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Mapping local economic development: a case study from the Wild Coast, South Africa

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Mapping local economic development: a case study from the Wild Coast, South Africa

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Abstract

Over the course of three research cycles CIET evaluated local economic development in the Wild Coast, South Africa, and the impact of the Spatial Development Initiative (SDI). As a follow-up to the baseline study, a school-based student survey and mapping exercise was conducted in 1999 to begin an informed dialogue on small and micro-enterprises (SMEs) in the SDI. An impact assessment survey was also conducted in 2000, providing a follow-up to the 1997 survey. The Wild Coast SDI showed little sign of improving local economic development in the region. There was a lack of knowledge of the project in the communities, no improvement in basic needs, decreasing levels of food security, higher levels of unemployment, and a weak culture of small business development. Geomatics tools were used extensively during the evaluation and provided an important contribution to the evidence-based planning process.

Summary

1. Introduction

The primary objective of this thesis was to evaluate the impact of the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative. This was measured through several key indicators including local knowledge of the project; coverage of basic services; food security; increased employment and an emerging “culture” of small and micro-enterprises (SMEs). A second objective focussed on demonstrating the possible use of geomatics as an important tool for local economic development planning.

This thesis was based upon the three cycle research project on local economic development in the Wild Coast SDI. The first cycle (1997) established baseline levels of socio-economic indicators such as employment, income, health and education. The second cycle (1999) involved a school-based mapping exercise and questionnaire. The impact assessment survey (2000) provided a follow-up to the baseline.

2. A review of existing literature

The existing literature concerning economic development is widespread. The

growth pole theory recognized that development did not happen the same everywhere, and based its strategies upon key propulsive firms that grow through innovation and create linkages with other enterprises. However, criticism of this "top down approach" led to the adoption of local economic development strategies that stressed the need for local entrepreneurship and other endogenous solutions to economic problems. A key component of this are SMEs, which are key to local development but face many challenges and obstacles. The Spatial Development Initiative programmes were started by the South African government to generate economic activity and growth, and encourage the development of SMEs. While theories and intentions about the SDIs were well documented, there was a lack of literature reporting on the real progress or failure of the SDIs based on empirical evidence.

Literature on the use of geomatics in planning primarily focussed on the technical advantages that it provides. Geographic information systems can be used to store and organise large amounts of geographically referenced data, and provide many modelling and spatial analysis capabilities.

3. The CIET methods

Data were collected and analysed using the CIET methods. As part of these

methods, epidemiological data were collected through modern research techniques and analysed to provide a platform for evidence-based planning. Research was conducted in sample communities which were weighted during analysis to bring them into proportion with the population being studied. Instruments were piloted extensively before being implemented and consent was granted before the research took place. Confidentiality was maintained to protect both the individuals and the communities. Once data were analysed, findings were shared with the communities and planners through maps, focus groups, and reports.

4. Background on the Wild Coast SDI

The Wild Coast region is located in the northeast corner of the Eastern Cape province in the area known as the former Transkei. Due to years of neglect and out-migration of labour to the mines, the population is predominantly female, poor, and unemployed. It is a largely rural area with little access to clean water or infrastructure. The South African Government started the Wild Coast SDI in 1997 in an attempt to provoke economic growth through public and private investment of small and micro-enterprises. Its primary objectives included increased employment, increased entrepreneurship in SMEs and community empowerment. Four coastal anchor areas were identified which were intended to be the focus for investment. A baseline survey in 1997 showed that people in the Wild Coast SDI

were unaware of what they could do to improve their socio-economic conditions. There were high levels of unemployment, a low proportion of households getting their water from protected sources, a lack of food security, a significant level of corruption in the public services, and little knowledge of the SDI project itself.

5. Impact assessment of the Wild Coast SDI (2000)

A survey conducted in 2000 evaluated the impact of the SDI project since it began in 1997. The sample was selected and weighted for analysis based upon existing census documentation and other relevant materials. Sites were selected to represent the population from both anchor and non-anchor areas. Typical data collection instruments included household questionnaires, key informant interviews, community reviews, and focus groups. After preliminary analysis, data were returned to the communities for discussion and feedback.

