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THE PROSPECTS FOR INFORMAL SMALL BUSINESSES IN KWAMASHU

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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT

The Development Studies Unit is a multi-disciplinary unit within the centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal in Durban. The Development Studies Unit was established at the beginning of 1982 with the purpose of providing a focus for research into the problems of developing areas, with a view to assisting the University to play a meaningful role in the upgrading of the quality of life in the poorer areas surrounding it.

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THE PROSPECTS FOR INFORMAL SMALL BUSINESSES IN KWAHASHU

Introduction

Black unemployment is widely recognised as a major factor inhibiting political and economic stability in South Africa.[1] This has been one of the reasons leading to a widespread interest in Government and business circles in the employment creating potential of the informal sector. Thus, for example, the Manpower Commission was empowered by the Government in 1984 to examine the problems facing small businesses and the Urban Foundation and the Small Business Development Corporation are both actively involved in the promotion of small and informal businesses. Certain activities have already been deregulated and the process is continuing. This paper examines the possibilities for the growth of the black informal sector in the event of deregulation of economic activities. The analysis is based on research in KwaMashu,[2] a black township near Durban, together with an analysis of informal sector research from other studies. The major finding emerging from the research is that the informal sector is predominantly a supplement to formal sector wages in township households rather than an independent generator of income. The main arguments of the paper can be stated simply as follows:

a) legislation has long impeded the emergence of small black businesses and the changed official attitude is the result of the desire of the business sector and the state to address problems of black unemployment and political instability in South Africa and thus envisages the informal sector as a real and viable

solution to these problems;

b) for most of those involved in informal economic activities, such activities typically supplement an often meagre formal sector wage, redistribute income within the township,[3] and permit day-to-day survival. Very few activities offer much potential for expansion; and

c) the changed official attitude may result in legislative reforms which could enable some to achieve success but for the majority historical factors in South Africa necessitate assistance beyond simply legislative change.

The paper is divided into three sections.

1. Background to the need for deregulation
2. The informal sector : a case study
3. Deregulation and the Kwamlashu case study

1.0 Background to the Need for Deregulation

Prior to examining the advantages to the South African Government and the private sector of deregulating the informal sector, it is necessary briefly to assess the limitations under which the sector has long laboured. These legal limitations apply to formal licenced businesses but they reflect very clearly the official attitude to black entrepreneurship.

1.1 Black Entrepreneurship in South Africa

Historically the black formal and informal sectors have experienced numerous restrictions. Broadly speaking, this could be dated back to the assertion by the Stallard Commission (1922) that blacks were to be only temporary residents in white areas and were there solely to provide labour for white industry. Legislation became more restrictive after 1948, and more notably from the 1960's when its purpose was partly to persuade black entrepeneurs to move to the homelands, and partly to ensure that blacks shopped in white areas tnus increasing white business (see Southall, 1980:38, 41-43, and Kahn, 1983:104-105).

In 1963 the Circular Minutes (Ro A 12/1 - A8/1) issued to local authorities by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development included the following provisions: business rights were to be granted to blacks in black urban areas only where the needs of the residents of these areas could not be served by existing businesses in the central areas of towns; trading rights should only be granted to people who qualified to reside in the areas under Section 10(1) (a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act of 1945; the ownership of more than one business by the same African was not to be allowed under any circumstances; only businesses dealing in the provision of daily essential domestic necessities were to be allowed; the further establishment of African companies or partnerships was not to be allowed; local authorities must themselves erect all buildings necessary for trading purposes; Africans were not to be allowed to

trade as peddlers, hawkers or speculators in livestock and produce outside their residential areas (Kahn, 1983:104-105).

Certain of these restrictions have now been lifted. In 1976 (Government Notice No. R764) the range of businesses permitted in urban black townships was increased to twenty six from the original seven, and in November 1977 (Government Notice R2292) the number was increased to sixty six. Conversely, attempts were made to **increase** other restrictions - it was stipulated in 1976 that in addition to fulfilling the requirements for residence in an urban area, the trader should also have a citizenship certificate for his respective homeland before he could be allotted a site. But following urgent representations from Nafcoc (tne African Chamber of Commerce), and, in the wake of the political instability associated with the Soweto riots, this was lifted in 1977 (Southall, 1980:152). Other important changes included the decision in 1979 that partnerships in which Blacks held at least 51 percent of the shares would be permitted.

The restrictions on black businesses are not only confined to the above. Urban blacks are required to reside in rigidly controlled townships from which they may be summarily expelled. Urban residents, according to Section 29 of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act, if found to be 'idle and undesirable', may be returned to the rural areas from whence they came, or be sent to a prison farm for up to two years and be stripped of their urban rights. A criterion for declaring someone 'idle and undesirable' is that the person is unemployed and has spent less than 122 days of the past year in lawful employment (Osmond,

1985:112). This makes it likely that the male household head would prefer formal employment and consequently relegate informal economic activities to a subsidiary role or leave it to female members of the household.

The Group Areas Act is arguably the most important piece of legislation affecting the development of black informal sector and its potential transition to small formal sector businesses. This Act by dividing the population into the four spatially separate racial groups defined in terms of the 1950 Population Registration Act requires that black businesses are located only in black residential areas, despite the fact that the vast majority of blacks work in white areas and spend their money there. It also prevents their operating businesses that serve white, Indian or 'coloured' clientele in their segregated residential areas and limits the market of black informal sector operators to those in their vicinity, most of whom have very limited buying power. The limited market of black entrepreneurs, as will be seen in Section 2.4, is of great importance in limiting the viability of small black businesses.

The success of the recently introduced 'free trade areas', and indeed the extent to which they will operate, has yet to be determined. Since whites were not free until 1985 to enter black townships without permission from the Township Manager, and have been restricted once more under the State of Emergency, and since blacks selling in white areas would require licences, marketing to whites poses a major problem.

Finally, apart from the controls contained in legislation, there are further constraints which have to do with town planning standards, the allocation of sites, licensing, and health by-laws. These form part of the administrative controls and they, too, serve to impede the transition from the informal to the formal sector. These restrictions put a very clear ceiling on the ambitions of any informal sector operator in the past. It remains to be seen which of the above would be removed by deregulation. The way in which laws are administered further compounds the problems confronting the informal sector. Finally differing interpretation of laws by officials may result in uncertainty which could severely hamper the development of the informal sector (see National Manpower Commission, 1984:30; and Dewar & Watson, 1981:76).

