the data had been organised and coded I then began a thematic analysis of the data analysis (Rule & John, 2011). I worked with the codes to identify patterns such as similarities and differences, and then grouped them into logical categories. I analysed the categories and searched for patterns of meaning in order to generate the themes for my research. According to Rule & John (2011), this is known as selective coding in Grounded Theory. The discussion of the themes and the relationships among themes became the core of interpreting the case (Rule & John, 2011).

This chapter discussed the research methodology adopted for this study. The chapter also highlighted some of the challenges encountered conducting the study. The next chapter gives the reader some insights into the views of the women in the Craft Programme, and also discusses some of the challenges of the Craft Programme.

Chapter 4

The views of the women and issues in the Craft Programme

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the survival strategies of the women of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme. The chapter begins by providing a clearer, more nuanced understanding of who these women are and how they draw on multiple strategies to cope in a rural context. It examines their attraction to craft and the challenges they face when their understanding of business is limited or when the market is inaccessible or impenetrable to them. The material presented in the chapter was collected through interviews and focus group discussions with the women. In this chapter some insights into the challenges of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme are also provided.

4.2 Profiles of the women

In this section I provide a profile of the women whom I interviewed. The purpose of this section is to bring the women of the Craft Programme to life, and for the reader to gain a better understanding of their personal circumstances.

The women in the focus groups ranged in age from the 20s to the 70s. The five women interviewed ranged between 31 and 56 years of age. The average level of education of these women was Grade 8. However, the youngest of the women interviewed had studied until Grade 12 without managing to pass it. The oldest woman interviewed had not attended school at all. The women were not well educated, but attached a high importance to education for their children. They all send their children and grandchildren to non-fee-paying schools.

Some of the women who were interviewed are described below:

- Bongi from the Zamimpilo Craft Group was 56 years old and lived with her husband, seven grandchildren, and one great-grandchild. Her husband worked part-time as a builder and could not contribute regularly to the household income. Bongi made and sold *amacansi* (traditional sleeping mats) and pinafores. She had four grown children (two sons and two daughters) who all worked away from home. One of her sons had passed away. She received monthly groceries from her working children. Bongi took care of seven grandchildren, and six were under 18 years of age. All of her grandchildren were in school, except for her 20-year-old granddaughter, who was neither studying nor working. Her 20-year-old granddaughter had an infant child who was also a part of the household. The monthly child grant assisted Bongi to take care of the children.

- Glenda from the Zamimpilo Craft Group was 62 years old and lived with her husband and two daughters. She was a housewife and produced craft part-time. Her husband also worked part-time as a mechanic. He took care of their financial needs and bought food every month. One of her daughters did occasional work. Her daughters had both completed school; one of them had done a teaching course but was currently unemployed. Her dependants were her unemployed daughter and six grandchildren. Glenda obtained about R1200 per month from her pension.

- Gloria from the KwaJobe Craft Group was 31 years old and had recently been widowed. She lived with another adult who was 18 years old and was studying, and Gloria's three children. Gloria belonged to a livestock cooperative, where she was responsible for administering medication to cows to treat and prevent disease. All three of her children were in school. Gloria's main source of income was selling cows through the co-op; her secondary income source was craft, but at the time of the interview she had no orders for craft. Another source of income was tending livestock.

- Thandeka from the Mpondwana Craft Group was 48 years old and lived with her children. She grew vegetables, cooked and did part-time craft work, mostly *amacansi* (traditional sleeping mats). Her husband worked away in Sodwana Bay and stayed at the camp site; he sent money home and returned home once a month. Thandeka had two sons and two

daughters, all of whom attended school. She sold a limited amount of crops and received a child support grant.

- Veronica from the Mngomezulu Craft Group was 47 years old and lived with her children and grandchildren. She was a chief of the area *(indunakazi)*, nominated by the community. She managed and distributed land. She also undertook development work with women in the area, helping them with gardening and craft. Veronica trained young women to do traditional dance, and locals hired her dancers for weddings. Her husband worked on the mines near Johannesburg and came home four times a year. Veronica had a grown son who worked away from home and a daughter away at college. She had twins who attended school and took care of her sister's 13-year-old daughter. Veronica also took care of her grandchildren: a 1 year old and a 5 year old. She earned an income through rearing and selling chickens and cows, and growing and selling crops. Veronica received money from her son and her husband on a monthly basis, and was also paid a child grant.

The women allocated funds to food, monthly *stokvel* contributions, monthly savings deposits, medical bills, school uniforms, water and electricity, and monthly payments on clothing accounts.



4.3 Survival strategies

This section describes the sustainable livelihoods of the women crafters, and the information was gathered using the SL framework. It demonstrates the ways in which the women draw on multiple strategies to cope with life in a rural context. The section explains why each activity was crucial to survival and how the women determined their priorities. The women were very busy, and they multitasked to ensure that each strategy helped to ensure survival. Craft was simply one of a myriad of activities these women engaged in, but certainly an important one.

4.3.1 Education

The women prioritised education and felt that it was important for their children's future: for becoming independent, finding jobs and supporting themselves. Glenda viewed education as something to take pride in: *'Yes, it does benefit my household. Taking my kids to school is a pride for the community… and watching my daughter graduating, it was a biggest inspiration for the entire family'.* Bongi felt that education was beneficial to the household: *'Yes, if they have education it always comes back to the household and feeds the household'.*

The women who had children working away from home could rely on them for monthly groceries and a remittance income. When children were educated their ability to contribute to the household was improved. The women therefore placed a high priority on ensuring that their children completed their schooling.

4.3.2 Multiple income earning aspirations

The women aspired to a variety of income-generating activities such as block-making (making breeze blocks for construction) and running a vegetable stand in the local town. Gloria, who worked for a livestock company, wanted to continue selling livestock because there were plenty of opportunities to make money. She also wanted to become a supplier of 'feed load': 'I would also like to learn how to supply feed load…that's where you grow grass and supply grass to

farmers'. Thandeka from the Mpondwana craft group sought a full-time job and wanted to earn a monthly income apart from making and selling craft. Veronica was focused on her current business: 'It's to focus on my business – livestock and crop sales. I love craft but the problem is no *orders. I don't have places to sell unless you find a place to sell'.* What was evident was that the women did not view themselves as full-time crafters; craft was only a part of what they did for survival.

4.3.3 Training

The women were particularly keen on receiving training in their area of interest. The women attended training and capacity building workshops offered by government departments or local NGOs. Thandeka volunteered and counselled people in the area affected by TB and HIV, and wanted further training*: 'I'm already volunteering doing that, I go house to house doing that'*. Gloria (who worked for a livestock company) wanted marketing training: *'Simply because I've identified a gap in the livestock industry. I've noticed that whenever we do promotional sales the word simply doesn't get out to people, because there's a lack of marketing'.*

All of the women had participated in meetings or training during the year. Two had participated in craft training and one had been to a livestock cooperative training run by *'a gentleman from the Department of Agriculture'*. Thandeka had participated in a workshop with Nompilo (an NGO): *'It was a workshop on CCG [community care givers], an organisation that trains people to work with other rural people and teach them about basic human life and diseases'.* Veronica (an *indunakazi*) had been to a community meeting about how to improve the roads in the area. The women did not take any training provided for granted and were eager to participate in new opportunities that became available. All training contributed to their knowledge, their personal growth and their ability to sustain themselves.

4.3.4 The importance of social groups

The women's sense of well-being (through identity, honour and belonging) was reinforced through social groups such as church, political parties and *stokvels*. The women described the advantages of belonging to a group or organisation: *'It's better to be with a group than to work alone…unity gives hope…as a group there's an advantage because you are working towards the same goal'.*

Groups created a sense of belonging, and gave women 'a voice': 'The advantages are if you belong to one of the groups in our community you get to have a voice in the community'. They also created opportunities for learning: 'It's good to work with a group because you get to learn from each other'.

Being part of a group was considered important because it was seen as teaching people discipline, and it created unity amongst community members: *'…advantages are to form unity in the area by us gathering in these organizations…to get to know each other'.* Groups also promoted respect amongst community members: *'One of the biggest rules of the groups that I belong in is respect'.*

The 'unity' provided through group work was noted for its contribution towards achieving desired goals. The group learning process was important for their individual growth. The women enjoyed the social interaction provided in a group setting. They got to know one another and collaborated on initiatives. The social resources provided in a group setting could be relied upon to see them through times of need.

4.3.5 Church

Church group members supported one another: 'I get support from church. If someone passes away we have a way of helping each other. We buy scones, cooking materials towards the funeral for that church member'. Church was a great provider of comfort and guidance in their lives: 'I get food for the soul from church'; 'Church for spiritual blessings and direction'. One woman mentioned that if one were applying for a job being a church member was advantageous because the church could provide a reference. Church membership required that the women assist others

in times of distress. As a member they were also given assistance by the church community during difficult times. Church built their communities and improved their lives: 'Church gives me a chance to learn to respect people so that I can live a better life'.

4.3.6 Stokvel and gardening groups

One of the women belonged to a gardening group that grew and harvested vegetables, and then shared the food. Almost all of the women were part of a *stokvel* group. There were *stokvel* groups for groceries, and *stokvels* for accessing funds or loans. The women placed major importance on *stokvels* for food security: *'I get food from the gardening group and from the* stokvel*'*; and *'*Stokvel *gives me an opportunity to buy lots of groceries because I do* stokvel *for food'.*

The stokvels provided the women with liquidity and an ability to provide for the basics for their families: 'The stokvel gives me power to do things, buy food and pay for school uniforms at the beginning of the year'.

The *stokvel*s were used in innovative ways to ensure survival. One of the woman stated that the *stokvel* allowed her to obtain plenty of groceries in December and to save money on her monthly groceries; this then allowed her to save money for buying school uniforms in January. The women explained that they had to make their monthly contributions to their *stokvel* group, and if they didn't make their contribution they might be asked to leave the group and return the balance of their funds. They might also be asked to leave if they borrowed money from the *stokvel* account and could not make a monthly repayment. Attending meetings and renewing annual membership was also critical.

4.3.7 Political parties

Almost all of the women were members of a political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). One of the women belonged to the NFP, a party that had branched off from the IFP. The women did not obtain resources from their political party; it was rather a social endeavour. However, one of

the women did mention that the IFP had built a crèche, to which she sent her grandchild. This cost her about R30 per month. The local women in the area collected money and cooked for the children at the crèche. The women often grouped together to provide for a cause, or to provide support to one another for specific livelihood activities.

4.3.8 Groups and belonging

Group work was particularly important to the women and they gave a strong impression that they learned more in a group setting. This explained why participating in a craft group was considered beneficial. They could learn and build their knowledge together, support one another, train one another, and finally achieve their goals together. Whether a church group, *stokvel*, gardening group, political party, or craft group, the importance of the group ranked high and was a strong tradition. As an often-quoted proverb states:

'If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together.'

4.3.9 Natural resources



The women made use of the natural resources in the region for survival. Craft was a survival strategy because the region was resource rich and the women had indigenous knowledge to assist them to cultivate and protect the natural resources. They knew how to fence the *isikhonko* to protect it from being trampled by cows, and they knew harvesting techniques for *isikhonko* that had been passed down over the ages, for example they did not cut the plant at the root: *'its local knowledge'.* Whilst drought and poor rain in winter did have a temporary effect on the growth of the resource, there had been no significant reduction in the resource over time. The KwaJobe Craft Group described the sisal in the region: *'It hasn't changed much except when there's development, they'll come and remove it to put buildings…the good thing about sisal is that whenever you try to kill it and put the branches aside, it grows as well'.*

4.3.10 Coping strategies in times of crisis

Most of the women turned to their relatives in times of need, and if money was required urgently they borrowed from their bank savings account or *stokvel* group. Glenda (a widow who worked for a livestock company) relied on neither: *'I don't get it (money) from the community or relatives…I*

make sure that I provide enough at all times…If I'm really under pressure I use money from the livestock office and then return it'. The women were disciplined in providing their monthly contributions to their *stokvel* groups and their personal bank accounts. Bank savings could also be used for big purchases. Glenda also managed to build a house using her fixed savings, together with money she received when her husband passed away.

4.3.11 Financial services

Thandeka and her husband were members of a funeral society and had funeral plans. The funeral plan required a monthly contribution of R20. Families survived sometimes on the payments from funeral plans. A small amount was used to pay for the funeral and the bulk was kept to support the family. Husbands and sons used bank loans for multiple purposes. A husband had taken out a R20000 loan to build the family a house. Many of the women had clothing accounts and paid monthly instalments for clothing.

4.3.12 Remittance income

Three of the women interviewed relied on remittance income. Money from husbands who worked away from home was generally reliable: *'There's never a time where he doesn't send me money. Even when he fights he does give me money'.* Veronica had a son who sent money at every month-end, but her husband, who was a mine-worker in Johannesburg, went on strike once a year and didn't send money during that period. A strong sense of team work and collaborative decision making between husbands and wives was noted. Essentially the women controlled the remittance income and used it to maintain their households.

4.3.13 Vulnerability

The women were particularly affected by food price hikes, which they all noted. However, the women who received remittances struggled less. Glenda from KwaJobe, the only female-headed household in the study, had struggled for almost a year after her husband had passed away. She had had to adjust to the fact that her husband was no longer there to support the household: *'I was really struggling because in my culture when you lose your husband you usually have to take a break from everything and stop working. And I was emotionally depressed because the family from my husband's side were not supportive of me and the family [her children]'.*

Bongi described her struggle as follows: *'Sickness comes up and becomes another stress. I have to be a mother and father to everyone'.* Gloria struggled in winter: *'Winter is a struggle. It's difficult to grow crops. It's difficult to get material for crafts to make money from that, because everything is dry in the area'.* The winter period lasted three to four months: *'I don't grow anything in that time and end up having to buy veggies. For craft I have to hire a* bakkie *[small truck] and spend money to get material'.*

Gloria felt her struggles had worsened: *'This year was worse because we had a huge lack of water and couldn't get any job opportunities with the Craft Programme. Since rains started in September it's gotten better'.* Most felt that things were improving: *'Better this year. I'm doing good business on* ikwane amacansi, *so it's getting better'.* Periods of struggle were characterised by drought, lack of job opportunities and family problems.

Craft was mentioned three times as an activity which assisted in improving conditions during these periods. In times of need craft was one of the few activities that could be relied upon to draw additional income. It worked as a buffer and improved their ability to recover from stresses and shocks.

4.4 The iSimangaliso Craft Programme

This section describes why the women were attracted to craft and why they joined the Craft Programme, while touching on some of the challenges they faced. It also highlights some of the issues of the Craft Programme in attempting to bridge the gap between rural women crafters and urban markets.