During the fieldwork, CIETafrica revisited the same 20 communities that were selected for the baseline and conducted a follow-up survey with households and small businesses. Overall knowledge of the SDI project had not changed and there had been no measurable improvement in basic services (such as water) since 1997. There was increased unemployment among adults, wages were lower among those who were working, and there was no evidence of an increase in small business development. Existing small businesses complained of a

decreasing customer base, more people buying on credit, and inflated interest rates on business loans. The main conclusion from the impact assessment was that the SDI was not meeting its basic objectives. Recommendations were made calling for a shift to change the SDI perspective from an investment driven initiative to one with a focus on local skills building and incentives.

6. Mapping local economic activity (1999)

In August 1999 CIETafrica and the Eastern Cape Socio-economic Consultative Council (Ecsecc) conducted a school-based research cycle and mapping exercise with grade 12 students in the SDI region in an attempt to begin an informed dialogue on SMEs. The main objective of this exercise was to document all income generating activity in the area and to understand some of the factors that impact on small business development, in order to identify the “culture of SMEs”. Students took part in a mapping exercise, a self-administered questionnaire, and student focus groups. There was a dominance of service-related businesses and no less than two businesses owned by a male for every business owned by a female. There was a low proportion of students who had considered starting their own businesses, claiming a lack of finances and knowledge as the main reasons why. Information from the mapping exercise, questionnaire and focus groups were presented back to the students in the form of a Year 2000 calendar. As a result, the students suggested there was a need for a change in the curriculum to

address these issues and provide hands-on business skills. Other recommendations included a provincial roll-out of the mapping exercise and increased women's participation in local development.

7. Conclusion

Three research cycles in the Wild Coast provided evidence of the failure of the SDI. This was measured through five main findings: first, local awareness of the SDI was low implying that little had been done to promote the project in the communities. Secondly, there was a lack of improvement in basic needs such as access to clean water and increasing distrust of government services. Thirdly, there has been a decrease in the levels of food security with many communities struggling to produce food for survival. Fourthly, increasing levels of unemployment indicated that the SDI had failed to address its key objectives. Lastly, there was a lack of a culture of SMEs with little consideration or attempt of starting one's own business.

Geomatics tools were used extensively during the evaluation of the SDI. Maps were used as an important data collection instrument for the school-based survey. Students used maps to locate all income generating enterprises in their communities, and then commented on the trends and patterns they saw emerging. Raster maps were also used to visually represent the key findings from the

research cycles. The visual representation of data was also helpful while communicating the results back to the communities and other stakeholders. Results from the school-based exercise were collated into a Year 2000 calendar for the students, and time-series maps were included in the impact assessment report. Together, the maps and calendars provided further visual evidence that the SDI was not meeting its objectives.

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Terms used

ABET ..... Adult basic education and training program

CI ..... Confidence interval

CIET ..... Community Information, Empowerment and Transparency

DBSA ..... Development Bank of Southern Africa

ECSECC ..... Eastern Cape Socio-economic Consultative Council

GIS ..... Geographic information system

IDRC ..... Canadian International Development and Research Centre

LED ..... Local economic development

M-H ..... Mantel-Haenszel chi-square

OR ..... Odds ratio

SDI ..... Spatial development initiative

SME ..... Small and micro-enterprises

1. Introduction

The primary objective of this thesis was to evaluate the impact of the Wild Coast SDI. Its performance was measured through several key indicators. The first was the overall community knowledge of the initiative itself. Levels of local knowledge demonstrated what measures were taken to achieve local buy-in of the project and what levels of local empowerment could be expected. Secondly, coverage levels of basic services and food security indicated whether or not the initiative was addressing its primary needs. Little development could be expected if the population was unhealthy and struggling to survive. Levels of employment and local attitudes towards small business development also determined whether or not the current strategy of the SDI was having an impact or if a planning change was needed.