1.2 Advantages of Developing the Informal Sector in South Africa

It would appear that after many years of restraining both black formal and informal businesses, the South African government and the private sector now perceive reasons for cautiously encouraging it. There are several such reasons:

1.2.1 Lessening Unemployment

Research has indicated that "...structural unemployment in the 'unskilled' or 'deskilled' sector may reach 75 percent in South Africa by the end of the century" (Wellings and Sutcliffe, 1984:521). The political repercussions of rising unemployment are clearly appreciated

by the South African government and the private sector. This is illustrated by a statement by Simon Brand (then economic advisor to the State President): "We should pay more attention to the employment potential of this (informal) sector",[4] and another by Dr Ben Vosloo[5] stating that "The main key to the deteriorating unemployment problem is the creation of more small business ventures by blacks..."[6]

1.2.2 Political Stabilisation

Closely tied to the need to provide employment is the politically stabilizing effect of the informal sector. The creation of a class with access to a means of self support that is independent of per month wage employment, could play an important role in the political stability of the country (if this class saw its best interests as lying in a capitalist - oriented future and as being contingent upon continued stability).[7]

1.2.3 Financial Savings

A further advantage of promoting the informal sector is that the costs of job creation in the informal sector are very much less than those of job creation in the formal sector, and more important, are borne largely by the operator personally. Similarly, the cost of training in the informal sector, low as they are, are borne either by the pupil in a well established apprenticeship system or skills are simply picked up on the job by the employee (see Oyeneye, 1984).

In addition, the informal sector, by providing income-earning

opportunities for those who would otherwise be unemployed, or too old or infirm to work in the formal sector, reduces the social security demands on the state. One reason for the interest shown by many governments in the informal sector is that is appears "... to offer the possibility to helping the poor without any major threat to the rich" (Bromley, 1978b:1036).

Finally, another advantage to the state is that informal housing moves the costs of housing provision from the state to the individual. Since the low income of many in the townships preclude their having houses built by large formal sector builders, there is a clear advantage to the state in permitting building by informal sector builders (thus allowing more of the costs of township housing to be carried by the residents themselves).

1.2.4 Increased Distribution of Formal Sector Goods

There are important distributional advantages in encouraging the informal sector. Bromley (1978a), writing on Colombia, shows that street traders comprise a major distribution system for importers and manufacturers, particularly of goods which are consumed regularly and in small quantities. Since the informal sector is highly competitive, margins are forced down and traders sell at a wide range of locations for long hours thus increasing the availability of goods and widening the market for manufacturers.

Traders in the informal sector are often prepared to extend credit,

partly because of the intense competition but also because many of their customers are known to them personally. Many small-traders are prepared to break bulk and sell in very small quantities which also increases the distributive network. All these aspects, the breaking of bulk packaging, extending credit, long hours and wide-spread location, were found to be of importance in the viability of small unlicenced shops in KwaMashu as is discussed in Section 2.

Even with the very best of intentions, however, there are reasons why the informal sector cannot continously expand in an economy with a well developed corporate sector. These are discussed in the following section.

1.3 Inherent Limitations on Informal Economic Activity

1.3.1 Taste Transfer

The tastes and desires of the public are manipulated to conform with the goods manufactured in the formal sector. Advertising and packaging greatly affect the tastes, and so consumer demand, of the general public including the poor. Since informal operators lack the finance necessary for advertising they find themselves at a grave disadvantage when competing with formal sector firms. Capitalist penetration of the Third World "...changes attitudes and creates a new and expanding range of felt needs - for shoes, bicycles, manufactured furniture, ready made clothing etc." (McGee, 1971:82). Thus capitalists "...establish patterns of demand which are very hard for small scale, indigenous industrialists to meet directly" (Langdon,

1975:30). This factor is of particular importance in the making of clothes in KwaMashu where it is difficult for township garment makers to adjust rapidly to changes in fashion.

1.3.2 Formal Sector Hegemony

It can be argued that the 'space' available for development of the informal sector is a direct function of the extent of formal sector development. Far from being the result of characteristics and abilities of informal sector operators, informal economic development is virtually entirely dependent on the formal sector.

This section has described the overall difficulties confronting the informal sector, particularly in South Africa, as well as discussing the reasons for the current promotion of the sector. In order to examine the growth potential of the sector, however, it is of interest to see how the sector is presently operating. An understanding of the functioning of the informal sector in a black township is a necessary preliminary to a discussion of the possibilities of growth in the event of deregulation.

2.0 The Informal Sector: A Case Study

In this section empirical research conducted in KwaMashu during 1983-1984 is examined as a case study. The field work involved random sample interviews of 373 KwaMashu households (with an equal number of interviews from each of the eleven areas into which the township administration divides the settlement), based on a pre-tested

questionnaire conducted by a male University student, a resident of Kwaflashu with previous research experience. While the author was not present at all interviews, thirty open-ended interviews with Kwaflashu informal sector operators were conducted with the assistance (regarding translation) of a Zulu nursing sister. These interviews preceded the random sample and were of great value in obtaining insights into the sector and in compiling the questionnaire.

2.1 Profiles of the Informal Entrepreneurs

Generally, the following emerged from the survey:

a) forty percent of the household sampled in Kwaflashu had at least one family member involved in informal economic activities.

b) however, only 10 percent of households with informal sector involvement were entirely dependent on their informal incomes.

c) eighty-seven percent of the operators were women (who however, constituted only 64 percent of the highest earning quintile).[8]

d) forty one percent of operators are in the 41-50 age group (while only 17 percent were under 30 years of age).

e) only 12 percent of informal sector operators had so low a education as to be functionally illiterate while over a third had at least some secondary education.

f) only 3 percent of informal sector operators employed others on a wage basis. Thirty five percent of respondents however had assisstance in their informal activity from their families.

g) just over half of those in the informal economic activities have never been in formal sector employment, while 19 percent were simultaneously in the formal and informal sector.

h) fifty percent of operators had been involved in informal sector activities for five years and more and only 25 percent for less than two years.

i) a massive 75 percent of those presently in informal sector occupations preferred working in the informal sector while only 3 percent preferred the formal sector.[9]

From these findings it appears that, despite a high level of unemployment among young people, not many of them move into informal economic activities. Neither does it appear to be a lack of formal education which is forcing people into the informal sector. The advantages of family employment need to be considered. Many family members are unable to work - because they are ill, too old, too young, have many domestic responsibilities or are studying - but by incorporating their labour into the enterprise the family income is raised substantially. Family labour, as opposed to wage labour, has the very real advantage, considering the uncertainty of life in the informal sector, of enabling the small producer to respond flexibly to

changing demand. It is possible to survive periods without work without having to pay hired labour. Ninety percent of households had at least one member in wage employment, indicating that the supplementary nature of the informal sector activities was on a household not an individual basis.

The fact that it is not a short-term survival measure between jobs but rather a longer-term supplement to the household income is shown by the period of involvement in informal activities.

2.2 Types of Informal Economic Activities

Table 1 shows the breakdown of the informal sector by the type of informal activities.