4.4.1 Attraction to craft

Craft was considered a meaningful way of earning money as it was reliant on skill. Young women were inspired to make craft by their mothers, whom they had observed making craft in their youth. A young woman who had recently joined one of the craft groups was taken note of in a focus group, and it was evident that craft was still able to attract the interest of younger women. The women were also eager to join in on activities supported by other local women. The financial rewards of craft were enjoyed by all of the women. Craft was considered a supportive income which added to other income streams. The following were some of the statements made by the women in focus groups when asked to describe the benefits of making and selling craft:

> *'...I gain a lot from it in terms of financial returns'.*
>
> *'...because it brings profit returns'.*
>
> *'...the reason why I like craft is because I get to earn money using my hands as opposed to someone just handing over money'.*
>
> *'...because it keeps the cash flow on a monthly basis…it's a supportive income…it adds to the rest'.*
>
> *'...I do like it a lot, because it gives me more profit because during the day I can make a long strip [plaited sisal] to make one set of placemats'.*

The financial rewards of making and selling craft were a major draw card for the women. What was also evident from this was the sense of satisfaction gained by the women in making something using their skill and deriving an income from it. The process was rewarding. Whilst the women have a range of income sources, the income earned from craft helped keep them afloat. Money from craft could also be earned whilst participating in other income-generating activities such as growing and selling vegetables. What was evident was whilst the financial rewards ranked highly; they were not the only rewards.

The women's circumstances varied, but the older women from the Zamimpilo Craft Group who were interviewed were more reliant on craft as an additional source of income and they were more interested in continued craft training: *'Apart from weaving I'm planning to learn how to make beer*

*pots [*ukamba*] …I want to expand my craft skills…we are waiting for training from local people who currently are making beer pots'.*

However, the Zamimpilo Craft Group enjoyed sustained income through craft: between R300 and R1000 per month despite the lack of orders from the Craft Programme. The group's advantage was that the members were close to a main road (the N2) and within a short distance of a thriving roadside craft market for tourists (Zamimpilo Craft Market). They were also closer than other craft groups to the offices of the iSimangaliso Authority, and enjoyed access to tourists or students introduced to them by the Craft Programme coordinator. The issue of access to markets or lack thereof is an important one in the rural craft context, and an ongoing challenge.

The women from more remote regions were reliant on orders from the Craft Programme and no longer generated any significant income from craft. The further removed crafters were from the N2, the further removed they were from tourists and markets for craft. The only time they had been able to make a significant income through craft had been through orders supplied through the Craft Programme.

However, the women maintained that craft would be in their top three priorities, if they were to receive new orders from the Craft Programme. They had watched their income grow during the time that they received orders from the Craft Programme, but since then had seen their income from craft sales drop to as little as R80 per month, and some were earning nothing from craft sales: *'I used to make a minimum R240 from Judy [The Bat Shop]…it did grow and become more, to R600, then maximum R800…now I make R50 to R80 for the sale of one* icansi*'.* Production for the home decor chain had resulted in a significant increase in income for the women. Unfortunately it was simply not possible for them to secure these kinds of sales in their own regions.

The younger women interviewed engaged in and showed a keen interest in activities that were not craft-related. However it should also be noted that these women were also geographically further removed from tourist routes and craft markets than their older counterparts.

The top two reasons stated by the women for engaging in craft were: (1) an opportunity to earn a living, and (2) the lack of alternative job opportunities. They chose to do craft because it allowed them opportunity to earn an income whilst engaging in other activities that contributed to their

livelihoods: *'We can do all of it because in the morning you go to the garden and plough and then do craft,' and another comment was: 'It's a process that all fits together, so we can do it all'.*

One of the reasons mentioned for joining the Craft Programme was that it brought change into their lives. They wanted to sell their products and the Craft Programme gave them the opportunity or the platform to sell them. The women were also attracted to training and the perks of participating in training, such as lunch money, which had been distributed during the early days of the Programme. Lunch money had been withdrawn as production for orders increased and workshop time was reduced.

The Authority continually battled with the issue of dependency of crafters on the Programme and attempted to wean crafters off their support in an attempt to ensure sustainability. However, over time it became clear that crafters were unlikely to become completely self-reliant and some type of ongoing support would be required.

The training provided by the Programme was an attraction, and the women remembered the training they had received over the years. The women from KwaJobe recalled the initial training they had received before the Craft Programme was launched. They described a white man from Hluhluwe who bought products from them. He was also the first to train them to make products such as bangles and wash baskets from *ilala*. They named him *Qakala*, a local word for 'first time', because he was the first to train them.

Whilst extensive training was delivered in the early days of the Programme it was envisaged that the need for continued training would eventually subside as craft groups became more skilled and less reliant. However this seamless progression never really occurred and the Programme became increasingly aware that ongoing assistance to craft groups was necessary.

Members of one of the craft groups still considered themselves a part of the Programme despite the lack of orders for products, because they had recently participated in training: *'Yes, because they still communicate with us and they invited us to attend a workshop in Joburg…it was about different types of craft and design, and we met other crafters to discuss and share ideas'.* The women described why they joined the Craft Programme:

> *'I always like the idea of making craft…I always went for training at Zamimpilo market…Zanele and Judy used to do training at Zamimpilo market'*.
>
> *'Because there was a call to women in the area to join and I was interested…I was weaving* amacansi *mats before the Programme'.*
>
> *'Because I wanted to earn money with my brain…that was after I finished school…I was also inspired by my mom because when I grew up she was making craft'.*
>
> *'I joined because I wanted to join the local women around the area who were doing craft'.*

One of the women described how she was still a member of the craft group but no longer considered the group a part of the Craft Programme: *'I won't lie to you; we don't see ourselves as part of the Programme. Nothing has happened…they haven't showed any commitment to working with us this year, except the training that happened in April'.* The group continued to work together so that if they received orders through the Craft Programme again, they would be prepared for production: *'…and we don't kill the spirit of the group by keeping together…if orders come we are ready'*. The group leader was credited with playing a key role in keeping the group together: *'so we will be ready to welcome orders'*.

The Craft Programme struggled to ensure ongoing orders from buyers. The Programme established that in order to secure orders for craft groups it would need to build and nurture relationships with buyers and act as an intermediary between for the craft groups and the buyer. This was a significant challenge for a small unit of the iSimangaliso Authority which had been tasked with managing multiple programmes aside from the Craft Programme.

4.4.2 Benefits of production for a home décor chain

The women described the earnings as the main benefit of production for the home décor chain. Working with a 'big' client was also considered a benefit. The Craft Programme arranged for them to visit one of the stores in Richards Bay and to see their products on display: *'...we got to see how big the client was...because we went to the store to see our products being displayed. And they showed us the whole process from when they receive our products, including the fumigation process. And it was nice to see our products with a swing tag in the store*.'

The women felt that the size of the orders was beneficial; they were worth more and they earned more: *'The measurement per product was big and therefore the profit was also big'.* They also had an opportunity to spend their earnings on items of their choice. They made their own decisions about how to spend their craft earnings. Women in focus groups made the following statements about how they spent their earnings and highlighted that the changes it brought about that were important to them:

> *'It's a great benefit to see the stuff I have bought from my hard work in my house, like the wardrobe and sewing machine'.*
>
> *'I'm happy because up until today I still sleep in the very same bed with my husband…before that I was sleeping on the floor'.*

4.4.3 Challenges crafters face when their understanding of business is limited

The group leader of Zamimpilo Craft Group was hesitant about starting a business: 'We don't have any information about how to open a business. We never received any information or training…I really don't have a clue about business.' However, another group member responded differently: 'Yes, we do have an interest. By us registering a business or opening a business it will give each and every one of us a responsibility to work towards something, unlike now it's easy for the group to separate because we don't have anything to work towards. I think the orders will come because we have an image that we are ready to work as a group. The challenges will be getting the material together and to have a group set up…and getting different material like dye.

The benefit will be that I know there's a possibility that I will get money, and my family will be well looked after.'

The assumption seemed to be made that if they started a business then orders for products would materialise. Working as a group was also viewed as already constituting a business.

Most crafters expressed an interest in starting a business. But there was evidence that their understanding of what it meant to establish a business was limited. Being a craft group was equated with being in business: 'We did not separate as a group because we didn't like each other, it's simply because there were no orders…if there was [orders] we would have been far in business.' Other reasons for starting a business were to make a living and also because they were not doing anything else then. Starting a business was equated with being independent of the Craft Programme: 'The benefit will be that we will be able to chase orders without sitting.' However, the groups had no concept of how to source orders and were simply hopeful that once there was a business orders would materialise: 'It'll be a good benefit because we'll push for orders on a daily basis, even though we don't know how we'll get that...But we believe that will happen once we have a business.'

One of the major concerns that groups had with starting their own craft business was regarding who would cover the costs - would they or would the client/buyer? They believed the challenge would be to separate fairly the responsibilities of paying for transport, delivery, and any other costs involved in the business, as they didn't feel that they could manage this independently. Others felt that if they established a business they could bring poverty relief to the area for themselves and for other women. If they had a business structure they could attract other women who were not doing craft to join them.

The Craft Programme grasped these challenges and worked to continually build crafters' self-reliance, but it was understood that transforming the women into self-sustaining SMMEs was not completely feasible.

4.4.4 Challenges crafters face doing business in the marketplace

The women did not know why orders from the home décor chain had ceased, as they had not been informed about this decision. They speculated about the reasons why the partnership had ended: *'What I remember is that we did very well for them but then it just went quiet and we don't know what happened.'* One of the women felt that the reason orders had ceased was because her craft group had delivered inconsistent products: *'I think the reason they stopped giving orders is they were battling with us to get the right quality. And I think our products didn't sell in their stores because of that.'*

The women were not aware of the complexity of the marketplace and the factors that determined whether or not a product sold. Asked to describe what happened after orders ceased, one woman summed it up: *'We lost love.'* It was not clear why crafters were not informed of the end of the partnership with the home décor chain but the crafters felt that they had been let down. The challenge of communication between crafters and the Programme was ongoing, with frequent miscommunication due to a range of factors such as language barriers and distance. It was evident that this type of arrangement needed a dedicated communications person assigned to the task.

4.4.5 Challenges with production

The women explained that producing very large quantities was challenging and that they would work through the night to meet deadlines. The time-frames were tight and they also struggled to achieve consistency in the quality of their products. A craft group leader addressed the problem by requesting that the group get together on a daily basis and weave together to achieve consistency. They would weave together until the order was completed. Another group member explained that quality control of products was challenging. She was the group quality controller, and she felt it was difficult to criticise group members' products without creating conflict. Managing group dynamics is an ongoing craft group challenge.

Managing the quality of production of handmade products on a large scale was a particularly difficult task for the women and the Craft Programme. Achieving consistency in colour, shape and size took extensive input from the product development team and long hours of work for the craft producer groups. However, whilst smaller orders were more manageable they were never large enough to distribute amongst multiple craft groups and provide the income earning opportunities of larger orders.



4.4.6 Challenges with transport

The women struggled to find the right transport for delivery. If they took a taxi the products were sometimes damaged in transit. They had to fit the products around other passengers and pay for seats on which to put the products. Eventually the group hired a local *bakkie* at R200 for delivery of an order. The women felt this was more professional and safer. Everyone in the craft group contributed to the cost. The crafters struggled to raise the money for transport: *'We borrowed money from neighbours for transport.'* They complained that the logistics were complicated and it was a very big process for them to undertake. One of the craft groups complained that they were not informed that they had to use their own funds to deliver products. The precedent had been set by the previous buyer in Durban, who had apparently paid crafters to deliver the products and paid cash-on-delivery. Therefore the cost of transport home was less of an issue.

Transportation of products from the region to market was the single most pressing and difficult challenge faced by the Craft Programme. It was imperative that crafters build self-reliance by delivering their own products to market, but the inflated cost of transport made it a significant financial burden for crafters to bear. The Craft Programme became increasingly aware that if the transport problem was not resolved the Programme was simply not sustainable. Again, this was a challenge that the iSimangaliso Authority was not ideally set up to resolve.

4.4.7 Challenges with delivery

The Craft Programme designed a series of delivery books for craft groups to record their delivery process and to ensure that the products delivered to the buyer were recorded and signed off at the point of delivery. The crafters initially managed to get the buyer to sign off the delivery sheets, but claim that thereafter they refused to sign their delivery notes and would not explain why. Crafters, as second language speakers and as women, were not in a position to assert their right to an explanation.

The home décor chain deliveries initially took place in Empangeni, north of Durban, at an open taxi rank. Taxi owners were unhappy with the buyers' presence at the taxi rank. The initial delivery involved cash transactions between the buyer and crafters. This exposed both the buyer and the

crafters to potential crime. The delivery was moved further north to the town of Mtubatuba, thirty minutes outside of the town of St Lucia. Craft groups opened group bank accounts to avoid cash transactions and group leaders took responsibility for managing the accounts. The buyer recorded the amount of products delivered per group and payments were paid directly into group bank accounts.

A woman from Zamimpilo Craft Group recalled an incident where she was chosen to deliver products to a smaller buyer in Durban (not the home décor chain) and the incident had been emotional for her because the buyer was not satisfied with the quality of the products: *'It was an emotional experience because Judy was throwing bags everywhere because of the bad quality'.* She was pressured to drop the price of the products but she could not take the decision on her own as she was delivering the products on behalf of the craft group. The crafters also complained about having to keep items that were not accepted by the home décor chain. Poor quality or inferior quality products were not accepted and crafters were not paid for these products. The previous buyer would purchase the rejected products at a discounted price and this helped them to recover costs.

Rural women when placed in an urban context and required to negotiate with buyers are sometimes at the mercy of their clients. The Authority understood this dynamic and attempted to build the confidence and negotiations skills of the women by ensuring that they made their own deliveries. However, it was often necessary for them to intervene to prevent the exploitation of the crafters. The skills and ability of the women to withstand this pressure needed development. There were often situations where crafters were unable to secure a fair price for their products.

4.4.8 Challenges with payments

Craft group members complained that payments were made long after the delivery of the products. They felt that the previous buyer (a small retailer in Durban) had been easier to work with because they would pay the crafters to deliver their products, and once the products were delivered they were paid cash-on-delivery, so they could use the money for transport back home. They could not cope with having to wait for long periods for payment. They would also have to collect money for one of the group members to travel to the nearest town to withdraw funds from

the bank. Sometimes this person would return without the withdrawal and they would have to collect funds for a second trip into town. The women did not mind switching to bank accounts to receive payments but as payments took longer to be made they became increasingly frustrated.