The second objective of this thesis was to provide a demonstration of the use of geomatics as an important tool for local economic development planning and community-based research. This was achieved by highlighting its contribution to the data collection process; the representation of key findings; and its role in feedback and communication.

The methods and results described in this thesis were based upon the three cycle evaluation project on local economic development (LED) in the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), 1997-2000.

The 1997 survey provided a baseline of household information about health, education and other basic services; employment and income; and access to local decision-making processes. In addition, existing small-business owners were interviewed and provided information about the daily operations of their enterprises and their struggles for survival.

The 1999 school-based survey interviewed grade 12 students about their perceptions of small business development and their plans for employment in the future. This consisted of a self-administered questionnaire and a mapping exercise designed to identify income-generating businesses and to provoke discussion.

The 2000 impact assessment evaluated local economic development in the Wild Coast since the SDI project began in 1997. The data collection instruments were designed based upon the tools used in the baseline survey and the same communities were revisited.

2. A review of existing literature

2.1 Local economic development

There has been extensive literature written relating to economic growth in developing countries. This review discusses three themes relating to economic development strategies: growth pole theory; LED strategies and the role of entrepreneurship; and small and micro-enterprises. This leads to an overview of the spatial development initiatives in South Africa.

2.1.1 Growth pole theory

The basis for the growth pole theory was first established by French economist Francois Perroux in his description of "economic spaces." Perroux (1950)[1] lays the groundwork for the theory by claiming that "economic space consists of centres (or poles or foci) from which centrifugal forces emanate and to which centripetal forces are attracted."

But as Thomas (1972)[2] explains, Perroux solidified his theory of growth poles in a 1955 article titled "Note sur la notion de pole de croissance." In this article, Perroux claims that economic growth is unbalanced, developing initially in lead "poles" and

then disseminating to other parts of the region or country. At the center of these poles (often located in urban settings) are propulsive and key firms, which provide the basis for development and growth through innovations and linkages with other enterprises. Thomas is clear to point out, though, that "Perroux does not confine the notion of growth induced to a highly localized geographical area" but instead claims it can extend throughout an abstract space (such as the national economy).

Over time, many development theorists argued that growth poles and geography were naturally linked. Parr (1999)[3] claims this led to the notion of "planned" growth poles, which involved purposely directing investment into potentially propulsive firms and infrastructure. This was done with the hope of emulating some of the advantages of the natural growth poles that were emerging in some cases (such as shared infrastructure and a build up of skilled labour). The author describes four main characteristics of growth pole strategy: encouraging growth of employment and population in a concentrated area; a limitation on the number of poles; identification of areas with the inherent potential for sustaining various enterprises; and the modification of the spatial structure (employment and population) within a region.

Parr admits, however, that these initiatives have not always been successful, stating that "the world is littered with examples of growth pole strategies having failed or having been prematurely abandoned.” The reasons for these failures are

widespread but Parr offers some insight. First, a concentration of infrastructure is not enough - infrastructure must be varied and the region in question must also possess other advantages such as access to raw materials. Secondly, the desired effect of the poles on the surrounding regions is often unclear. In some cases, there is an intent for growth to expand outward from the center to the less concentrated areas. In others, there is the expectation of a redistribution of economic space involving a movement towards the centres and an abandonment of the periphery.

2.1.2 LED strategies and entrepreneurship

In response to declining support for theories based on "top down approaches" (such as the growth pole concept), development policy in the mid 1980's shifted towards local economic development (LED) strategies designed to empower local communities to find solutions to their economic problems. Coffey and Polese (1984)[4] place emphasis on the "local" determinants of development, referring to the "socio-cultural and behavioural attributes of the local population" and not necessarily the geographic factors. The authors highlight the integral role of local entrepreneurship and knowledge in stimulating economic growth. They suggest a four-stage model of the local development process to include the emergence of local entrepreneurship; the expansion of local enterprises beyond the region; the maintenance of local enterprises under local control; and establishing a strong

locally controlled economic sector.