Thirty-seven percent of informal operators in KwaMashu were involved in selling groceries, ice-suckers or meat (either as hawkers or from a shack shop). Thus the majority of the retailing activities are related to the sale of food and other groceries. The economic conditions of the area ensure that the selling of food from home and by hawking provides a livelihood for many in KwaMashu (albeit a minimally remunerative one with a mean of R110 per month). This is because many township residents do not have easy access to shops, work long hours, lack refrigeration and buy in small quantities. People who are paid weekly cannot bulk-buy and long working hours and commuting means that many township residents cannot shop during normal shopping hours. However, in this survey, as will be seen in the

Table 1

Types of Informal Economic Activities

Activity	Incidence of activity (percentage
Distribution	**55,0**
Food and groceries from house	14,5
Food and groceries, hawking	15,5
Popsicles (ice suckers)	4,0
Meat	3,5
Liquor	7,0
Selling clothes	6,0
Selling second hand clothes	6,5
Production	**34,0**
Sewing and knitting	28,5
Cooked food	4,5
Houseblocks, burglar guards enlarging windows, awnings	2,0
Services	**11,0**
Renting rooms	3,0
Child care	2,5
Faith healer and herbalist	1,0
Battery charger, shoe repairs, photographer	2,0
Disc jockey	0,5
Taxi	0,5
Panel beating and mechanic	1,5

n = 183

* While most operators were involved in only one such occupation 10 percent had more than one informal activity. Therefore, there are 183 activities undertaken by 169 entrepreneurs.

following section, none of the unlicenced shops were very remunerative. This would appear to be due to competition from supermarkets and cafes limiting the unlicenced shops to a small scale convenience service - very necessary in the township but with a limited potential. This does not mean, however, that unlicensed shops

are necessarily barely viable. On another occasion in KwaMashu a flourishing unlicenced shop was visited which would appear to have the potential of formalise and to expand. This particular shop was unusually well situated, next to a compound, and the shopkeeper had extensive formal sector sales experience. Under favourable circumstances, unlicenced shops can provide an adequate livelihood but this appears to be the exception rather than the rule.

Women knitting and sewing at home constitute 28 percent of the informal economic activities. Township residents buy locally made clothes, many of them pinafore dresses or simple jerseys, because they are slightly cheaper than clothes bought in the formal sector. The fact that they are hawked around the townships, or made by a neighbour, also makes them accessible to those without transport.

Apart from these activities, only the selling of liquor, clothes and second hand clothes involve more than 6 percent of the informal sector. Other activities, although some are highly remunerative, occupy very few people. Therefore the comparative income of different informal sector activities are discussed below.

2.3 Informal Sector Incomes

Although informal sector incomes in this study were predominantly low, some respondents earned substantial informal incomes. The majority (79 percent) of informal sector operators earned less than the Household Subsistence Level (HSL) of R270 per month.[10] However, since

a mere 4 percent of those with low incomes were totally dependent on informal sector income, it is a supplement rather than the sole source of income. Less than R100 per month was earned by 40 percent of the informal sector respondents, while only 10 percent earned over R500.

A comparison of the percentage income derived from wages and that from the informal sector for three income groups is given below. The sample here was the entire KwaMashu sample and included those not involved in the informal sector. This further indicates that at low income levels there is greater dependence on the informal sector.

Table 2

Percentage Income Derived from the Informal Sector at Different Income Levels

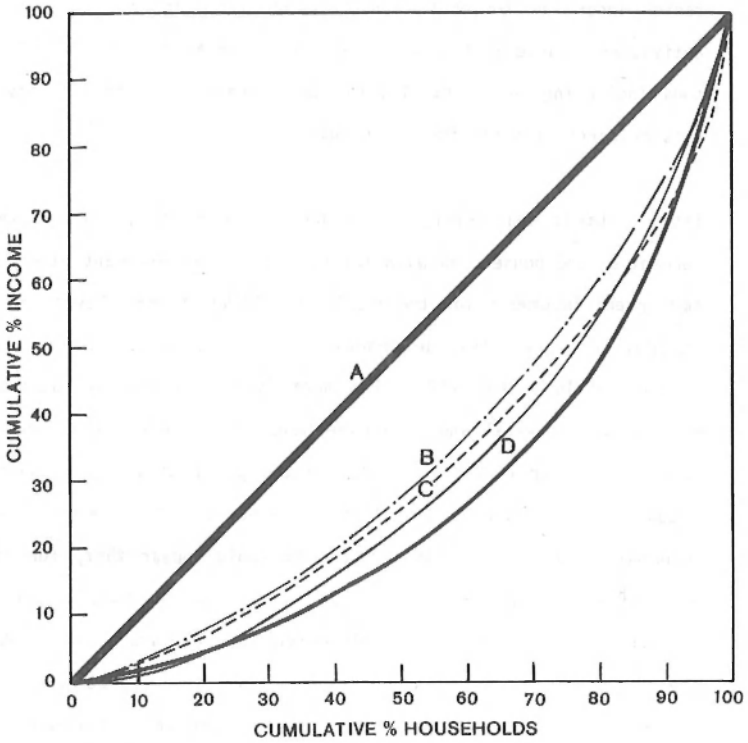
Household Monthly Income Level in Rands	Percentage Income from Informal Sector	Percentage Income from Wages	Other Income eg. Pension
0 - 270	29	60	11
271 - 540	19	77	4
811 +	19	80	1

n = 368

Overall, the effect of informal sector income is to lessen income inequalities in KwaMashu. This is graphically shown in Figure 1 in which Lorenz Curves are provided for those with and those without informal activities. The straight line A on the Lorenz curve would represent perfect equality of incomes where 10 percent of the population earns 10 percent of the total income, 20 percent earns 20 percent etc.

FIGURE 1

LORENZ CURVES SHOWING INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN KWA MASHU



KEY:

- Income of households without informal sector involvement.
- Informal sector income of households with informal sector involvment.
- Formal sector income of households with informal sector involvement.
- Total household income of households with informal sector involvement.

The curve B illustrates the total household income for those households participating in informal economic activities in this study. Curve C represents those households in the survey which were not involved in the informal sector. Curve D represents the formal sector income of households which participated in informal economic activities. Curve B lies much closer to Curve A than do either C or D thus indicating that participation in informal economic activity (in this research) lessens income inequalities.

Table 3 takes this analysis further by explaining that while 47 percent of the households with informal sector involvement have wage-employment incomes below the HSL (Household Subsistence Level) only 25 percent of those solely dependent on wage employment have monthly incomes of less than R270. The monthly HSL is assessed as a bare minimum for survival and an income below this indicates a very real struggle for survival. Since the percentage of households[11] with an income lower than the HSL fell from 47 percent to 15 percent when informal sector income was included it would appear that, for those with extremely low incomes, informal income means for many in KwaMashu the difference between a tolerable existence and stark poverty. While the extent of poverty is clearly evident the degree of income inequality cannot be ignored. Sixteen percent of households' containing members who participated in informal economic activities had **total** household incomes of three times the HSL (R810).