The iSimangaliso Authority had little control over payments to crafters. Whilst they stressed the importance of prompt payments this was not always possible. The buyer had to make payments for a single order (e.g. 100 orange cushions) to multiple craft groups as the orders were so large that they had to be split amongst craft groups. Had the buyer been dealing with an organisation or a company, only one payment would have been necessary. The company could also carry the cost of payment to craft groups until the buyer had made payment. Unfortunately as a government agency the Authority was not set up to carry out such transactions, nor did they have the funds to do so.

4.4.9 Challenges managing production costs

The craft group members also complained that the home décor chain did not cover the costs incurred for the production of multiple samples. The Craft Programme had negotiated that crafters be paid for developing and producing sample products for the initial buyer. The home décor chain did not pay for the production of samples and the crafters struggled to carry the cost of production.

One craft group described a recent incident where an external product developer was sent by the iSimangaliso Authority to conduct a workshop with them. The craft group was unhappy because she left without paying them for the samples they produced. The crafters also expect lunch to be provided on the training day and complained that they were expected to work a full day without lunch. They felt that it was pointless to try to discuss this issue with the iSimangaliso Authority.

In the initial training stages the crafters had had to work long training days to perfect their product and the Programme had taken a decision to provide lunch. The precedent had been set and crafters expected lunch to be provided over the course of a training day when they would be expected to produce product samples. Crafters were paid for materials for the production of samples as the cost of materials of unsaleable samples put a financial strain on them. However,

the Programme had decided that at some point crafters had to begin to carry the cost of samples in order ensure sustainability.

Crafters also complained that they did not receive an advance payment for the material for production of the orders for the home décor chain. Some craft groups purchased their material from raw material suppliers in local towns or over the Swaziland border and borrowed funds to purchase materials. Many would get material for production on credit, but would remain in debt while waiting for long periods for payment from the buyer: *'We would make debts buying material for production.'* They struggled when they were not paid immediately at the delivery point because they owed money to multiple suppliers: *'We would get* ilala *on credit and while waiting for them to pay we will owe money.'*

Whilst the principle of sustainability required that crafters carry the production costs, the reality was that production costs put a significant strain on crafters' livelihoods, especially the large-scale production required for a major retail chain. Again, the Authority, as a government agency, was not able to continually absorb the costs.

4.4.10 Challenges with communication

The crafters struggled to communicate their issues regarding extended waiting periods for payments to the iSimangaliso Authority, and the Authority said that it was not able to overcome this challenge. They communicated with the Craft Programme coordinator at the time, and she liaised with the home décor chain on their behalf. The home décor chain did not manage the payments to craft groups. Instead an external service provider (in partnership with the home decor chain) collected products from the region and managed payments to craft groups. The craft groups felt that communicating their issues to the iSimangaliso Authority did not help and they were unable to resolve the issues.

4.4.11 Market Access Challenges faced by crafters

The crafters of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme had struggled to obtain orders for their craft products since the end of the partnership with the home décor chain. A group in Ingwavuma received an order from the Craft Programme in 2012 but complained bitterly about waiting six months for payment. They blame the incident on a miscommunication. They were asked to develop a sample product which they photographed with a cell phone and sent via text message to the Authority. The order for the products was approved based on the cell phone image of the sample and the craft group produced the order. However when the order was delivered, the colour was wrong. It was possible that the iSimangaliso Authority had to find another buyer for the order or to cover the cost of the botched order. In the past the craft groups had received orders through a team of product developers who worked in the field and monitored production. However, even this input hadn't always translated into seamless production and delivery of orders.

The cost of supporting the production of craft groups was significant. The Programme had to pay a team of product developers to travel to craft groups in the field for training workshops. For instance, if an order for 100 orange cushions was split between two craft groups that would entail travel to two different regions to ensure that craft groups achieved consistency and uniformity in the product order. The iSimangaliso Authority was not able to cover this cost without significant funding. There was also evidence to suggest that without these inputs crafters would struggle to achieve consistency in production of orders.

4.4.12 Accessing orders through the Craft Programme

Both the researcher and the Zulu-speaking interpreter had worked for the Craft Programme as product developers and facilitated workshops with craft groups. Our presence had understandably given crafters the impression that we had come to give new orders for products. We did our best to minimise this by describing our new roles and that we were no longer employed by the iSimangaliso Authority. Nevertheless our presence created expectations and these could not be completely avoided. Crafters ended the interviews with pleas for assistance: *'I would like to tell you to please help us to find or get orders from iSimangaliso because my job for the past two years has been to keep the groups motivated. But I can see that people are slowly losing hope*

since there are no orders'. Another comment was: *'Firstly we would like to get orders. Second, we thank you for coming because you give us hope that there is something being done for craft and we hope you will come back with more development on this. And by development we mean work. You shouldn't drop us. We always get happy when we see you coming back here. We wish you luck when you go back, but you shouldn't leave us.'* The women continually found ways to drop hints about orders.

The Programme had whetted the appetites of the craft groups and they longed for the kinds of product orders they had received in the past. However, since the end of the partnership with the retailer the Authority had been unable to secure significant product orders. The task of securing orders was an expertise that the Authority lacked. To an extent it was unrealistic to expect craft groups to do the same without some sort of outside assistance.

4.4.13 The limitations of local markets

The women's opportunities for sales at local markets were limited. The KwaJobe Craft Group once sold products at the Sodwana Bay market, a tourist destination, and also at the Mbazwana market, a local market in the town of Mbazwana. They said that the number of tourists coming to Sodwana Bay had increased but this had not happened in their area as well. The Sodwana Bay market was also run by local craft retailers who purchased the craft off producers to sell on to tourists. The women said that it was not easy to negotiate with them and to sell products to them. They also described a place called Sengeni where people went to sell livestock. They sold products there because it was crowded and there was an opportunity for sales. However the crafters' products would sell for very low prices (between R30 and R50) at the Sengeni market.

One group explained that if they were to start their own craft business they would go knocking door to door for business opportunities. Another group said that they would build stock to sell and then take it to the craft market outside Durban Station. They would stay there and sleep there until the stock was sold out. They explained that this strategy was not easy because they would have to rent a space for R80 per day and it was difficult to sell one product per day to cover that cost.

Some of the women had tried to develop products to sell at Jozini market but they said that their products had never sold well there, and they thought that this was because there were few tourists there. The women would have liked to have had access to tourists who could buy their products. They were concerned that they didn't have a market or physical space where they could open a business. They felt that they needed a market as this would assist them to gain access to tourists in the region. The women complained that without orders they were back to producing doormats and placemats, and taking orders from individuals. One of the craft groups attempted to connect with a local community developer to assist them to sell their products.

The crafters explained that it was very difficult for them when the orders from the home décor chain dried up because the chain was their only client. They felt a huge gap in their livelihoods because they had no other option when orders ceased and it had occurred very suddenly. However, most of the groups explained that they still operated as craft groups because they were waiting for any work they could get. They were hopeful that if they waited long enough another home décor chain order would eventually materialise: *'It's mainly because we are still a part of that moment that we worked for them and so we still wait for orders to come.'*

The crafters explained that over time there had been a pattern of buyers leaving and then returning after long periods to purchase products again. This was why some of them remained hopeful that there would be future orders: *'One thing that also keeps us going is that in our history most buyers like Marissa from the Bat Shop would order products in big chunks and then go away for a long time, then come back…So we think one day a buyer will come again.'* One of the groups explained that they prefer producing for orders than selling at Durban Station: *'If orders come we'll stop the Durban Station and start orders...We're still waiting for a similar opportunity before the second option [Durban Station] is taken...We prefer orders because Durban Station is a tough market and we don't sell different products there, we sell what everyone else sells.'*



The local markets for craft were cut-throat and the women were barely able to eke a living out of sales made locally. If craft was to be a meaningful income-earning opportunity they needed better sales. The difficulty the Craft Programme experienced was finding the right market for these crafters and their products. However, what is evident from the study is that the crafters much preferred receiving orders through the Craft Programme than competing for sales in the local markets.

4.5 Summary

This study puts under scrutiny the notion of black rural women as the most vulnerable segment of South African society. The study reveals another aspect to rural women: the women interviewed in this particular region of KwaZulu-Natal do not view themselves as the most 'vulnerable', nor do they necessarily feel compelled to participate in the rigours of the market

economy in order to survive. The iSimangaliso Craft Programme gave these women access to the market economy but they were not compelled to participate in it.

Walter F. Morris finds, for example, that crafters in Latin America are experts in uncertainty, and that in this sense they are entirely modern. Morris (1996: 130) states: 'They prefer not to sacrifice their traditional lives and culture for the relative insecurity of a job'. Where women combined their weaving with other work such as planting vegetables and rearing chickens they could always get by. Multiple livelihood activities help the women of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme to get by, and although they do not earn much their survival is not entirely dependent on the whims of the global marketplace.

One of the arguments made in this study is that rural craft interventions should serve to build upon the assets of rural crafters and assist them to maintain their sustainable livelihoods. In order to do so the markets for rural craft products must be carefully considered. A market for mass-produced products may threaten sustainable rural livelihoods if rural crafters are compelled to work in manufacturing facilities to meet the demands of the market. Therefore, we need to take into account this fact in the development of craft strategy in the context of rural development.

This chapter described the views of the women in the Craft Programme, and also discussed some of the challenges of the Craft Programme. The next chapter will discuss the views of government with regards to craft policy and implementation and explain the structures within the sector.

Chapter 5

The views of government and the structures within the craft sector

5.1 Developmental state/ SMME policy

South Africa's developmental state is a work in progress (Gumede, 2009). This study illustrates that in the context of the developmental state more needs to be done by the government to develop its majority poor. Craft is a strategic sector based on its perceived ability to contribute to economic growth (DTI, 2010). For the last fifteen years the government departments tasked with driving the sector have steadfastly pushed programmes that supported small enterprise development. Unfortunately these efforts have not created the sustained economic growth and development representative of a thriving developmental state.

The iSimangaliso Authority is a parastatal that has attempted to develop rural women in the region who fit into the informal economy. The Authority started the Craft Programme because most of the development strategies in the region were not involving women, particularly illiterate women who had no other work opportunities. Craft was considered a very good development strategy for illiterate women who could not become tour guides or run a concession. The iSimangaliso Authority was set up for the task because it was a conservation agency that had the capacity to do development work: *'We've also had to intervene in many areas and innovate in many areas where there was nothing else going on in the area, where government wasn't doing anything okay, so that's also just part of why we got involved in certain areas'* [Interview 4, 16 January 2013].

The Authority struggled to fund the Programme as it was largely funding-dependent. Its ability to run the Programme had been compromised by periods where it had to wait for funding: *'…and then within that some of the projects are project based funding…so we've just had a very shit situation where we had Lotto funding and we haven't got Lotto money almost for a year, it's been going on and on, and back and forth, and so on…so we've had to retrench our Art Programme*

Coordinator because we can't, we're not allowed to fund her position out of the main budget…so she's completely project based'[Interview 4, 16 January 2013]. During these periods the Authority did not have the funds to outsource service providers to provide training for the craft groups.

The Craft Programme was one of a range of programmes under the organisation's training and capacity building unit. The key challenges managing the Programme had been generating the funding for training the craft groups, finding the right markets for products, assisting craft groups to supply markets and the distribution of products to the market. The major challenge for craft producers was supplying the market and delivering their products to the market. The crafters were geographically far removed from the markets (buyers) in Durban and the Authority had taken a decision to try to assist the craft groups. However, the Authority didn't necessarily have the capacity or the resources to do so: *'Not necessarily but we've gotta say that if nobody is doing it why not...I mean...we also do not have capacity to do it'* [Interview 3, 16 January 2013].

The Programme was currently in limbo at the time of the interviews, waiting for funding from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (NLDTF), which the Authority planned to use to focus on market access and distribution. It planned to use the funds to improve the distribution process from producer to market, and to put systems in place to ensure that buyers received the products on time and in the right quantities and colours. The Programme also aimed to diversify markets and was developing a strategy to supply a range of different markets, including the local tourist market. In the interim it did what it could to assist the craft groups, sometimes introducing visitors to the area to the craft groups: '*Like we sometimes get groups of students who come to the area to do research, and I mean they get so excited if you take them to one of the groups that produce craft that they've not seen in the past which comes from the area. "Cause I mean when they come here the first thing they see it's Siyabonga market, St Lucia market, so if you take them to a group like Zamimpilo, it's like you've got quality stuff, this is different and then buy"*[Interview 3, 16 January 2013].

The South African government needs to play an active role in the direction, pace, and goals of development (Johnson, 1982), and needs to develop an appropriate rural craft policy framework to tackle the struggles faced by the Authority in trying to assist these craft groups. In this particular environment and context the creation of rural SMMEs was not feasible. The iSimangaliso Authority had to assist by becoming the 'market intermediary' between the craft producers and

the market. But the Authority had to continually generate the funds to deliver the service to rural craft producers. Their ability to link the craft groups to the home décor chain was compromised when funding ran out: *'...iSimangaliso ran out of funds. And this has been a challenge...that most of our producers are not fully business people...they are mostly or more comfortable being just producers...but when it comes to nitty-gritty's of distribution and all of that. And at times it's because they don't have the experience of doing it. So iSimangaliso ran out of funds to pay for the product developers that were placed to sort of assist the producers with that...and when iSimangaliso ran out of funds then the Programme sort of died as well'* [Interview 3, 16 January 2013].

The Authority also had to deal with the fact that it could not make business women out of programme participants. The fact that the women had a craft skill did not necessarily mean that they were inclined to want to do business.

According to Rogerson (2000), the government also needs to focus on demand-side interventions to create a favourable economic environment for craft development, which includes high rates of agricultural growth and sound infrastructure and social services. The region in which the Craft Programme operates is characterised by poor agricultural capacity, infrastructure and social services. The rural development policy is described as *'very agriculturally based'*[Interview 4, 16 January 2013]and did not speak to an area like the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, where agricultural potential is weak and where the main land use is conservational tourism. The women crafters are also based in areas with poor infrastructure, especially roads and transport.

The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) was convinced that the craft sector had the potential to contribute to economic growth but explained that the portfolio for craft was spread across departments and efforts to collaborate and deliver strategy were compromised: *'...it can be better, it's not optimal. I think we can be better...that's why we trying to put together you know, concepts around how we can begin to work together, and cooperate. And the agenda is really to take it and formalise it through some type of MOU that clearly and simply spells out how we can begin to work together'* [Interview 8, 1 February 2013].

In addition, the craft producers struggled to access government interventions: *'…and the argument is that…no…the resources that we commanded in here …you can access them… the*

craft sector… you can access them…the fact that you're struggling to access them is a different story… but the resources are there for you too…they not necessarily for you only…they're not designated for you, but they are there for you too' [Interview 8, 1 February 2013].There was an acknowledgment that while the resources were available the craft producers struggled to access them.

The Department of Arts and Culture grappled with this issue and was trying to determine the right solution without necessarily setting up another institution: *'...and maybe that's what the DTI were trying to do with this National Steering Committee that tries to coordinate our activities and build the necessary efficiencies to begin to access these services that are already existing. So that could be another route...because for me …whatever we do, I'm not saying we should go and recreate the wheel...because I don't think it's necessarily prudent to go and try and recreate the National Arts Council…it's got its challenges, I know…but don't try and go and set up another one. I don't think we necessarily need to go and recreate SEDA for small enterprise development, they're there. My challenge, and my contention for my sector, is access to these services, to these offerings...its access is a challenge. The people I work with struggle to access these things and I sit with them almost daily like this…'*[Interview 8, 1 February 2013].

The respondent explained that working face-to-face with crafters, he was aware of their challenges in accessing SMME development programmes: *'Crafters…they struggle …I can tell them about SEDA, I can tell them about a SETA training, but I know they gonna go out of here and call me after two weeks and say, I can't get through, I'm not getting the help that I need. So maybe whatever we do in the future…it could even be a small organization or agency, or whatever, whose core function is to begin to work around the necessary efficiencies for people to begin to access what already exists. Don't recreate it but just find a way to begin to work at the efficiencies …and maybe that's too idealistic…at the practical level it's very tough'* [Interview 8, 1 February 2013].The respondent felt that something needed to be done to create the efficiencies within government to provide better access to programmes and that trying to implement SMME development was 'tough'.

The respondent from the DTI explained some of the struggles implementing policy:

'For me it's something that all government has to struggle with. It's how we really move from policy...and you see I say we're responsible for implementing these policies...how do we actually get things from this paper, from this document into real programmes that will impact on the people. So I mean that's the challenge of government...that's the challenge of South African government, because we do have some brilliant policies and it's the implementation that is sometimes a problem...

So that's the challenge and then really…but also the challenge with working with government is how do you implement policies in real life and you put programmes that are about to make policy real, or programmes that take forward the policy implications...' [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

Rogerson (2000: 204) explains that rural producers need 'a complementary blend of interventions' to boost the demand for their goods and their ability to supply the market. This includes designing policy interventions that assist the rural manufacturing economy and crafts. The first set of policies should be macro-economic policies to expand the demand or markets for rural producers. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) explained that post-1994 its emphasis was on growing exports, attracting foreign investment into the country, and opening up markets to world trade. Whilst exports were still important, its emphasis had shifted to local market development. It was also looking to use government procurement to stimulate local business: *'So that's been the sort of change… the IPAP brings that localisation emphasis, local procurement, local industrial development, and so ja, I think that's the main change that has been at DTI…'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

The Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP) guides the DTI's craft sector policy. It states that without industrialisation and manufacturing South Africa will lose jobs. South Africa needs to have effective manufacturing and local procurement of goods. IPAP acknowledges that South Africa needs an industrial action plan to grow local industries, grow local SMMEs, and grow the local market. Exports can be grown on the strength of these industries.

The second set of policy interventions should create an 'enabling environment' for rural producers. The DTI has set about 'to establish regional urban hubs, with strong links to prioritised rural hubs, to promote and facilitate craft trade' (DTI, 2006:38). The goal is 'to create an effective enabling

environment which ensures products reach markets and that market information reaches producers; and especially to bridge the gap, both social and geographic, between rural producers and urban markets' (DTI, 2006:38).

The Craft Sector Strategy was designed to deal with issues affecting the sector such as product development, market access, and small enterprise development to grow craft enterprises. These issues are covered by the broad mandate of the DTI. However, because the craft sector has particular needs a specific strategy was developed to support implementation. Whilst craft producers could draw upon the DTI's existing programmes, the idea behind the craft strategy was that existing small enterprise development programmes were not necessarily equipped to respond to the craft sector: *'So with the craft strategy the idea was some of these offerings… instead of saying to people but you know DTI has an enterprise…SEDA is doing enterprise… go to SEDA…they go to SEDA, and SEDA is not used to dealing with a craft product or with…and their programmes are not structured to immediately respond to that sub sector… or go to Khula and get funding. You go to Khula…but there's all these funding agencies that might not be responsive to the craft sector for instance. So that's why… therefore I say, let's have the craft hubs or centres where many of these offerings can be put under. And in a way that also is responsive to the needs of crafters'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

The hubs would also address Rogerson's (2000) final group of policies which are related to interventions which address rural producer's constraints. These policies acknowledge that we need to help rural producers respond to new opportunities, and address the obstacles faced by rural producers. The craft hubs are essentially small business incubators: *'The point has been to say… yes we have all these programmes… but it's difficult to access them… so let's create a space, or incubator space where crafters from the area, or even from further on can access these services… can access training, can access you know, training in terms of developing their products, training in terms of developing their enterprises…can be able to access basic forms to register their enterprises. So all those services have got closer to the crafter'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].However, the craft hubs have not helped to get programmes closer to rural craft producers. The hub concept comes with its challenges.

There were meant to be nine craft hubs (one per province) but there are currently only two, i.e. the Cape Craft and Design Institute (CCDI) in the Western Cape, and the North West Craft and

Design Institute (NWCDI) in North West province. There should be one central hub per province, as well as satellite hubs in remote regions: *'There's a central hub and then there's satellites where the same services can be put onto the satellite hubs, so it was supposed to be per province. But you see the programmes are...they're offering...we can offer them, even if the hubs are not there. But the idea was that you need...these programmes were there before but they were not reaching the crafters. So maybe let's create an incubator or hub where you can then really tailor make these services to the crafters and they can access them. The bigger problem has been that on... as DTI say we want them to be registered special purpose vehicles but we can't force province…but we can't force the provincial governments to do that it's their choice'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

Provinces would prefer not to have to fund separate agencies or hubs and so the hubs have not been the solution for all provinces: *'So now the idea is that we need to find a way to still take these programmes to all the provinces without insisting that the only way we can do that is if the provinces register a craft hub. Because your product development, market access, all these programmes...you could directly put them onto tenders for the DTI...to say we want organizations to run these programmes in KZN'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

The DTI was considering putting its programmes out to tender but there were reservations about taking this route. Its main concern was that if they were run as a government agency they would drain resources and there would be a lack of delivery: *'...you could put to tender and then you give it…you still want it to be done in a particular way. But you want it to be done in a central area, and then the services can be further stretched to satellites. The difference is that you were saying you don't want an organisation set up by government to run it. You are putting …you can take the same thing and say you want to put it to tender, and organisations can tender to run this for government. That's another way to do it. The danger is that a few years later then you can suddenly...it's owned by that organisation and it's a service that was being provided by government. The other flip-side is that you make it a government agency to run it, and then suddenly you have a big agency that is consuming more money and not really delivering services. Which is what the people are saying...we have too many agencies that are expensive to maintain, and we don't even see the money getting to the actual people. So it's almost like taking the same model but saying what is the organisational format that will run this model. Do you want it to be a government agency? Can the department itself run it directly and employ people to work in this*

hub like Gauteng initially...then you end up... 'cause they couldn't register an agency, hiring the people now directly and we could have moved to do that, but the advantages of an agency being able to move almost like a private company or a company, speedily without the too many processes of government would be lost' [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

There was a concern that the bureaucratic processes within government departments would slow down delivery of programmes. But the DTI was not confident about which type of organisation or model was best suited to the task.

The DTI had ongoing issues delivering policy to craft producers, especially rural producers. It also had issues regarding the delivery of market access programmes. The DTI also subsidised small craft enterprises to attend local and international trade shows. The idea was to expose the enterprises to export opportunities through international trade show attendance. However, craft enterprises were unable to generate follow-up orders after attending trade shows, and supporting crafters to attend trade shows had not improved exports. Buyers refrained from placing orders with South African craft producers at trade shows. Crafters attending shows produced enough to sell overseas but returned to do little else for the following six months because they were not able to secure orders for products to continue supplying the buyers. They sold out of their products on the stands, but the expense that had been incurred by the DTI for their attendance often exceeded the value of the products sold.

Crafters could receive up to R60 000 from the DTI to attend a trade show. If they found a cheap hotel and cut costs they might return home with savings:*'…one guy was …we had a meeting earlier on, and he was saying… he's from the export incentives side…saying… guys… now you guys are out of order with your crafters…these crafters, some of them we see…we see someone whose coming in, like to get to go to four trade shows'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].The craft enterprises were not expected to return the funds to the DTI but to re-invest the funds into their business. But there was little evidence that funds were used to generate new business: *'…these guys are now milking the system…because they know that if I go overseas four times and I save… well I come back, I have money for other things for the rest of the year…'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

The DTI tried to monitor sales and expected a six-month report from enterprises who attended, but there were seldom follow-up orders: *'Either they can't meet the follow up orders, or either…companies out there don't believe they can get these craft products exported to them in the right way …and be able to sell them further. But yes, when they are there they can buy… but to import them… seems like no, it's not worthwhile'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].The DTI experience similar issues with other sectors. The issue was not confined to the craft sector and it was trying to determine a way to improve the situation. Essentially what had happened was that craft producers had found a way to make a living off DTI market access programmes. It was possible that they were not incentivised to do business, were not skilled enough to do business, or were not operating in an environment conducive to doing business.

The DTI was aware that crafters needed policy interventions to assist them and that current strategy was not responsive to the needs of rural craft producers. There was also an acknowledgement that perhaps strategy needed to focus more on local market development before trying to generate exports. And that perhaps expecting that craft producers should become exporters before developing their business in the local market had been premature: *'So ja… there's that need… I mean also…but as I say, the need is there. We need to respond to the crafters in rural areas but the programmes we giving them… we need to look at them again. Because what if we were to develop those crafters within their regions… but we increase their sales where they are. It's not about export, but it's about really… what I'm selling…how much more I can sell… keep prices down, sell more, and make more continuously…in the local market …and then access… how do I distribute it nationally… even before I go to Germany. Ja so…ja I think I've answered the question… that there's a need to impact on the crafters… develop their business… and therefore whatever… but you know the question could be then… how well are we doing with those interventions...'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

The DTI also struggled to cascade national programmes to provincial level so that they were able to reach rural craft producers. Crafters struggled to get assistance from their provincial departments: *'So the guy who is in Tlhabane then tries to talk to DTI direct in Pretoria because he also wants to go and showcase, or go to the trade show in whatever, in France, and it's a struggle…and ideally it should be easy that through the local level of SEDA, or the Arts and Culture Department, going to province...we can coordinate that, and make that service easily reached by the person on the ground'*[Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

Describing the crafters that access their programmes the DTI explained that it didn't necessarily reach the rural regions of South Africa:*'...I mean even if we say we have crafters from all the country…you'll find that the majority of crafters that we might be dealing with are from Durban, not necessarily the whole of KZN. Because Durban…access to information, and access to the department, and Pietermaritzburg is very easy, and the crafters then maybe from North Coast don't easily access the provincial department, and then therefore don't usually access the national programmes'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

Gumede (2009) explains that policy in the developmental state needs to be the right policy, in the right sequence; and needs to be able to change quickly if strategy is not working. Policy in developmental states is also effectively implemented; South African craft policy is not. Craft policy in South Africa is inflexible and it suggests that craft producers become registered SMMEs with little consideration of the environment and contexts in which they are situated. There is evidence that rural women craft producers in South Africa are also not ready to become SMMEs. There has been little willingness by government to experiment with craft policy by developing policy that would work best in a given time and place, especially within the context of the women in remote rural regions of South Africa. There is strong evidence that SMME policy in itself is very challenging for government to implement, in both urban and rural contexts. Government departments are continually faced with the types of issues described in this study.

5.2 People-centred participation vs. bottom-line thinking

The study unearthed government's 'economic bottom-line' thinking in relation to craft development (Gaylard, 2004). The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) explained that arts and culture were increasingly under pressure to deliver economic development, specifically jobs: *'…because you see this area of economic development for us as arts and culture…it came later…Ja…it came later. In other words, even if we had no economic agenda as arts and culture we would still exist because the arts are important in themselves. But I think reality dictates that we begin to deal with this issue of economics because among other things there's acknowledgment right at the highest level, president's level, to say jobs are a critical issue and everybody needs to come to the party…everybody…arts and…everybody…social*

development…everybody now is expected to account on this area of job creation' [Interview 8, 1 February 2013]. According to the DAC, job creation is a priority for national government and around the world it has become the focus: *'So it comes back to that…eventually…it comes back to that…so all of us in our area of work, even if it's not necessarily economically orientated …are you making some type of contribution to jobs? BEE? temporary or...'* [Interview 8, 1 February 2013].

The respondents from the home décor chain had concerns about the model for craft development in South Africa. They felt the model made an incorrect assumption – that entire communities of rural women want to pursue craft: *'...you know everybody has to be suited to their task. And so we go into a community and expect everyone to participate and then we're disappointed when they don't come to the party. It's the same …one neighbourhood's got such a...in an urban environment...there's such a diverse amount of people in it, doing...in one block of houses...so why would a community all be the same, a community of women?'* [Interview 1, 15 January 2013]. The respondents felt that not everyone who had the ability to craft was suited to pursuing it full time and this was why Craft Programmes could sometimes face resistance from crafters: *'I think that's a key one that you can't just go to a community and say you guys are all crafters, start crafting'*[Interview 2, 15 January 2013]. Another comment made: *'Start weaving...switches some people on, switches others off'* [Interview 1, 15 January 2013].

The respondents explained why they thought that small to medium businesses struggled to succeed. To operate a small business a person needed to be a jack of all trades, and to be able to succeed in areas where a person might be weak. Small business people couldn't focus on their strengths because they were consumed by having to carry out multiple activities. Time was a major constraint because small business owners needed to spread their time between many activities. Small businesses didn't have human resources departments that were able to focus on the people working in the company and on building their strengths. Labour laws could be restrictive for small businesses that didn't have the time to enforce them. The respondents advocated for a people-oriented focus instead, that focused on people's strengths and that didn't demand that people be proficient in all things. Craft interventions should focus on the participants and on growing their awareness of their individual potential: *So if there's going to be any craft intervention with money...developing people and their awareness of how great they are, and what*

their potential is...is what you really want. Unlocking potential in people...' [Interview 1, 15 January 2013].

The iSimangaliso Authority suspected that the home décor chain still continued to stock a small amount of South African product to keep the external pressure off: *'...for a moment in time...maybe it's a cynical view...they were getting* klapped *by the unions because they were not selling South African products. Everything was made in China so they had a little CSI thing and they started to buy some local craft products. They still got some...I saw some little bowls made out of paper there the other day...and it's a whole little development project you know. So they still kind of doing that in a very, very small token kind of way...but actually their business is about importing from China, and you know look I understand all the sorts of manufacturing issues in South Africa…'* [Interview 4, 16 January, 2013]. However, the evidence in this study suggested that the chain's affiliation with South African craft and design had more to do with their branding strategy than with any kind of external pressure from government.