Table 3

Comparison of Incomes of Households without Informal Sector Activities with those with such Activities*

Monthly Income in Rands	Households without Informal Sector Activities Percentage	Households with Informal Sector Activities Discounting such Activities Percentage	Total Income of Households with Informal Sector Activities Percentage
Columns	1	2	3
0 - 270	25	47	15
271 - 540	45	31	41
541 - 810	18	14	28
811 +	12	8	16
	n = 209 av = R508	n = 164 av = R365	n = 163 av = R566

* Chi square testing showed a statistically significant difference between samples with and those without informal income.

Table 4 shows the the mean monthly income in each of the sub-sectors of the informal sector as well as the range of incomes in each sub-sector. The range is of particular importance as it illustrates the great diversity, not only of the sector as a whole but also within sub-sectors. Income, in this study, means profit and great pains were taken to differentiate between turnover and profit.

Table 4

Incomes from Informal Economic Activities

Activity	Mean income per month in rands	Range of income in rands	Percentage of Total Informal Sector Income
Distribution	151		
Food and groceries from house	89	25-300	7
Food and groceries, hawking	129	60-280	11
Popsicles (ice suckers)	101	24-260	2
Meat	100	70-150	2
Liquor	219	30-500	8
Selling clothes	271	80-700	9
Selling second hand clothes	249	50-525	9
Production	226		
Sewing and knitting	209	0-900	32
Cooked food	156	30-320	4
Houseblocks, burglar guards enlarging windows, awnings	575	110-800	6
Services	210		
Renting rooms	33	12- 72	-
Child care	65	20-140	1
Faith healer and herbalist	375	350-400	2
Battery charger, shoe repairs, photographer	69	15-100	1
Disc jockey	500	500	1
Taxi	120	120	-
Panel beating and mechanic	716	500-850	5

n = 183

Table 4 clearly shows that in KwaMashu the highest average income was for panel beating, car and home repairs and to a lesser extent the selling of ready-made clothing. Although the average income for sewing and knitting is not very high (R209), there is a considerable range of incomes with some of the highest informal sector incomes coming from this activity. Incomes from food and groceries are, with

the exception of liquor sales, generally low income earners. The income that each activity contributes to the total informal sector income (the final column of Table 4) shows clearly the preponderance of sewing and knitting - the addition of other clothes sales (retail and second hand) increase the percentage to 50 percent of the value of the informal sector. All food and grocery related activities (including cooked food and liquor) together total 34 percent of the informal sector. The remaining activities together, therefore, total only 16 percent of the value of the sector but, (since they involve relatively few individuals) some are highly remunerative. This is further illustrated by the fact that the highest earning 10 percent earned 31 percent of the income of the sector while the poorest 10 percent earned only 1 percent of the income of the sector.

An attempt was made to establish characteristics of operators which made them most likely to attain high incomes in the informal sector. It was found, using the Chi square test that there was no statistically significant difference in income levels between males and females. The correlation co-efficients of informal sector income and number of years in the informal sector, age, education levels and access to working capital assessed by formal sector household income, were either weak or non existent. Analysis was further undertaken by linear regressions using informal sector income as the dependent variable and years in the informal sector, household formal sector income, age, education, number of formal sector employees per household and number of persons per household as independent variables. Education and number of persons per households were not determinants and the other four variables accounted for only 21

percent of the variation in informal sector incomes. These factors would not appear to be of importance in determining whether the informal activities were remunerative or not.

2.4 Backward and Forward Linkages of Informal Economic Activities

Backward and forward linkages indicate the extent to which the informal sector is integrated into the national economy. Backward linkages show the extent to which it obtains its inputs from beyond its borders while forward linkages show the markets beyond its borders.

An examination of the forward linkages of the KwaMashu informal sector shows that almost no capital is drawn into the township by these informal economic activities from the sale of goods and services outside KwaMashu. Overwhelmingly goods sold by the informal sector are sold in KwaMashu (83 percent) with a small percentage being sold in rural KwaZulu[12] and a mere one percent in white areas.

It can be safely assumed that most goods and services sold by the informal sector in KwaMashu were bought by blacks using money earned in formal sector employment.[13] Thus the size of the market is ultimately determined by the extent of wage employment and varies with it. If the formal sector is in recession then the informal sector market, being almost entirely dependent on income earned in the formal sector, may decline. Alternatively, a decrease in formal sector incomes may allow the informal sector to increase its share of the

existing market. As large businesses, in partnership with blacks (e.g. the O.K. Bazaars), are penetrating the townships, and, given that most blacks work in white urban areas and already tend to shop there, an increasing informal market seems unlikely. Moreover formal sector goods are frequently cheaper than their informal sector counterparts[14] and the rational course, particularly for the poor, is to purchase cheaper goods whenever possible.

Since most backward linkages are with the formal sector, the informal sector is primarily stimulating production in the formal sector and is dependant on it. Almost 40 percent of inputs into informal economic activities are obtained directly from the formal sector in Durban. A further 30 percent of inputs are obtained from Indian shops and the Durban Indian market and, while not directly benefiting the large-scale formal sector (since many of these shops are small family businesses), does benefit it ultimately. Many of the goods bought from these shops, for example fabrics and clothing, still originate in large formal sector businesses. The 22 percent of inputs obtained from KwaMashu shops derive mostly from the O.K. Bazaars, KwaMashu bottle stores and the local bakery. Liquor sellers increase the distributive network of the bottle stores thereby increasing their profit, but all their liquor ultimately comes from large formal sector monopolies who thus benefit as much as the bottle stores. It appears that, probably because of the degree of control exercised by the township authorities and the fear of police raids, home brewed bear is virtually non-existent now (unlike the situation earlier in Cato Manor).

Backward linkages are, therefore, closely integrated into the corporate sector and the informal sector largely distributes goods produced outside the township. The forward linkages, on the other hand, are virtually solely within the township thus preventing capital from beyond the township being drawn into it.

The final section of this paper examines the implications of this research for the deregulation of small black businesses.

3.0 Deregulation and the KwaMashu Case Study

3.1 Introduction

The empirical research in KwaMashu has interesting implications regarding the direction that unfettering the informal economy may take. The problems remaining despite legislative change would include the influence of historical impediments, the lack of economic space, the effect of a recessionary economy and the result of loan policies on the informal sector. The particular types of established economic activities in KwaMashu have an important bearing on the extent to which deregulation would be effective. Also to be considered is the role of women in the sector. These implications will be examined in more detail.

3.2 Historical Impediments

The first important point is the temporal one - removing legislation now will not have the same effect as never having introduced it in the

first place. If there had been no prohibitions on black entrepreneurship in the fifties and, particularly, in the sixties when KwaMashu was being developed, there might have been a greater possibility of black participation in entrepreneurial activities. Small traders and petty-manufacturers, who could perhaps have participated on a competitive basis in the early stage of economic development, are quite unable now to compete efficiently with those entrenched in the monopoly level of capitalism. In a sense, therefore, they may have 'missed the boat' and may never be able to redress the imbalance.