The retailer understood the crafters' challenges but this did not impact on their business strategy, which was to secure efficiencies in production from their suppliers. Currently most of their home décor products are sourced from the East as these manufacturers are able to meet the specific requirements of the retailer.

South African crafters struggled to compete against Asian exports and there was little chance that South African retailers would change their buying strategy. The home décor chain explained what they expect from the manufacturers that supply them: *'…increasing volume and looking for…not necessarily massive growth for them but more…and with any model we look at over here. So if we start a…buying duvets…duvet covers or sheets; every single year the manufacturer should be looking for manufacturing efficiencies you know…to make it cheaper…to make…because now they've got history behind them. They know how much we're ordering, they know what colour-ways…they should be buying their dye in more efficient ways, they should be scheduling their manufacturing in more efficient ways so that we get efficiencies through production…that was never looked at...'* [Interview 2, 15 January 2013].

The home décor chain's strategy was geared to address their business model of 'efficiencies'. Every business decision was taken with this particular strategy in mind. [Interviews 1 & 2, 15 January 2013]:

Respondent 1: *And the changing global situation, business globally… so trends come along so you looking at future trends and you have a strategy to go with that...*

Respondent 2: *However probably what would be a good element there is…there is a stronger focus on the global environment and how we can maximise our opportunities for near sourcing or local efficiencies which strategically were not a key on our agenda and now we are focusing a lot more on local sourcing for efficiency, not local sourcing to stimulate local trade necessarily but to create a more efficient production pipe-line...*

Respondent 1: *[A]nd so there's a bit of a wake-up call for people and it's like, why are we doing this to ourselves? If we can find the efficiencies next door why aren't we going for them and so I suppose the future trend is to bring things back. In journalism it's often portrayed as a sort of green economic footprint and so on...*

Respondent 2: *…sustainability is a concern...*

Respondent 1: *…so you've gotta create the jobs here to create the employment, to create the money flow in your own back yard, of course if you've got a global strategy you can work on a different scenario but you know most businesses in South Africa should be thinking that way. Because otherwise you forced to go global instead of staying where you are...*

5.3 Summary

A respondent who had previously worked for the iSimangaliso Authority felt that the sector needed to be more clear about the outcomes pursued: *'I'm just saying that I think we must be very clear about what we want as an outcome. Do we want an improved product? Do you want an improved product out there? Do you want people to make more money? You want people to*

make more money, but they must want to make more money, and if they really want to make more money, than they will do whatever it takes to make that money, otherwise they'll find another way...' [Interview 7, 26 January 2013].

The South African craft sector needed to also determine if the outcomes pursued were aligned to people's incentives because people were not completely incentivised by money and work. They also preferred to pursue income generation in different ways. The urban craft producers who earned an income from DTI-sponsored attendance at international trade shows earned a comfortable living, without employing the gruelling workload involved in running a successful craft SMME. In this case-study, making money was an important incentive, but not the only incentive for crafters of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme.

The iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority (n.d.) viewed its Craft Programme as an example of the 'necessary investment' the state needs to make in rural development that will enable people to stay in rural areas rather than to migrate to urban centres. This study demonstrates the need for carefully considered interventions to assist crafters in rural areas to succeed in the contexts in which they are situated. It provides a point of departure from which to think critically about the current craft policy framework in the context of rural development.

This chapter discussed the views of government with regards to craft policy and implementation and explained the structures within the sector. The next chapter is a discussion about the findings in the study.

Chapter 6

Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings made in the study. I also critique some of the findings in this study.

Gaylards (2004) explains that our existing policy suggests that craft must equal *money* and *work*, and developing SMMEs is the means to achieve it, but the failure of policy to deliver the economic growth and jobs we strive for compels us to question the methods employed. The place to start is with the craft producers and with the context: '*So we can't come in and impose a solution, we can help by providing a better offer of whatever it is that exists they already doing'* [Interview 7, 26 January 2013]. The respondent had spent years coordinating the Craft Programme and trying to assist rural craft producers to meet the demands of the market but felt that it was an ongoing struggle: '*You can't control everything. You see the reality and improve on what is; that's it'*[Interview 7, 26 January 2013]. We needed to consider the participants and employ sensitivity when developing our models for craft production and development: '*Because it has to come from them, nowhere else in the world, unless you are prepared to hold their hands all the time, then it's not gonna ever work.'* [Interview 7, 26 January 2013].

Success must be determined and aligned to the incentives of the craft producers. Morris (1996: xxii) discusses measures of success: *'Success is achieving what you set out to do. Sometimes the hardest task is defining those goals at the start. Far too many organisations flounder because their main objectives are contradictory or poorly articulated. Making money is the bottom line, but money is not the only consideration. Artisans working in sweatshops earn higher incomes than cooperative members who work part-time. If money were the single aim, sweatshops would be the model of development. Other, often unspoken goals, such as reviving folk art or improving women's role in society, also are valid criteria for success. Balancing several objectives means compromise.'*

We need to also acknowledge that we cannot impose a specific outcome and communities must choose for themselves. Craft policy asks that we assist craft producers to make money using their skill but it does not ask what rural producer's incentives are. In developing our models for craft production and development we must determine our main objectives and goals with these considerations in mind.

Succeeding in the 'designer' market for craft requires delivering on social and economic goals whilst successfully competing with less enlightened businesses in the marketplace. This approach has strengths and weaknesses that we must understand and acknowledge, specifically in the South African context. This study described the actors' perspectives on the partnership and the extent to which the partnership was beneficial. It also shed light on the viability of accessing this type of market in a rural context and the sustainability of the model. The study asks if the model is appropriate. By using this case-study we can examine the underlying purpose of craft development in South Africa. What are our spoken and unspoken craft development goals? What is the criterion for success?

The craft producers in this study were particularly reliant on social capital. Their sense of well-being (through identity, honour and belonging) was reinforced through social groups. The Craft Programme was designed around the craft group structure. The women felt supported in the group structure and despite a lack of on-going orders and training workshops through the Craft Programme they continued to use the support of the group structure. They enjoyed the social interaction provided in a group setting and collaborated on initiatives.

Another incentive that was continually emphasised was the training provided by the Craft Programme. The group learning process was important for individual growth. The women remembered all the training they had received over the years and many were attracted to the Craft Programme for the initial training provided. It had taken years before they had seen their incomes grow from orders through the Craft Programme, but they participated in training despite minimal earnings, and even when there were none.

A craft group that was disgruntled about a product development workshop in which they produced samples which were not paid for, still spoke highly of the training, praised the professionalism of the service provider, saw the tools and templates that were used as organised and effective, and

were proud of the finished samples. Working or training with other women in the region was an attraction in itself and the women felt a sense of accomplishment. These were some of the 'unspoken goals' of the women of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme.

The earnings from craft were important to the women and were an added perk. But the women hadn't sustained high earnings through the home décor chain for an extended period of time, certainly not for a long enough period to see any major livelihood changes. What they had experienced were their achievements and their ability to rise to the occasion, and what they had gained was confidence and a stronger awareness of their capabilities. The women yearned to be part of the 'moment' again and they clung to the hope that the initiative would someday be revived.

The money earned from craft was not critical to their survival but it did lighten their load and, more importantly, the money earned from craft was theirs. The women earned it and they could choose how to spend it. Craft money was not remittance money, or child grant money, it was *earned* money. Income cannot possibly tell the full story, as Morris (1996) discovered, and when we are able to understand the bigger picture we are better placed to create appropriate models for developing craft production (Gaylard, 2004).

6.2 Craft producers in the global marketplace

In considering the incentives of the crafters of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme we are better placed to determine the appropriate market, and whether or not the home décor chain was an appropriate market. Global markets have an influence on the craft production model (Morris, 1996), and so markets should always be carefully considered in relation to the needs or incentives of the craft producers and cultural traditions. We need to strike a balance between commerce and culture, and to deliver economic and social progress (Morris, 1996).

The craft groups struggled to meet the demands of the 'designer goods' market or home décor chain. The home décor chain described the Indonesian model for craft production from which it sourced product: *'...so if we look at even...what we doing now, and what we purchasing. We getting a lot of things out of Indonesia at the moment...that is a very rural manufacturing*

process...well sourcing and preparing process...but that the raw material is done by the local people that are cutting, and dying, and staining and that. But when it comes to making the product it's manufactured in a manufacturing facility. So...but that kind of was developed as a...created a business environment out of a craft that has always been there, and now it's a global product trend that everyone is buying into...' [Interview 2, 15 January 2013].

The home décor chain essentially described the model for craft production that was appropriate for supplying its market. And its respondents explained that the model for production of the iSimangaliso Craft Progamme was not feasible. However, we need to ask if rural manufacturing facilities are the right model for production if we aim to consider crafters' incentives and want to maintain sustainable rural livelihoods.

The crafters that the home décor chain was currently engaged with fell under an NGO, which operated in Khayelitsha in Cape Town. The relationship was different to the one that the chain had had with the iSimangaliso craft groups because it was now dealing with a business-like entity, as opposed to individual craft groups. The crafters were urban and based in townships: *'… previously the crafters we worked with were rural crafters, that were crafting as a skill that they had, and looking to supply to the market. But the profile of crafters that we work with now, or would want to work with in the future, are commercial crafters or commercial manufactures that have a skill, so they don't necessarily have to be crafters they just have a skill set that, a traditional skill set or a rural skill set'* [Interview 2, 15 January 2013].

The NGO found buyers and generated orders for products. It also sold and distributed the products using the principles of fair trade. The home décor chain worked with the NGO because it was able to purchase product through a business unit which was focused on the efficiencies in production and delivery suited to their market.

This market underwent intense swings in fashion which defined what colour or material would sell. It looked to world culture for the latest trends, which meant India could be in fashion one season and Indonesia the next. There were broad themes such as 'ethnic' or 'modern', but even these were subject to change. Surviving in this market required a designer or design team that understood trends and could forecast future trends. During the iSimangaliso Craft Programmes partnership with the home décor chain, designs and colours were determined by the home décor

chain; product developers for the Craft Programme trained crafters to produce the designs and colours by facilitating workshops.

The iSimangaliso Craft Programme attempted to follow the middle course, i.e. between commerce and culture. The programme attempted to meet the demands of a 'designer goods' market (as defined by Morris). In this particular market craft producers needed to sell to people outside their culture and to adapt their craft to foreign tastes. It was the design itself that sold the product, not the manufacturing process or the place of origin. Therefore the skill of the designer was critical and the crafters' relationship with the client depended on professional intermediaries (designers, product developers).

In understanding the model in relation to the environment and context of the crafters of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme we need to ask if the model is appropriate. It is critical that South African craft policy start to carefully determine its goals, its criterion for success, using the people it aims to deliver benefits to as a starting point. By doing so it will be in better place to determine the appropriate markets and the appropriate models for developing craft production (Morris, 1996; Gaylard, 2004).

The respondent from the DTI also explained how we mismatch crafters to markets when we pursue our economic-centred craft goals:*'...but here's the thing...maybe we are doing something wrong here. How do you expect something that is hand-made, that has historical value, and cultural value...to change fast...like retail. It's not meant for fast retail. It's not meant for fast retail...and the pricing there in retail was to value this less...but the time and effort. This is a craft product, so it's different from the fast retail product made by machines that can sell for much less.'* [Interview 6, 24 January 2013].

The respondent described the type of sensitivity that needs to be employed when linking traditionally handmade craft products to the market. Decisions need to be better considered.

6.3 Craft research themes: agency/women

The women in this study found a 'broader social purpose' in the iSimanagaliso Craft Programme (Morris, 1996: 139). Money earned through craft gave a sense of satisfaction because it was acquired through skill and organisational abilities. Managing production as a group was no simple feat and the women's sense of self-worth and purpose was strengthened through the process. They felt a sense of achievement in their ability to manage a 'big' client. Earning money through craft was empowering because it did not detract from other livelihood activities. Craft was considered a supportive income which added to other income streams. The women also seemed to enjoy making craft: *uthando.*

The women of the Programme were keen to improve their skills in their areas of interest. They had an uncanny ability to juggle multiple activities and they led very busy lives. They didn't stop thinking about ways to improve their livelihoods and were also opportunistic. One group of women was planning to learn to make beer pots (traditional ceramics) to add to their weaving skills. The group had arranged their own training through another group of local crafters already producing the pots. The group was already planning where and how to source the material. Craft was in their top three priorities for its ability to merge seamlessly with other activities.

The women had a wide range of interests in everything from block making, community counselling and farming, to livestock sales and marketing, but they are particularly attracted to craft for its group work scenario and the social benefits that occurred when they worked together towards production of orders. The size of the orders was beneficial because earnings per person, per piece increased. The women could plan purchases with the increased earnings, and invest in big items to make life more comfortable (such as beds and wardrobes) or to generate further income (such as through sewing machines). These women were financial strategists, i.e. they used money strategically to improve their lives and they were disciplined savers. They saved an average of R100 to R200 per month and most had saving accounts to draw upon as they saw fit.

The women of this region had abilities and survival strategies that they had honed over time. Any intervention aiming at improving their lives needed to take cognisance of this and needed to seek to build upon this. More importantly, our models for developing craft production should be attuned to these women. Whether we ask them to spend their days in a rural manufacturing facility or

whether we ask that they dedicate all of their time to running a craft SMME, we needed to consider the implications for their lives.

The key constraints that block the expansion of rural craft production in developing nations are essentially the same constraints faced by the women of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme (Rogerson, 2001). The women had very limited access to functioning markets (local and otherwise) and were heavily reliant on the Craft Programme to link them to the market. They paid a small fortune to purchase raw materials, incurred hefty transport costs to purchase some materials, and walked long distances to collect raw materials. They sometimes could not access raw materials owing to seasonality or drought. The women struggled to access finance or working capital for production of orders, and often landed in debt in order to meet market demands. Their only access to technology to improve their business was their cell phones. They had no formal management skills or business skills, and couldn't develop them independently, especially not without exposure to the market. Unless an organisation like the iSimangaliso Authority intervened, there were certainly no institutional support structures or adequate support systems.

What is evident from this study is that many of the scenarios and conditions described by both Rogerson (2001) and Gaylard (2004) over a decade ago, still exist today. If we are to continue our pursuit of craft policy for craft development in South Africa we need to look critically at our interventions and begin to structure 'packages' that address these constraints.

6.4 Current paradigms

Gumede (2009) warns that our democracy may be in trouble if the poor, who are in the majority, remain without access to economic development. The Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP) acknowledges that we need to promote industrialisation and the participation of 'historically disadvantaged people and marginalised regions in the industrial economy' (DTI, 2010:13). However government's insistence on favouring the micro entrepreneurship development paradigm continues to impede rural craft development in South Africa.

The South African government has misconceived the problems and solutions for the craft sector (Meuller, 2006), and is insistent on supporting a system that is failing. South African crafters on the whole are failing to graduate from 'survivalists' into fully functioning SMMEs. The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) explained that its programmes were aimed at developing these 'survivalist' enterprises: *'Very survivalist, very…I like, I don't know, if Monica originated this…there's this diagram I know she's referred to it a lot, and she's used it a lot, but I can't remember if she originated it. But it's a nice one because it just shows this pyramid with survivalists right there at the bottom, and everybody is there, everybody's there…congregated there, and then as the pyramid goes up you know it narrows up. Right there at the top you will get your Carol Boyes, if we can still classify her as a crafter. Ja, you'll get those few who are…who are exporting…they are at that level…they exporting, they are sustainable. But these ones it's hand to mouth…they're survivalist…they can barely price their product. You ask them to price this… its drama…for the same thing I price R3, you price R170 for the same thing. There's absolutely no logic to how we price, because we don't know how to go about it so ja, ja…survivalists…I would say survivalists …that's the picture we're trying to change'* [Interview 8, 1 February 2013].

Respondents from the iSimangaliso Authority felt that the home décor chain had only become involved in the Programme as a result of pressure from government: *'...I think the large numbers of products that were coming in from China and also the fact that the Chinese were able to replicate perhaps Zulu baskets quite adequately for half the price. So I think you know I don't have proof of this but I can tell you that as time went on they were less committed to supporting this initiative...because they also a business and I think government had also loosened their grip on most companies to support local industry. There wasn't that kind of monitoring...'* [Interview 7, 26 January 2013].However, upon hearing the responses from the home décor chain with regards to their incentives I'm not certain this was the case: *'…well you get great brand…you know…it's good for your brand'*[Interview 1, 15 January 2013].

The partnership gave the home décor chain a better position in the market, as a supporter of local products and local design. This all contributes towards its profitability: *'…there were definite benefits in terms of our recognition as a supporting local manufacture, getting involved in the craft and design industry. We got good exposure in terms of our media junket that was done; there was good positioning of the business through that…with exposure of the crafters. Crafters had*

the opportunity to be seen on a national scale…which could stimulate further business proposals. So there were a lot of benefits out of it. But I think it was the efficiency of the process, or the way the business was run, that limited it. It was a good project, but like with everything the details are what makes or breaks it.' [Interview 2, 15 January 2013].

But at the end of the day the craft groups were not set up to meet the demands of the market, and the home décor chain did better business with the East. An ongoing challenge for craft producers in South Africa is their inability to compete with Asian exports. Competition from the East, especially China, is a great threat to SMMEs (Cass, 2012).

The respondent from the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) explained that creative industries had been growing worldwide, even during the economic crisis of 2008/9. The United Nations Council on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) had released trade statistics in the arts that indicated a strong growth from 2008 to 2010 in creative industries as a whole. However, craft had only grown nominally. South African craft imports from China and India were on the increase. Whilst China's craft exports had grown worldwide, South African craft exports showed no growth at all. South Africa's craft exports from 2002 till 2010 had been on a downward slope.

If South African crafters are to secure a place in retail stores they need to be able to meet their demands and the reality is that South Africa's survivalist craft enterprise are a long way off:*'…and we need more efficient sourcing of raw materials, we need more efficient weaving methods, we need more efficient logistics, delivery methods…all of those...'* [Interview 2, 15 January 2013]. It is unfortunate that most South African business (and most business worldwide) is still focused on the traditional (economic) 'bottom line' and South African craft producers or 'survivalists' will continually struggle to supply these markets: *'…it was not viable…the business model was not viable…it was made at a business level…no one had accountability for it. When the numbers came up and they said this is not a viable business model anymore, we cannot continue. If it's not a viable business model it will not happen'* [Interview 1, 15 January 2013].

The strong centralised state-propelled development that Mueller advocates for would need to consider the nature of South African businesses and gear them towards economic success or profitability, together with social development and environmental consciousness. Social development and environmental consciousness are not reflected in current economic success but

they are factors that will contribute towards the long-term sustainability of the country and of business in the country (Cass, 2012). McCarthy (2011) has noted that a dynamic private sector has driven development in fast-growing countries and that in these countries the state played a key role by creating supporting circumstances for private firms to prosper.

South Africa's business environment is also considered very restrictive, especially with regards to small business start-ups (Cass, 2012). The respondent from the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) noted a difference between African and South African crafters. African crafters selling their wares at Rosebank craft market or Damdoryn fared much better than their South African counterparts. Crafters in other parts of Africa were more inclined to be entrepreneurial. However, the 'entrepreneurial spark' is considered absent in most South African crafters.

Cass (2012) states that if South Africa is to truly realise the employment creation potential of small enterprises, government must readdress the regulatory environment and support measures to stimulate entrepreneurship and encourage new businesses to form. The massive funding dedicated to developing SMME development also doesn't necessarily solve the problem.

This study illustrated that in the rural context there are factors both external (as described by Cass (2012) and Meuller (2006)) and internal, that stack the odds against micro enterprises. The crafters of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme competed with other crafters in the region with similar products, they struggled with quality-control issues related to production for the home décor chain, and the high cost of transport made deliveries the key challenge in the partnership with the home décor chain.

Mueller (2006) advocates developing the rural manufacturing industry to create employment opportunities in these regions. However, the manner in which we do this must consider the triple bottom line and maintain the sustainable rural livelihoods which are described in this study. The crafters in this study are unlikely to benefit from working in a rural manufacturing facility, and their ability to implement multiple livelihood strategies would be compromised. A factory-type environment would not give the women the social cohesion that assists them to thrive, and which derives from them working independently as a craft group. The women also need to collaborate with businesses that can accommodate the rural manufacturing process.

6.5 Benefits of craft development

McCarthy and Mavundla (2009) noted that in order to create a viable craft industry there is a need for external interventions. The iSimangaliso Authority found that the craft groups needed a great deal of support to meet the demands of the home décor chain. The craft producers were also not business oriented.

The Authority needed enormous funding support to manage the demands of the buyer and to meet the order requirements. The home décor chain had seasonal colour and product requirements, and the cost of training and support to meet the requirements was more than the Authority could afford.

As a government entity the iSimangaliso Authority was not set up to manage the demands of the market. Managing the relationship was also a critical component of making the partnership a success. It involved two very different types of organisations trying to cooperate and coordinate the initiative – one with capitalist goals and one with philanthropic goals. Striking the balance took negotiation and the iSimangaliso Authority had to be firm to ensure that craft groups received fair prices. Managing the relationship with the buyer was an ongoing challenge for the Craft Programme, and one which craft groups could not have managed independently. The Authority also realised that in order to make the Craft Programme sustainable they needed to have multiple buyers (aside from the home décor chain). They needed to manage these relationships with buyers to keep the initiative afloat.

It took a while before the Craft Programme could link the craft groups with a big buyer. Extensive training and product development was needed to get them to a point where they were market-ready, and the craft groups had in fact started off with small orders from a retailer in Durban. The Craft Programme would have liked to continue the relationship with the home décor chain to determine the production capacity of the craft group and then to strategically take on new buyers.

The craft groups in the region needed this level of support to succeed in the ‘designer goods’ market, whether it came from government or from another organisation. The Authority and the home décor chain relied on the free transport provided by a service provider who came to the

region to collect the products from the craft groups. The distribution issue is one of the major challenges to overcome when linking rural crafters to the market.

McCarthy and Mavundla's views (2009) support the findings in this study: that craft does bring positive changes to the lives of crafters and their families. These positive results help to motivate and give credence to the development of the sector. However what is evident is that craft SMME development policy does not 'fit' with the realities of the rural craft sector. New thinking needs to be employed to create appropriate rural craft development policy and strategy.

This chapter discussed some of the findings in this study. In chapter seven I discuss some of the recommendations for craft policy and the craft sector based on this study. I also make a number of recommendations based on my research.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In this chapter I discuss some of the recommendations for craft policy and the craft sector based on this study. I also make a number of recommendations based on my research.

7.1 Create a more holistic policy and adaptable framework

The South African craft policy framework is focused on economic development. This was evident from the analysis of craft policy documents and from the interviews with government officials in this study. The South African government needs to take a more holistic approach to craft development – one that is more people-oriented and that recognises that people have needs beyond solely economic ones.

Morris (1996) found that wages were an arbitrary criterion for measuring the success of a development programme and qualitative changes in the crafters' lives were the criteria for success. The women in this study benefited from and were incentivised by the social and financial capital gains of craft production and sales. Therefore, policy needs to focus on the social *and* financial outcomes of craft development.

One also cannot assume that a single fixed approach to craft development will suffice. The realities in the field are shifting and changing continually, and therefore strategy needs to evolve and adapt to changing conditions.

7.2 Revisit SMME policy

The focus on economic gains through craft SMME development has not created the sustained economic growth envisaged by government. The findings of the study were that most craft enterprises were still 'survivalist' enterprises. The crafters in this study had multiple income earning strategies and also aspired to a variety of new strategies, and craft was not the only strategy they wished to pursue. We assume that all crafters with a skill want to pursue craft full-time and operate craft SMMEs. We also assume that all craft producers have the rare ability to succeed as a small enterprise, juggling multiple roles and responsibilities. The crafters in this study led busy lives, pursuing multiple strategies to sustain their livelihoods. It is unlikely that they could carry the additional responsibility of running an SMME.

Gaylard (2004) described the need to develop a clear institutional arrangement for craft, and to coordinate existing policies, programmes and projects, as a critical issue to address. This study revealed the efforts of the Department of Arts and Culture and the DTI to collaborate and deliver strategy. The departments struggled to deliver their programmes and make their programmes accessible to crafters. Another challenge they faced was cascading national programmes to province; and then extending programmes to rural craft producers in the provinces.

The departments tried to develop strategy to create an enabling environment for craft producers (and to extend programmes to remote regions). The integrated craft hub concept is one such strategy. But the hubs are plagued by significant implementation challenges. In addition to this the DTI's market access programmes for craft producers have not generated the exports and growth for SMMEs which it envisaged, and craft producers are capitalising from DTI sponsorship to attend trade shows as a livelihood strategy in itself.

There is recognition from government that there is a problem with the sequencing of policy, and trying to assist craft producers to become exporters before they have developed the capacity to do business in the local market. Overall there is strong evidence that the micro-entrepreneurship development 'paradigm' needs to be revisited, since it is not delivering the results that were intended (Mueller, 2006).

7.3 Create a favourable macro environment for SMME development to thrive

Rogerson (2000) found that successful rural craft producers have a favourable economic environment. The context within which the crafters of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme operate is unfavourable and characterised by poor agricultural capacity, limited infrastructure and poor social services. Government is attempting to create policy for manufacturing and industrialisation of rural economies with IPAP. But the South African economy is part of a world economy that has been in a crisis since 2008; growth rates all over the world have fallen. In addition, our restrictive and hostile business environment also impedes the entrepreneurial inclination that South African craft producers lack and need to develop if they are to pursue craft SMMEs. There is a need for an alternative macro environment to be created if we are to succeed.

7.4 Develop clear goals and objectives based on craft producer incentives

We need to be clearer about the outcomes for craft development that we pursue and factor in the incentives of craft producers from different regions and contexts. If we don't factor in crafters' incentives in developing our models for craft production and development then no craft strategy will ever work.

Morris (1996) found that income figures could not tell the full story and that the social and cultural advantages of making and selling crafts are often as important as making money. This study revealed some of the incentives and 'unspoken goals' of the women of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme. The women found the process educational and empowering. They also felt a sense of pride in their achievements and that they had been part of something important. However, craft is not the only priority of these women. Therefore, any policy or craft programme aiming to engage these women needs to consider that making and selling craft will not be pursued as their primary goal. When we assume that making an income (from craft) is the only goal we limit our ability to understand the complete picture, and without the complete picture we cannot develop an appropriate model for craft development.

7.5 Consider carefully the markets that are pursued

Morris (1996) highlights the importance of considering the global markets we pursue and their influence on the craft production model. Markets for craft need to be carefully considered to factor in crafters' needs and incentives and cultural traditions, in order to balance commerce and culture. The findings demonstrated the challenges that occur when we try to match traditionally handmade products to a fast paced retail market for 'designer goods'.

Crafters needed focused input to meet the demands of this market; but the market in this study requires that crafters operate fulltime from manufacturing facilities to achieve efficiencies in production. Craft strategy suggests that rural women operate independently as SMMEs but the study found that rural women need a socially conscious 'market intermediary' to access markets that are otherwise inaccessible to them. They also need to produce in a group structure in order to develop their production capacity. When economics are single-mindedly pursued we can mismatch crafters and markets, and overlook craft producers' incentives, possibly compromise sustainable rural livelihoods, and ultimately produce craft policy and strategy that is bound to fail.

7.6 Incentivise South African business to support the local manufacturing industry, source local product and pursue the triple bottom line

Rogerson (2000) suggests policies to expand the demand for goods from rural producers, for example policies to reserve certain markets for rural producers, or government procurement rules to promote subcontracting linkages between rural producers and larger enterprises or urban-based enterprises. This study revealed that South African retailers are not incentivised by government to source locally produced products, and so retailers pursue imports from the East that assist them to meet their traditional bottom line – profits. Whilst statistics indicate that the South African craft sector is in decline, South Africa is importing more craft from India and China, and South African craft producers must compete in this hostile environment.

One of the respondents described their observation of South African consumers and their lack of awareness of South African product and the benefits of purchasing local products. The respondent felt that business was not playing its part in terms of educating consumers and developing the country through socially responsible business practices.

There are business principles at the core of this thinking. The principle of shared value involves creating economic value in a way that also creates value for society by addressing its needs and challenges. Businesses must connect company success with social progress. Shared value is not the same as corporate social responsibility; it is at the core of what companies do. A growing number of companies are beginning to embark on shared value initiatives, and they are looking at decisions and opportunities through the lens of shared value. They are generating greater innovation and growth for companies and greater benefits for society (Porter & Kramer, 2011).

Shared value is about expanding the pool of economic and social value. Porter & Kramer (2011) use the example of the fair trade movement in farming to demonstrate the concept of shared value. Fair trade aims to increase the amount of revenue that goes to farmers by paying them a higher price for their crops. It is a typical corporate social responsibility concept, since it assumes that there is a fixed value pie, and that all companies need to do is distribute a bigger piece of that pie to farmers. It's about redistribution, whereas shared value is about expanding the pie and expanding the overall amount of value created.