Perhaps even more significant is that job reservation legislation has historically hindered blacks from acquiring the expertise necessary to run their own enterprises. Since they were confined to poorly paid unskilled occupations it was impossible to accumulate the capital to acquire their own businesses. This was borne out in the KwaMashu research where very few entrepreneurs had high level skills and their capital assets were in general very low. These were two of the major impediments to the development of the sector. The phasing out of job reservation does not immediately rectify the situation and a legacy of skill and capital shortages remains. Until recently, access to capital has been greatly restricted since the inability to own property in KwaMashu has prevented the mortgaging of such assets. The sale of township houses has not eliminated problems with raising building society loans and, moreover, it would take time to build up the necessary capital assets.

The historical legacy of apartheid and racism has an influence on most black/white interactions in South Africa and so has significant, if undetermined, effects on the black informal sector since it limits the penetration of the black informal sector into white markets. This was shown by the fact that in the KwaMashu research less than 1 percent of sales were to whites. As long as there is marked spatial segregation, the market for the black informal sector will effectively be limited to those with the lowest buying power.

3.3 Economic Space

The economic space within which the informal sector operates is largely governed by the corporate sector since growth in formal sector production (by increasing the availability of relatively low cost, mass produced, attractively packaged and extensively advertised consumer goods) decreases the market for informal sector goods. In depth interviews of garment manufacturers in KwaMashu, undertaken as part of this research, revealed the extent of competition from the formal sector as reflected in the marketing difficulties faced by garment manufacturers.

A further, but related, obstacle is the increasing use of technology in the corporate sector. The result is that the manufacturing section of the informal sector has a limited and decreasing market as consumers come to prefer goods produced and packaged in the formal sector. The research in KwaMashu showed that it was the informal manufacturing section which earned the highest average incomes yet it is this very section which will ultimately be most affected by

competition with the formal sector. The decline in informal manufacturing is especially inevitable in a country such as South Africa which, by Third World standards, has a relatively strong and developed manufacturing sector. It could be argued, however, that were black entrepreneurs free to operate in cities and not restricted to the townships, their ability to take advantage of linkages could retard this decline.

3.4 Influence of a Recessionary Economy

The research in Kwaiiashu showed that almost all the sales of informal sector goods and services were to blacks. Township blacks are heavily reliant on wage employment for their incomes. If formal sector black incomes decline because of increased unemployment, and there is no alternate market (such as direct sales to whites, or subcontracting to the formal sector, or informal sector sales forming an increasing share of sales in the township)[15] there can be no expansion of the informal sector. For as long as the present structure of the informal sector continues, deregulation will have only a very limited impact in a recessionary economy. This argument is supported by the fact that in the Kwaiiashu research less than 20 percent of respondents listed their major problems as police harassment or lack of licences. A further 20 percent mentioned shortage of capital but 50 percent had problems to do with bad debts, competition, and purchasing and marketing difficulties, which would not be ameliorated by deregulation and would worsen in a deepening recession.

3.5 Loan Policies

The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) was initiated in order to assist small businesses, but appears, in reality, to be directing its efforts at relatively large enterprises. The provision of fairly large loans, factory units, and managerial training may benefit the larger operators but it is not in keeping with the needs of the smallest operators. The KwaMashu research showed that over 80 percent of the sector required loans of under R500[16] (see also Dewar and Watson, 1981). Despite a professed willingness on the part of the SBDC to grant such small loans, in fact the costs involved largely preclude this (See Krige, 1985). Ease of monitoring the loans leads to a preference for capital-equipment loans. This increases the capital intensivity of the sector while leaving operators short of essential running capital. The absence of SBDC officials in KwaMashu, the situation of the SBDC offices in an affluent white suburb and inadquate numbers of Zulu speaking officials are further problems.

3.6 Types of Informal Sector Activity

The KwaMashu research showed that retailing (particularly of food) was the largest informal sector activity in KwaMashu followed by the manufacture of clothes. In the past few years the number of formal sector retailing opportunities (including liquor sales) for blacks have been expanded in he townships and white capital has been allowed in under certain conditions. While this permits successful unlicenced shops to formalise it will also increase the competition under which much of the informal sector labours since supermarkets can sell much

more cheaply than can unlicenced shops. The opportunities for this major form of informal sector activity can, therefore, only deteriorate. The increase in other retail outlets, such as dress shops, will have a similar effect on the related informal retailing activity. The manufacturers of garments may (with taste transfer and the ready availability of retail shops), increasingly be affected by formal sector competition.

The KwaMashu research did indicate some potential for expansion in fields such as construction (building, block making, awnings and burglar-guard making) and services (panel-beating, vehicle maintenance and shebeens), and for certain women making clothes or selling ready-made clothing. Although these constitute a very small section of the informal sector in KwaMashu at present, they are highly remunerative. It seems likely that as people develop skills in the formal sector (a fairly recent development resulting from the lifting of job reservation) some will choose to apply them in the more skilled sections of the informal sector. Since these activities are fairly remunerative there is some possibility of capital accumulation and reinvestment. Further, now that residents have recently been allowed to buy their homes in KwaMashu (and can therefore now extend and improve them) there seems to be some potential in this field for informal builders. Construction, panel beating and car repairs are all expensive services in the formal sector of Durban and it seems likely that the informal sector may be able to undercut formal sector prices and remain in business.

It must be re-iterated that although there are some possibilities for expansion in construction, panel beating and car repairs it forms at present a very small section of the informal sector. Considering the general level of incomes in Kwallashu, and the fact that home improvements and vehicle repairs provide something of a luxury service, their market is limited. Unless formal sector incomes increase greatly, demand will level off at a certain point.

It seems likely therefore that the growth potential of informal economic activities lies in service activities and in some sections of manufacturing. These are not however, the sectors which presently engage the majority.

3.7 The Role of Women

It is apparent from the research that while 87 percent of the KwaMashu informal sector are women, the potential in the sector is greater for those presently earning the highest incomes and those in the most promising subsectors and this potential is relatively higher for the males in the sector. The large number of women in the sector together with their low incomes indicates the supplementary nature of informal sector activities in black townships[17] (cushioning the effects of low formal sector wages as rural subsistence farming was earlier held to do). The large number of women is also the direct result of influx control since a male household head in order to retain his Section 10 (1)a rights, could not risk being declared 'idle and undesirable'. Males therefore would almost inevitably choose formal sector employment. This may have changed with the removal of influx control.