A shared value approach would be to improve the growing techniques of farmers and strengthen the local cluster of supporting suppliers. In doing so it would be important to assist in increasing the farmers' efficiency, yields, product quality and sustainability. This approach creates a bigger pie of revenue and profits that benefit both the farmers and the companies that buy from them. Studies of cocoa farmers in Côte d'Ivoire suggested that while fair trade increased farmers' incomes by 10% to 20%, shared value investments can raise their incomes by 300% (Porter & Kramer, 2011). A shared value approach when applied to rural crafters might include investment in design and product development, new technologies for dying or preparing raw material, improving access to raw materials and transport etc.

South African big business needs to gear itself for supporting the local manufacturing industry through a shared value approach, and for pursuing profitability together with social development *and* environmental consciousness. The initial investment and time will be needed to implement the approach but we need to start thinking along these lines if we are to achieve long-term sustainability of the country and of business in the country.

However a necessary condition for creating this dynamic private sector is the extensive support of the state, including investment in infrastructure, developing solid institutions and creating a business-friendly environment. This will require an efficient bureaucracy (McCarthy, 2011). Porter & Kramer (2011) have noted that governments for their part have often regulated in a way that makes shared value difficult to achieve.

7.7 Consider carefully how we develop rural craft producers without compromising rural livelihoods

There are many factors stacked up against rural craft producers that prevent them from succeeding. If we pursue other alternatives for developing these women such as a rural manufacturing industry to create employment in these regions, then we need to do so in a careful and strategic manner, to preserve rural livelihoods. We would also need to ensure that development is concerned with increased income for crafters, social development and environmental consciousness.

7.8 Consider a social enterprise model in partnership with government to support rural craft producers

Gaylard (1996) highlights the need to strengthen the skills-base in the craft sector, and the critical shortage of skilled people and agencies to provide support to craft producers. What was evident in this study is that craft is beneficial for sustaining rural livelihoods but that rural crafters need a support structure to assist them to meet the demands of the market (McCarthy & Mavundla, 2009),

and that a government agency cannot possibly manage this as part of a myriad of other responsibilities.

Supporting rural craft producers to meet the demands of the market is a complex undertaking. Respondents from both government departments described the need for an external agency to assist with the implementation of craft policy and the challenges it entails. But both departments grappled with the notion of another government agency to do the job as this could drain resources and slow down delivery. The integrated craft hubs have also not worked effectively to deliver programmes and support to rural craft producers. Rural craft producers need a different developmental approach to urban producers, who have better access to government programmes, better access to resources, and higher literacy and education levels. The driver of rural craft development needs to offer focused support (in the way that the iSimangaliso Craft Programme provided) but also to be able to operate at a pace commensurate with the global marketplace.

A social enterprise would be better placed to engage with the realities on the ground than a government entity could, and would be able to adapt and shift to deal with the changing conditions. Business is dynamic; and social enterprises meet social needs using viable business models. They can create shared value and have an ability to grow and become self-sustaining (Porter & Kramer, 2011).

The social enterprise 'market intermediary' model which provides services to its target population to help them access markets, is one possible option. The hybrid enterprise's non-profit arm (backed by government funding) would deliver training and capacity building to rural enterprises. Its for-profit arm (backed by investment capital) would generate demand-pull for rural craft products and engage with urban markets. The enterprise could also leverage resources from both sectors to create truly economic and social value for rural craft producers (Miller, Dawans & Alter, 2009).

A social enterprise can invest in social audit reports to assist the organisation to measure and track progress and set targets for engaging rural craft producers. These audits, among other things, can measure the actual increase in rural craft producers' income over time and the number of rural craft producers engaged with the enterprise. They can also project the monetary value of

the trainings provided to rural craft producers by the enterprise, taking into account the future economic value created as a result of the training. The model allows both investors and government funders to monitor the results of their investment capital or development funding. The enterprise can engage multiple stakeholder groups across government, private and non-profit sectors ‘deeply and durably’ (Miller, Dawans & Alter, 2009: 1).

Bibliography

Ashley, C. (2000). *Applying Livelihood Approaches to Natural Resource Management Initiatives: Experiences in Namibia and Kenya.* UK: Overseas Development Institute.

Ashley, C. (1999a). *Financial and Livelihood Impacts of Butterfly Farming at Arabuko Sokoke Forest.* Nairobi: African Wildlife Foundation.

Ashley, C. (1999b). *Handbook for Assessing the Economic and Livelihood Impacts of Wildlife Enterprises.* Nairobi: African Wildlife Foundation.

Ashley, C. & Hussein, K. (2000). *Developing Methodologies for Livelihood Impact Assessment: Experience of the African Wildlife Foundation in East Africa.*UK: Overseas Development Institute.

Bernard, H. R. (1994). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage Publications.

Brümmer, J. (2007). Think locally, act globally? An actor-oriented case study on the transnational cooperation of NGOs on BAYER and child labour in Andhra Pradesh, India. Masters thesis. Maastricht: University of Maastricht.

Cass, R.S. (2012). Interdependent and conflicting objectives in South African SMME policies: competitiveness vs. employment creation. CIE42 Proceedings, 16-18 July 2012, Cape Town, South Africa.

Chambers, R. &Conway, G. (1992). Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century. Discussion Paper 296. England: Institute of Development Studies.

Cultural Strategy Group (1998). The South African craft industry report. Unpublished report prepared for the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy, Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Pretoria.

Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. (1996). *The White Paper on Arts and Culture.* Pretoria: Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

Department of Trade and Industry (2006). Craft sector development strategy. Pretoria: DTI

Department of Trade and Industry (2010). *2010/11-2012/13 Industrial Policy Action Plan.* Pretoria: Economic Sectors and Employment Cluster.

De Vos, A.S., Strydom H., Fouche, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. (2005). *Research at Grassroots: for Social Sciences and Human Services Professions.* Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

DFID (1999). *Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets.* Available from:http://www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0901/section2.pdf [Accessed: 5 April 2012].

Du Toit, A. & Neves, D. (2013). The Government of Poverty and the Arts of Survival: Mobile and Recombinant Strategies at the Margins of the South African Economy.

Feagin, J., Orum, A. & Sjoberg, G. (Eds.). (1991). *A Case for Case Study.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Friedman, F. & Bhengu, L. (2008).*Fifteen Year Review of Income Poverty Alleviation Programmes in the Social and Related Sectors Prepared for the Policy and Advisory Services Unit of the Presidency*. Government of South Africa.

Gaylard, J. (2004). The craft industry in South Africa: a review of ten years of democracy. *African Arts*, *37*(4), 26-29, 94.

Gettu, T. (2012).*Women's Access to Justice in Rural Africa*.[Online]. Available at: http://content.undp.org/go/newsroom/2012/march/womens-access-to-justice-in-rural-africa.en [accessed 2 August 2012]

Goldblatt, B. & McLean, K. (Eds.). (2011). *Women's Social and Economic Rights: Developments in South Africa.* Cape Town: Juta.

Gumede, W. 2009.*Delivering the Democratic Developmental State in South Africa.* Development Planning Division. Working Paper Series No.9, DBSA: Midrand.

Hay, D. (2008). *The Business of Craft and Crafting the Business: Strategies for Success in the Rural Craft Sector.* Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Environment, Agriculture and Development.

HSRC (2008). *The Creative Industries in South Africa.* Pretoria: Sector Studies Research Project Report prepared for the Department of Labour.

Hunter, N., May, J. & Padayachee, V. (2003).*Lessons for PRSP from Poverty Reduction Strategies in South Africa.* Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa.

iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority (n.d.) Internal iSimangaliso Craft Programme reports.

Johnson, C, (1982). *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy*. *1925-1975.* Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Jampol, J. (2008). The goal is to end the paradox of poverty amidst the bounty of nature. *International Herald Tribune.* Advertising Supplement. 16 December.

Kumar, R. (2005). *Research Methodology: A Step-by-step Guide for Beginners.* London: Sage.

Knutsson, P. (2006).The sustainable livelihoods approach: a framework for knowledge integration assessment. *Human Ecology Review*, *13*(1), 90-99.

Kraak, A. (Ed.). (2009).*Sectors and Skills: The Need for Policy Alignment.* HSRC Press.

Kristinawati, D. (2011). An actor-oriented analysis of multiple perspectives on the sustainability of Indonesian palm oil. Masters thesis. Eindhoven: Eindhoven University of Technology.

Long, N. (2001). *Development Sociology Actor Perspectives.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Luyt, D. (2008). Governance, Accountability and Poverty Alleviation in South AFRICA. Centre for Social Accountability, Paper delivered by the Media and Advocacy Head of the Public Service Accountability Monitor (PSAM). Geneva: United Nations Social Forum.

Marcus, T. (2000).Crafting in the context of AIDS and rural poverty: a livelihood strategy with prospects. *Transformation*, *44*, 17-35.

McCarthy, C. (2011). Comment on some fundamentals of the new growth path as an industrial policy, Research Note 22, Econex.

Miller, L., Dawans, V. & Alter, K. (2009). Industry craft: A case study in social enterprise development using the four lenses approach. Virtue Ventures. Available from http://www.virtueventures.com/sites/virtueventures.com/files/industree_craft_4lenses_v1.pdf [accessed 6/10/13]

Morgan, D.L. (1998). *The Focus Group Guidebook.* London: Sage Publications.

Morris, W.F. (1996). *Handmade Money: Latin American Artisans in the Marketplace.* Washington: Organisation of American States.

Mosse, D. & Lewis, D. (2006).*Development Brokers and Translators: The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*. Kumarian Press.

McCarthy, A. & Mavundla, K. (2009).Craft as an economic enterprise: Strategies for alternative livelihoods in KwaZulu-Natal. *The Small Business Monitor*, *5*(1), 34-40.

Mueller, S.D. (2006). *Rural Development, Environmental Sustainability, and Poverty Alleviation: A Critique of Current Paradigms.* New York: UN/DESA Working Paper No. 11.

Porter, M.E. & Kramer, M.R. (2011). Creating shared value: How to reinvent capitalism – and unleash a wave of innovation and growth. *Harvard Business Review*. January –February 2011 63-77

Richard, N. (2007). *Handicrafts and Employment Generation for the Poorest Youth and Women.* Paris: UNESCO Policy Paper No. 17.

Rogerson, C.M. (2000). Rural handicraft production in the developing world: Policy issues for South Africa. *Agrekon: Agricultural Economics Research, Policy and Practice in Southern Africa*, *39*(2), 193-217.

Rogerson, C.M. & Rogerson, J.M. (2011). Review: Craft routes for developing craft business in South Africa: Is it good practice or limited policy option? *African Journal of Business Management*, *5*(30), 11736-11748.

Rugg, G. & Petre, M. (2010). *A Gentle Guide To Research Methods.* England: Open University Press.

Rule, P. & John, V. (2011). *Your Guide to Case Study Research.* Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Sagnia, B.K. (2005). *Strengthening Local Creative Industries and Developing Cultural Capacity for Poverty Alleviation.* Dakar: International Network for Cultural Diversity.

Scoones, I. (1998). *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis. Sustainable Livelihoods Programme.* Sussex: IDS Working Paper 72.

Spradley, J. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt Rinehard & Winston.

Suich, H. & Murphy, C. (2002). *Crafty Women: The Livelihood Impact of Craft Income in Caprivi.* Namibia: DEA Research Discussion Paper.

Throsby, D. (2008). *Culture in Sustainable Development: Insights for the Future Implementation of Art.* 13. Sydney: The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.

UNCTAD, (2007). *Economic Development in Africa: Reclaiming Policy Space. Domestic Resource Mobilisation and Developmental States.* Report by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. New York and Geneva, 26 September.

Wade, R. 1990. *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialisation.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Interview Schedule

Interview 1: Home décor chain: Adrienne Sparks, 15 January 2013

Interview 2: Home décor chain: Dain Friis, 15 January 2013

Interview 3: iSimangaliso Authority: Nonku Lafuleni, 16 January 2013

Interview 4: iSimangaliso Authority: Bronwyn James, 16 January 2013

Interview 5: KwaZulu-Natal Department of Economic Development and Tourism: Buti Moloi, 18 January 2013

Interview 6: Department of Trade and Industry: Mhlanganisi Masoga, 24 January 2013

Interview 7: Previously with iSimangaliso Authority: Coral Bijoux, 26 January 2013

Interview 8: Department of Arts and Culture: Joseph Mathe, 1 February 2013

Focus Group Schedule

KwaJobe craft group: Nine women present, 21 November 2012

Mpondwana craft group: Eight women present, 22 November 2012

Mngomezulu craft group: Three women present, 23 November 2012

Appendix 1: Consent forms

Informed Consent for Participating in an Interview

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Do you have any questions concerning the study?

Please read and sign the following.

I hereby confirm that I have been informed about the nature and conduct of the study. I have also read and understood the Information Sheet for study participants. I may not benefit personally from participating in the interview.

I may, at any stage withdraw my consent and participation in the study, without there being any negative consequences for me. I have been made aware that my name will not be used in the research report and only a pseudonym will be used instead. The information that I give will be treated as confidential and will not in any way be identified with me and can only be used for the purposes of this study and for any other related academic activity such as publication of the findings in a scholarly journal.

I have also been afforded the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I declare that I am prepared to participate in this study.

Name of Participant: _____

Date of birth: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I, Nicola Robertson, hereby confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature and conduct of the study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

If verbal consent is given, the interviewer must sign below in the presence of the participant.

_____ _____

(Signature of interviewer certifying that informed Date

Consent has been given verbally by respondent)

Informed Consent for Participating in a Focus Group

My name is Nicola Robertson and I am a Masters student at WITS University. As part of my studies I am doing a research project entitled *Exploring the South African craft policy framework: A case study of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme in KwaZulu Natal.* This study explores the South African craft policy framework using the iSimangaliso Craft Programme as a case study.

You are invited to participate in a focus group. If you participate in this study, you will be in a group of 8 crafters from your craft group. There will be a facilitator who will ask questions and facilitate the discussion, and I will take notes and write down the ideas expressed within the group.

If you volunteer to participate in this focus group, you will be asked to share your experiences of the Craft Programme such as how has the Craft Programme transformed your life and livelihood; how have you benefited from the income generated by craft sales; what is your perspective with regards to the creation and transformation of your craft group into a business/SMME. Other issues may come out of these conversations and you may share any other additional information you so wish to share.

There may not be personal benefits arising from your participation in the study but the information you share with me will help us better understand the experiences of crafters participating in the Craft Programme, their livelihood strategies, the constraints they face and their engagements with stakeholders. This information can be used to better understand the experiences and needs of crafters and potentially, have long term benefits for individuals and communities.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You are free to decide whether you want to take part or not. There will be no negative consequences if you decide not to participate. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time you feel like doing so. In the event that we are recording the discussion, you are also free to stop the recording at any time.