Generally, women are engaged in occupations which are increasingly coming into competition with the formal sector (particularly grocery retailing, sewing and knitting). Some women (see Table 4) were able to achieve profits well above the average from the making of clothes, the selling of retail clothing and second-hand clothing and of liquor. Although they were something of an exception within these activities, in absolute numbers they were more numerous than the men in the top earning decile. Yet is seems (theoretically) likely that, because of the activities in which they predominate, they will be more adversely affected by formal sector competition than will the men in the top earning decile whose activities are a viable alternative to formal sector services. It would appear, therefore, that deregulating the sector would not address the problems most seriously confronting the women, such as competition from the formal sector. Women, by the very nature of their predominant economic activities, are affected more by competition than men who are involved more in services and production. In the absence of police raids a proliferation of unlicenced shops and garment and food hawkers may well lead to decreased incomes for those currently trading. This should not be seen as advocating police raids but merely as raising the question of possible unanticipated consequences, bearing in mind the supplementary nature of their economic activities for many women.

4.0 Conclusion

This study found that, in 40 percent of the homes in KwaMashu, informal sector income makes a difference, often a vital difference,

to the standard of living of a particular household. Unfortunately most informal sector sales are to end-users (consumers) and thus the development of the informal sector is not stimulated by vertical integration giving rise to multiplier effects. It appears that the major function of the informal sector is to re-distribute formal sector wages towards the poorer section of the KwaMashu community (see also Webster, 1984:12). As such, the informal sector primarily serves a survival function by supplementing formal sector wages.

It becomes evident that simply deregulating the informal sector will not be sufficient to produce the employment opportunities, and hence politically stabilizing effects, hoped for by so many. The informal sector generally provides work only for the operator personally, with the unpaid assistance of family members. The vast majority of the sector do not earn enough to re-invest and are facing an increasingly difficult economic future (particularly in the light of increasing black unemployment and the increase of monopolies in South Africa).[18] This study has implicitly contended that the informal economic activities of blacks in South Africa are not easily compared with informal sector activities elsewhere in the world. The Group Areas Act, the legal limitations on black small businesses, the historical limitations of job reservation, the absence of private home-ownership and the close link between marketing difficulties and rising black unemployment means that research elsewhere does not necessarily apply readily to the South African situation. Deregulating the economy without making a concerted effort specifically to cater for the purchasing and marketing needs, and the development of marketable skills of those involved in informal economic activities will not help

them a great deal. Purchasing and marketing co-operatives, township flea markets and the development of outlets in white areas (particularly for such things as crafts and certain lines of garment manufacture) may allow informal entrepreneurs to survive. Unless positive action is taken to assist the informal sector, removing the legal restrictions will make very little difference to its future.

Notes

1. Race Relations Survey 1985:119 notes that "Although no accurate figures for African unemployment were available, it was widely accepted that its rate of increase was alarming and was a major contributory factor to the social unrest in the country. Some unofficial estimates put the figure as high as 3 million."Sarakinsky and Keenan (1986:22) postulate that in South Africa (including the homelands and National States) it could be as high as 6,5 million.

2. This article covers part of the research for a M.Soc.Sc. thesis in the Development Studies Unit, University of Natal. Greater detail on methodology and results is to be found in the thesis (see Krige, 1985).

3. While this is an important positive attribute the fact remains that the money in circulation is derived from formal sector wage incomes. It thus diminishes during a recession, decreased informal sector sales, unless consumers redirect their spending towards the informal rather than the formal sector.

4. Financial Mail, 1978:968

5. Managing Director of the Small Business Development Corporation.

6. Race Relations News, September, 1985.

7. The argument regarding the perceived need for the creation of a black petty bourgeosie, following the political unrest of the mid 1970's, is well presented by Robert Davies (1979:190-196).

8. It is suggested by Sanchez (1981) in a study of Cordoba that if a distinction is made between quasi formal, (verging on formal) and informal enterprises there are far more women in the latter. Similarly, in this KwaMashu study it would appear that women are more numerous in the less remunerative levels of the informal sector.

9. This may of course be a rationalisation to explain their lack of formal sector employment. The fact that for many informal sector involvement is a matter of choice does not deny the argument presented here that it is a supplementary activity. The unit of analysis in this study is the household and there are sound reasons, particularly regarding child-care, why women particularly would choose to supplement the family wage-earner's income in this way rather than try seeking wage employment themselves.

10. Calculated by the Institute for Planning Research of the University of Port Elizabeth in 1983 at R270 for black family of six persons in Durban (Potgieter, 1983).

11. In this survey households ranged in size from 1 to 14 but the median and mode were 6 and the mean 6.6.

12. Most of these sales outside KwaMashu consist of the sale of home-made clothing. Formal sector competition in the township makes marketing there difficult. Consequently half the women who made clothing sold either entirely or partly in rural KwaZulu.

13. Research in Umlazi (like KwaMashu a formal black township near Durban) showed that 91,2 percent of income came from wages (Clay, 1986:60).

14. Unlicenced shops frequently obtain many of their inputs from retail shops since they cannot buy from wholesalers, thus their goods are more expensive. A comparison of the prices of goods from shack shops and from the local O.K. Bazaars showed that the shack shops were generally more expensive. Yet another example is that burglar guards could be bought much more cheaply from discount stores in Durban than they could be made in KwaMashu. Accessibility is however a major factor in favour of the informal sector and probably accounts for its continued survival but cannot, alone, ensure sound economic viability.

15. For example as a result of political boycotts of 'white' shops.

16. They generally felt that they would be unable to repay more - a realistic assessment of their business potential.

17. Moser (1981) found in Ecuador that where wages in the formal sector are below the 'family wage' (i.e. the wage needed to support a family at a minimum level) it is women who "adopt a variety of alternative survival strategies to supplement family income' (Moser, 1981:20).

18. On the other hand, close association with large numbers of informal sector operators during this research revealed great adaptability, a very positive attitude and a true entrepreneurial spirit. This outlook, despite the many impediments analysed here, does augur well for the sector and provides some basis for hope in an otherwise gloomy picture.

the pickers interviewed said that they had never had a steady paying job. Of these 58 percent were women and 38 percent men.

Members of the subsample of 47 pickers who had previously been employed were asked what their last job was, why they left that job, what they had earned and how long ago they had held a job.

Table 6.1 contains data showing the kind of employment the picker had previously held.

Table 6.1 : Previous Employment Of Pickers

Sector or Occupation	Number	Percent of Total
Manufacturing	6	13
Construction	6	13
Domestic	18	38
Sales	4	8
Security	2	4
Messenger	2	4
Labourer	8	17
Railways	1	1
Total	47	100

It is clear from the data that the majority of the pickers who had had formal sector wage jobs had been employed in low skilled occupations since 68 percent had been employed as either domestic servants, builders or labourers.

Only 23 pickers gave their previous earnings. Wages reported varied between R15 and R90 per month. Twenty three percent were paid between

R51 and R70 a month. (These figures can only be taken as a rough indication, since most pickers have been picking for more than a year, and it is difficult to determine just when they become unemployed).