These recordings will be destroyed after the discussions have been transcribed. While I will know your name and the names of other participants in this study, I will not document your name in reports (transcripts) and in the study report. In the research report I will also use pseudonyms (not your real name) to conceal and protect your identity and that of other participants.

Do you have any questions concerning the study? If you agree to participate in this study, please read and sign the following:

I hereby confirm that I have been informed about the nature and conduct of the study. I have also read and understood the information provided. I may not benefit personally from participating in the focus group.

I may, at any stage withdraw my consent and participation in the study, without there being any negative consequences for me. I have been made aware that my name will not be used in the research report and only a pseudonym will be used instead. The information that I give will be treated as confidential and will not in any way be identified with me and can only be used for the purposes of this study and for any other related academic activity such as publication of the findings in a scholarly journal.

I have also been afforded the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I declare that I am prepared to participate in this study.

Name of Participant: _____

Date of birth: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I, Nicola Robertson, hereby confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature and conduct of the study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

If verbal consent is given, the interviewer must sign below in the presence of the participant.

_____ _____

(Signature of interviewer certifying that informed Date

Consent has been given verbally by respondent)

Appendix 2: Key informant interview schedules

2.1 Home decor chain

1. Can you tell me about yourself (educational and work history)
2. Why did you decide to join this company?
3. What is your role in the company?
4. What are some of the difficulties you encounter in your work here?
5. Can you explain the company's management/ leadership structure?
6. What are the company's objectives?
7. Who decides which programme areas/activities to focus on?
8. What is the geographic location within which the company operates?
9. Have your priorities changed over the years? Why?
10. Does your company engage with any government departments specifically with regards to craft?
11. What are your companies programme areas or activities focusing on South African craft?
12. Why did the company initiate these programmes/activities?
13. Why did the company decide to focus on South African craft/crafters?
14. Were there any government policies or legislation which influenced the decision to focus on South African craft/crafters?
15. What is the common profile of the craft/crafters you work with?
16. How did you select iSimangaliso Craft Programme for a partnership?
17. What were some of the challenges experienced working with the iSimangaliso Craft Programme?
18. What would you consider to have been the primary challenge in making the partnership work?
19. What were some of the benefits of the partnership?
20. How long did the partnership last?
21. Why was the decision taken to end the partnership?
22. Who took the decision to end the partnership?
23. Under what circumstances would you consider re-engaging in a partnership of that nature?

24. Did you see your objectives represented and reached by the iSimangaliso Craft Programme?

2.2 iSimangaliso Authority

1. Can you tell me about yourself (educational and work history)
2. Why did you decide to join this organisation?
3. What is your role in the organisation?
4. What are some of the difficulties you encounter in your work here?
5. What are the organisations vision and mission?
6. Can you explain the organisations management/ leadership structure?
7. What are the organisations objectives?
8. What kind of programme areas/activities does the organisation engage in?
9. Who decides which programme areas/activities to focus on?
10. Have your programme areas/activities or priorities changed over the years? Why?
11. What is the geographic location within which the organisation operates?
12. Does your organisation engage with any government departments specifically with regards to craft?
13. How does your organisation cooperate with these departments?
14. What are your organisations programme areas or activities focusing on South African craft?
15. Why did the organisation initiate these programmes/activities?
16. Why does the organisation engage in these programmes/activities?
17. Why did the organisation decide to focus on South African craft/crafters?
18. Were there any government policies or legislation which influenced the decision to focus on South African craft/crafters?
19. What is the common profile of the craft/crafters you work with?
20. How do you select the craft/crafters to work with?
21. How did you select the home decor for a partnership?
22. What were some of the challenges experienced working with the home decor chain?
23. What would you consider to have been the primary challenge in making the partnership work?
24. What were some of the benefits of the partnership?

25. How long did the partnership last?
26. Why was the decision taken to end the partnership?
27. Who took the decision to end the partnership?
28. Under what circumstances would you consider re-engaging in a partnership of that nature?
29. What are your current programmes/activities with regards to South African craft/crafters?
30. Did you see your objectives represented and reached by the partnership with the home decor chain?

2.3 DAC, DTI and KZN-DEDT

1. Can you tell me about yourself (educational and work history)
2. Why did you decide to join the department?
3. What is your role in the department?
4. What are some of the difficulties you encounter in your work here?
5. What are the department's vision and mission?
6. Can you explain the department's management/ leadership structure?
7. What are the department's objectives?
8. What kind of programme areas/activities does the department engage in?
9. Who decides which programme areas/activities to focus on?
10. Have your programme areas/activities or priorities changed over the years? Why?
11. What is the geographic location within which the department operates?
12. Does your department engage with any other government departments specifically with regards to craft?
13. How does your department cooperate with these other departments?
14. What are your departments programme areas or activities focusing on S. African craft?
15. Why did the department initiate these programmes/activities?
16. Why does the department engage in these programmes/activities?
17. Why did the department decide to focus on South African craft/crafters?
18. Were there any government policies or legislation which influenced the decision to focus on South African craft/crafters?
19. What is the common profile of the craft/crafters you work with?
20. How do you select the craft/crafters to work with?

21. What are your current programmes/activities with regards to South African craft/crafters?

Appendix 3: Crafters interview and focus group schedule

3.1 Interview questions

3.1.1 Vulnerability Context

1. Do you grow crops?
2. Which crops do you grow?
3. Do you sell the crops that you grow?
4. How much of the crops that you grow are sold?
5. Do the price of the crops change at different times of the year?
6. Do you know in advance if the price of crops may change over the course of the year?
7. Is the food that you grow enough to feed the household? Or do you need to buy food from the shops?
8. What foods do you need to buy at the shop?
9. How much do you pay for each food item?
10. Is there any food that you do not buy anymore? Has any of the food that you need become too expensive to buy?
11. At what time of the year do you need to have most cash?
12. Do you usually have cash at the time of the year that you need it the most?
13. Do you have a bank account?
14. Do you save money?
15. Do you have periods of the year where you struggle to feed the household?
16. If so, how long does this period usually last?
17. What are some of the difficulties experienced during this period?
18. Was it worse or better last year?
19. What do you do to earn money over the course of the year?
20. Do you receive money from family members who work away?
21. How often do you receive money from these family members?
22. When are family members able to send money?
23. Are there times where they are not able to send money?

3.1.2 Livelihood Assets

Human Capital

1. How old are you?
2. Did you attend school?
3. What level of schooling do you have?
4. Who is the head of your household?
5. If yes, has the man of the household died/left? *(dejura)*
6. If yes, does the man of the household work more than half of the year somewhere else, without regular contact for making daily decisions? *(de facto)*
7. How many adults are living in the household?
8. What are the daily activities of each adult?
9. How many children under 18 years live in the household?
10. Do your children go to a fee-paying school?
11. If yes, are you able to pay school fees?
12. How many children are you looking after? Are they all yours?
13. Do you know of any government departments or NGO's offering capacity building around your area?
14. Is there any training you wish to get?
15. If yes, what kind of training?
16. Is anyone sick in this house hold?
17. If yes, how do you cope with it?
18. Has anyone in your household been sick in the last week/month?
19. Has anyone in your household passed away in the last year?
20. How old were they? What happened?
21. Would you ever test for yourself for HIV or AIDS? Do you think it's a good idea?
22. Do you know any families around who are affected by HIV/AIDS?
23. If yes, how do you feel about it?
24. Are your children in school?
25. If they are still in school, how far are they?
26. If they are no longer in school, how far did they go?

27. Do you think it's important for them to go to school? Why? / Why not?
28. Does sending your children to school benefit your household?
29. When was the last time you attended a workshop, or went to a meeting? What was it about?
30. What do you wish you knew more about?
31. What kinds of tools do you have?
32. Why do you need them? What do you use them for?
33. Where did you buy them or get them?
34. If you wanted to join a political party or church, could you be told that you cannot join because you are a woman? Black? Disabled? Old? Pregnant?
35. If you were married traditionally and your husband passed away, could all of your belongings and the home you shared with him be taken away from you?
36. Can the police force you to leave this area and tell you to go and live somewhere else?
37. Can the police come to your house and throw you and your family out of your house?
38. Could the government decide that you should no longer receive water and cut off your water?
39. Can the school in your area refuse to enrol your child?
40. Do you need to get your husband's permission if you want to open a bank account?
41. Are you allowed to open up a business in your name without your husband's permission?

Social Capital

1. Do you belong to a political party/ choir/ church/ stokvel, or any other group?
2. Does being a part of this group give you better access to resources?
3. What are the rules of this group? Has anyone ever been asked to leave? Why?
4. What are some of the advantages of being a member of an organization?
5. Is there any other organisation in the area you would like to join? Why?
6. Do you feel it is better to be part of a group or to work alone? And why?
7. Has the household been living in this area for more than five years?
8. Who do you rely on in times of need?
9. Does any member of your household participate in any of the following institutions or activities?
   (E.g. funeral societies, savings groups, religious institutions, other?)

10. If your household has a problem and needs money or food urgently, do you get it from people in your community or relatives?

Natural Capital

1. What are the natural resources that you have in the area for making craft?
2. Do you have access to them?
3. How secure are your natural resources?
4. Can you defend your natural resources against others encroaching on them?
5. Do you experience any conflict over natural resources in the area?
6. Is the natural resource productive? Or has this changed over time?
7. Do you or others in the area know how to improve production of the natural resources?
8. Was this a better year for harvesting than last year? Worse? Why, do you think?
9. Where do you harvest your raw material?
10. Do you know how to manage your natural resources so that they do not run out?
11. Have you received training about how to harvest your raw materials?
12. Where did you receive this training?
13. What problems do you experience harvesting your raw materials?

Physical Capital

Housing Quality

1. How many houses does your household have?
2. What are the building materials?
   E.g. mud, bricks, metal sheets etc.
3. What condition is the roof in?
   E.g. poor condition, inadequate protection from weather
4. What condition are the walls in?
5. Is your compound fenced?

Services

6. What sources do you use for drinking water and how far would you say the source is?
7. What sources do you use for water for other household purposes and how long does it take you to fetch your water? Who fetches water in your household?

8. Do you have access to electricity?
9. Do you have toilet facilities?
10. Where is the nearest clinic? How do you get there?
11. How far do you think you are from the main road?
12. What transport mode do you use for craft activities? To fetch raw material? To transport finished products?

Household Assets

13. Which household assets do you have?
    E.g. television, radio, motor vehicle, couch/sofa, table and chairs, bicycle, motorcycle, cell phones, stove, bed etc.
14. Does your household own land?
15. Does your household own any livestock?
16. If yes, which livestock do you own and how many?
    E.g. chickens, goats, donkeys, sheep, cows, geese etc.
17. Do you encounter any problems with local infrastructure or services?
18. How do you cope with these problems?

Financial Capital

1. What are the sources of money for you and your family?
   E.g. craft products, crop sales, livestock sales, selling vetkoek, selling traditional beer, selling sweets, selling vegetables and fruits, thatching grass, disability grant, old-age pension, renting vehicle, child grant, migrant etc.
2. How much money do you earn from all your activities per month?
   Eg. Less than R1000, R1001-R3000, R3001-R5000, R5001-R7000, above R7000
3. Can you estimate the proportion of each source of income?
   (Estimation can be judged in terms of more, moderate and low)
4. What is the money used for per month?
   E.g. food, school fees, clothes, household goods, clinic/hospital fees, transport fees, bank deposits, stokvel, burial societies etc.
5. How much do you use for each expense?

6. Has a member of your household borrowed any money?
7. If yes, what was the source?
   E.g. bank, NGO, private individual, micro-lenders, other
8. How was the repayment status?
   E.g. fully repaid, partly repaid, not yet due, can't pay (defaulted)
9. If your household is in urgent need of money where do you look for help?

3.1 .3 Craft Activity

10. Do you like weaving/crafting?
11. If yes or no, explain why?
12. How long have you been making craft?
13. When did you join the iSimangaliso Craft Programme?
14. Do you remember why you decided to join?
15. When (time of the year) do you make craft products?
    E.g. beginning, mid-year, end-of-year
16. What time of the day you weave?
    E.g. morning, afternoon, night
17. How much money do you make from craft per month?
18. How do you achieve this?
19. Who makes the decisions about the money you make from craft?
20. What are the difficulties with weaving and how do you cope?
21. Apart from weaving is there anything you would rather do to earn cash?
22. If yes, what would that be?
23. Do you remember when you started getting orders from Mr Price Home?
24. What else do you recall about that time?
25. Do you recall how much you earned from producing orders for Mr Price Home?
26. What did you spend the money on?
27. What were some of the difficulties producing orders for Mr Price Home?
28. How did you overcome this?
29. What were some of the difficulties experienced delivering orders for Mr Price Home?
30. How did you overcome this?

31. What were some of the benefits of producing orders for Mr Price Home?
32. What happened when Mr Price Home stopped giving orders?
33. Why do you think Mr Price Home stopped giving orders? What do you think happened?
34. Did you receive other orders after Mr Price Home stopped giving orders?
35. Is your craft group still operating as a group and producing orders?
36. How have you managed to continue to get orders for products?
37. Why do you think you are still able to work as a craft group after all this time?
38. Does your craft group still consider themselves to be a part of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme?
39. If not, why not?
40. Does your craft group have any desire to form a business/ co-operative?
41. If yes or no, explain why?
42. What do you think the challenges would be to starting your own business?
43. What do you think the benefits would be to starting your own business?
44. Anything else you would like to tell me?

3.2 Focus group questions

3.2.1 Craft Activity

1. Do you remember when you started making craft?
2. Why did you start making craft?
3. Do you remember joining the Craft Programme?
4. Why did you join?
5. Where were you selling your craft before the Craft Programme?
6. Do you remember producing orders from Mr Price Home?
7. Do you recall how much you earned from producing orders for Mr Price Home?
8. What did you spend the money on?
9. Who makes the decisions about what to spend the money on? Why?
10. What were some of the difficulties producing orders for Mr Price Home?

11. How did you overcome this?
12. What were some of the difficulties delivering orders for Mr Price Home?
13. How did you overcome this?
14. What were some of the benefits of producing orders for Mr Price Home?
15. What happened when Mr Price Home stopped giving orders?
16. Why do you think Mr Price Home stopped giving orders? What do you think happened?
17. Did you receive other orders after Mr Price Home stopped giving orders?
18. Is your craft group still operating as a group and producing orders?
19. How have you managed to continue to get orders for products?
20. Why do you think you are still able to work as a craft group after all this time?
21. Does your craft group still consider themselves to be a part of the iSimangaliso Craft Programme?
22. If not, why not?
23. Does your craft group have any desire to form a business/ co-operative?
24. If yes or no, explain why?
25. What do you think the challenges would be to starting your own business?
26. What do you think the benefits would be to starting your own business?
27. Anything else you would like to tell me?