The reasons given for leaving the previous job varied. Ten of the thirty-eight (26%) who answered the question said they had been retrenched - they were all men. Whilst amongst the other reasons given were health reasons (16%), inadequate wages (13%), and firms closure (24%).

Scavenging is clearly one of the last resorts of the unemployed. Those who said that they would rather be formally employed (58,3%) as opposed to continuing to pick, gave the following reasons : (i) picking is not stimulating work; (ii) they need to earn more; (iii) it is regarded as a low status job; (iv) pickers need a permanent job; (v) their work is insecure, in that they can be evicted at any time; (vi) pickers have no access to a workers union and (vii) the picker has an education or trade which he is not using while picking. When asked whether they were actually looking for another job 85,4 percent replied that they were. The possible reasons for this reply will become clear in the next section dealing with working conditions and general hardship the picker has to contend with.

7. WORKING CONDITIONS AND HARDSHIP

As can be imagined, the physical environment in which the pickers work is not very pleasant. This is clearly reflected in the answers given

to the questions "What do you dislike about this work?", "What is your greatest problem in doing this work?" and "What would you like to change about this work?" In answer to two of the questions the majority indicated that the smell of the dump was offensive. Many cited the dirt, broken glass, rotten food and poisons, the high risk of becoming ill, as well as the weather.

7.1 Harrassment

From the answers to above questions it was also clear that pickers have to contend with continual harrassment from police, municipal authorities and the waste company working the particular dump. The fine for picking is R20. Although only nine of the pickers interviewed had actually been fined, in reply to the question "What would you like to change about this job?" twenty nine pickers said that they would like the harrassment to stop. Pickers felt that they should be allowed to pick on the dumps freely and that the effect of the harrassment was to prevent them from feeding their families.

From conversations with the pickers it appeared that when a rumour reached them that the police or the authorities would be visiting, the pickers simply left the dumps and, waited and watched from a safe distance away, until the police or authorities left the site. Should this happen without prior warning many pickers would simply run away and hide in the surrounding bush.

When questioned on what the attitudes of the police or the authorities were to picking, pickers said that they had been told the following:

1. You are stealing
2. You are not allowed to pick garbage
3. You are illegal, and do not have the right to be in the area
4. You are contravening the provisions of the Group Areas Act
5. You people cause trouble.

From interviews held with the Umhlanga and Pinetown municipalities as well as with Waste Tech it was clear that the presence of pickers on the dumps was not desired. Indeed it was these authorities who, in an attempt to get rid of the pickers, called in the police.

Amongst the reasons given as to why pickers are not welcome on the dumps, are the following:

1) Huge tractors, with spoked wheels, are used to crush the garbage and bulldozers as well as tipping lorries, are used on the dump continually throughout the day. It is feared that a picker might be injured or killed by these machines, which is a likely occurance since the pickers swarm around the trucks, as they tip the garbage and indeed some pickers and employed workers had actually been injured. The municipalities and Waste Tech fear the publicity and the possibility of a large insurance claim resulting from an accident.

2) The presence of pickers does not fit the image Waste-tech wants to bring across to the public. The idea is that Waste-tech, by working these large dumps, will improve the environment and

that parks, sportfields and other recreational facilities will eventually be created on the site.

3) The dumps are also an unpleasant sight and attempts have been made on other garbage sites to hide the dump. Walls are built around the dump and flower gardens are made to beautify the spot. The presence of pickers makes the picture even more unattractive.

4) The health department is concerned about the health conditions found on the dump and regularly warns the pickers against poisons and diseases. As with police harrassment, these warnings do not succeed in keeping pickers away.

In an attempt to stop picking, the strong measures that have been considered, include the erection of electrified fencing and the use of coils of barbed wire, around the dumps.

7.2 Hours Spent Picking, Transportation and Assistance

Table 7.1 contains data showing the distribution of pickers by time usually spent on the dump.

Figure 7.1. : Hours Spent on Dump

Hours	Number of Pickers	Percent or Total
1 - 3 hrs	13	13,5
4 - 6 hrs	13	13,5
7 - 10 hrs	68	70,9
24 hrs	2	2,1
Total	96	100,0

Most pickers picked every day (42%) or twice a week (6,3%), (forty pickers did not respond to this question). Most pickers (70%) spent between 7 and 10 hours a day on the dumps. Two pickers spent 24 hours on the dump, which signifies that they live/sleep in the bush around the actual dump. The rest of the pickers spent between one and six hours on the dump.

Pickers of all ages pick between seven and ten hours a day. Those pickers who only picked 1 to 3 hours a day vary in age from under 10 to 50 years.

Table 7.2 : Hours Spent on Dump by Sex

	Percentage of Category Spending				
Category	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7-10 hrs	24 hrs	Total
Male	24,4	26,8	43,9	4,9	43%
Female	3,7	5,7	92,6	-	56,8%
Total	13,5	13,5	70,9	2,1	100%

Most women picked from between 7 and 10 hours a day (93 percent) in comparison only 44 percent of the men who picked for the same length of time. More men than women spent less than seven hours on the dump.

Only 7,3 percent of the pickers replied that they had someone who helped them pick. These helpers were temporary. Only two helpers were related to the picker. These helpers were not paid. Twenty five

pickers (26%) collect in groups; twenty of them being the group from Westville who sell plastic to the businessman on a regular basis. Those pickers working in groups do not, however, swop items, in fact, none of the pickers swop items.

As far as could be attained the pickers did not have to pay anyone to gain access to the dumps. Although, since bribery is illegal, this question may not have been accurately answered.

The majority of the pickers walked to the dumps (75 percent), 19 percent made use of a bus to get to the dump, 3 percent used the train and the remainder made use of other means of transportation. Collections were transported in the same manner, except that more pickers made use of a bus. It cost the pickers between R3 and R14 a week to get to the dumps and back.

7.3 Reason why person picks

In answer to the question, "Why did you start doing this work?" 59 percent answered that they started scavenging in order to provide for the basic needs of their families: these needs were food, clothing, rent, etcetera. Other reasons given were as follows:

- scavenging because of unemployment; 23 percent.
- enable their children to go to school; 13,5 percent.
- retrenched from their previous jobs; 11 percent.
- no education and were therefore unemployed; 5 percent.

- no pass or permit to work in Durban; 7 percent.

- because of the valuable items they found on the dump; 7 percent.

The pickers were asked what they liked about picking - the answers are listed below:

No comment	3
provides them with basic needs (food, clothes, shelter, etc.)	68
No one to cheat me	2
do not need a permit	1
Independence	3
Can afford to send children to school	8
Nothing - no alternative	11
Extra income	2
Find valuable items	10
"People are kind" - group feeling	11

The bread and butter issue seems by far to be the most important, a clear indicator of the poverty of these pickers.

7.4 Status in Community

The pickers perceived themselves to be viewed with suspicion, ridiculed and despised by their community. Some accept pickers only because they sell goods cheaply. Others are sympathetic towards the pickers and often give them old clothes. Nine pickers kept the fact that they picked a secret.

Conclusion

The conditions under which pickers work have been clearly outlined. These conditions are unpleasant (dirt and smell) and hazardous. The question arises as to why these people are prepared to do this work. Their income is not very high, they are despised by their communities, they are harassed and fined by police and so forth. The only answer would appear to be that these people have no other alternative to survive.

Most pickers are unemployed, are poor, have large families to support, often with no-one else to supplement the family income, and they are quite desperate. This desperation is indicated by the fact that they eat food found on the garbage dumps.

If the economic recession experienced by the country continues, the number of people living off garbage dumps is likely to increase as more people become jobless. Job creation is essential, but perhaps even more urgent is finding ways in which pickers can be allowed to pick, as well as ways to improve their earnings and working conditions. One such way would be the general application of an experiment in source separation of waste material, known as the Robinson Deep Experiment, being done in Johannesburg at the moment. If the experiment is successfull, pickers could be formally employed in the waste industry, and as such will be assured of a regular income and better working conditions and environment. Another example is the

Springfield dump, where a successful compromise was reached. In this case pickers are allowed to pick freely after hours, between 4 and 6 pm, after the machines have stopped and before the gates are locked.

Picking does provide a haven for the unemployed and stands between starvation and survival!

APPENDIX I

SURVEY REGARDING GARBAGE PICKING

We are from the University of Natal and are doing a study to find out more about the people who pick the cities garbage dumps. To do this we would like to ask you some questions about yourself and the work you do. We have permission from the authorities to do this. All the information you give us will be regarded as confidential and private. We'll appreciate it if you could give us half an hour of your time. Thank you.

Name of Dump: .....

No. of person interviewed: [ ]

Interviewer: .....

Date: .....

GENERAL

1) Where do you live?

_____

_____

2) Where were you born?

Rural Area	1
Durban Area	2

3) If born in a rural area; when did you move to Durban?

Less than 6 months ago	1
6 - 1 year	2
1 - 2 years	3
2 - 3 years	4
3 - 4 years	5
More than 4 years ago	6

4) Are you the only one in your family bringing in money?

yes	1
no	2

5) If no, who else earns money in your family?

Husband	1
Child	2
Live-in Relative	3

6) Where does he/she work?

_____

_____

7) Does he/she earn a regular salary?

yes	1
no	2

8) How big is your family? ☐

9) Did you go to school?

yes	1
no	2
	☐

10) If yes, how long were you at school?

Less than Std 3	1
Std 3 - 5	2
Std 6	3
Std 8	4
Matric	5
	☐

GARBAGE PICKING

11) Why did you start doing this kind of work?

_____

_____ ☐

12) How long have you been doing this kind of work?

Months	☐
Years	☐

13) Does any other member of your family do this type of work?

yes	1
no	2
	☐

14) What do you collect?

	1 yes	2 no
paper/cardboard		
bottles		
metal		
plastic		
cloth/clothes		
organic/food		
wood		
other (specify) _____		

16) What do you do with your collection?

	1 yes	2 no
Own use		
sell		
manufacture		
other (specify) _____		

16 a) If you sell, where do you sell?

b) To whom do you sell?

c) How often do you sell?

every day	1
once a week	2
twice a week	3
twice a month	4
once a month	5
less frequently	6

17 a) If, you manufacture, what do you manufacture?

b) Where do you manufacture/work?

c) What do you do with what you have manufactured?

d) If you sell, where do you sell it?

(e) How often do you sell?

Every day	1
Once a week	2
Twice a week	3
Twice a month	4
Once a month	5
Less often	6

18) Where do you collect?

19) How often do you collect?

Every day	1
Twice a week	2
Once a week	3
More often (specify)	4
Less often (specify)	5

20) How much time do you spend on the dumps?

Hours per day +-

21) Do you have anyone helping you?

yes	1
no	2

a) If yes, do they help you on a

regular basis	1
temporary basis	2

b) How old is he/she? +-

c) Is the person helping you related to you?

1	2
yes	no

sister	1
brother	2
child	3
cousin	4
other (Specify)	5

d) Do you pay the person helping you?

yes	
no	

22) Do you collect in groups?

yes 1
no 2

23) How big is the group? ☐

24) Do you swop your pickings for anything?

yes ☐
no ☐

25) Did you have to pay anyone to be able/allowed to work here?

yes ☐
no ☐

a) If yes, do you still pay?

yes ☐
no ☐

b) Who did you have to pay? _____

c) How much do you pay? ☐

26) Do you do this type of work for someone else?

yes ☐
no ☐

a) If yes how much do you get paid? R ☐

per week 1
per month 2
per day 3

b) Do you get paid in kind?

yes ☐
no ☐

INCOME

27) How much do you usually earn?

per week R
per month R

28) What did you earn in a good week? R

29) What did you earn in a bad week? R

30) Does your income often change?

yes 1
no 2

TRANSPORT

31) How do you get to the dumps?

walk 1
taxi 2
train 3
bus 4
own car 5
someone else's car 6
other (specify) 7

32) How do you transport your collections?

walk 1
taxi 2
train 3
bus 4
own car 5
someone else's car 6
other(specify) 7

33) How much does it cost you to get to the dumps and back?

R ☐

EMPLOYMENT

34) Do you have another job?

yes 1
no 2
☐

35) If yes, what is it?

_____

_____ ☐

36) If no, when was the last time you had a steady paying job?

6 months ago 1
1 year ago 2
longer ago 3
more recent 4
Never 5
☐

37) What was the last job you had? _____

38) How much did you get paid at that job? _____

39) Why did you leave that job?

_____

_____ ☐

40) Are you looking for another job?

yes 1
no 2

41) Would you like to go back to a regular paid job?

yes 1
no 2

GENERAL ATTITUDE ABOUT GARBAGE PICKING AND DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

42) Sex: Male 1
Female 2

43) Age: _____

44) Marital Status:

Single 1
Married 2
Living together 3
Widowed 4
Divorced 5

45) How many children do you have? _____

46) Do you live with your family?

yes 1
no 2

47) If no, where does your family live?

_____

_____

48) Tell me more about this kind of work you do:

a) What do you like about this work?

b) What do you dislike about this work?

(Only ask those who do not pick for someone else)

49) Would you rather do this kind of work than working for someone else?

yes 1
no 2

50) Why?

51) What would you like to change about this work?

52) What is your greatest problem in doing this kind of work?

53) How do the people in your community view your type of work?

(Probe : for example) : Do they like it?
They do not like it?
Would they also like to do this kind of work?
They do not regard it as work?

54) Do people try to chase you away from this work?

yes 1
no 2

55) Who does this?

	1 yes	2 no
The police		
the municipality		
other authorities		

56) What do they say?

57) Have you been fined for doing this work?

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