In a subsequent article, the same authors (Coffey and Polese - 1985)[5] claim that local development depends upon more investment in "human capital" (including skills development and education); policies which seek to reduce out-migration (in order to keep skills and emerging entrepreneurs in the region); and decentralised control. An important step in this process is the stimulation of indigenous talents. However, the authors highlight two main constraints to this: limited access to information, and a lack of capital. They also argue that there are many other social factors involved in the process stating "even if it were possible to make access to capital and information equal everywhere, this in itself would still not ensure the emergence of local entrepreneurship." The authors argue that LED strategies need to implement “social animation” policies designed to alter people's behaviours, abilities, and perceptions towards local entrepreneurship. Coffey and Polese also outline and give suggestions for two additional policy options for local development - those that target increased funding and access to information. They stress that each issue is not mutually exclusive and that initial emphasis should be placed upon social animation.

Cook and Hulme (1988)[6] build on these concepts while assessing the compatibility of LED strategies and market liberalization. As part of this assessment, the

authors outline the fundamental components of LED claiming it "emphasizes investment in developing the commercial skills and abilities of the local population and changing attitudes, rather than investment in physical capital." Cook and Hulme reinforce the ideas expressed by Coffey and Polese by identifying access to information, increased funding, and social animation as key LED strategies. An additional strategy, related to social animation, is encouraging the use of local goods and services by the local population. However, the authors acknowledge that each of these issues is complex. Financial assistance should only be directed towards small scale enterprises that have the opportunity to succeed. Increasing access to information is an important component but "the range of information that might be required is almost infinite." The authors also acknowledge that there has been a wide range of literature on entrepreneurship since the pioneering work of J.A. Schumpeter in 1935, but argue that there is little known about the factors involved in the actual emergence of entrepreneurship - specifically whether entrepreneurs are "born or made."

2.1.3 Small and micro-enterprises

Entrepreneurship strategies in developing countries largely focus on the emergence of small and micro-enterprises. The Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC) states on their SME program initiative

website that SMEs are a key source of new jobs; are an essential source of income for the poor, including women and other marginalised groups; and play an important role in local and regional development initiatives[7]. However, IDRC also recognizes that there are many challenges for SME sustainability and success. These mirror the constraints to emerging entrepreneurship and include low levels of productivity, outdated technology, limited access to credit, limited access to information, and limited training opportunities.

McCormick (1999)[8] discusses the theory that many SMEs can overcome development restraints by operating in clusters of small businesses within close geographic proximity. She states that there are three main advantages to clustering: the first is “collective efficiency.” Collective efficiency, in theory, provides an advantage for small businesses through an increase of market access (due to external economies becoming attracted to the cluster), shared infrastructure and joint action (such as sharing a piece of expensive equipment), and labour pooling (higher concentration of specialized skills). Secondly, clustering facilitates growth of enterprises in small and manageable steps. Thirdly, it makes it easier for businesses to respond to opportunities and crises.

There are limitations to the success of clustering, however, when applied to the realities of Africa. To discuss this McCormick reviews six case studies of clusters

from Kenya, Ghana and South Africa: two manufacturing garments, two vehicle repairs, one metalwork and one fish processing. These clusters fall into three groups: those laying the groundwork for industrialization, those in the early stages of industrialization, and those that are part of the industrial sector. Each showed some improvement to market access but less success with labour market pooling, especially among the groundwork clusters. McCormick states this is due to an overabundance of labour: “Instead of drawing workers from a pool of specialized labour, cluster firms have relied on unskilled labour and trainees. Since they are poorly paid, these often set up their own firms as soon as they can.” She also states that corruption among the government institutions weakens external economies and impedes the potential for joint action benefits.

Further studies have been conducted to understand small business births, closures, and expansions. Mead and Liedholm (1998)[9] discuss studies undertaken in the Dominican Republic, Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. Their work showed that there was a considerable number of new SMEs that were being established (mostly as one person operations) but that little was known about the factors that contributed to this. They also found that it was difficult to document factors involved in business failures (since many of these businesses no longer existed), though it was possible. Findings showed that less than half of all SME closures were due to the business not being financially viable. In many

cases, the SMEs had closed for other personal reasons. They also found that SMEs were particularly vulnerable during the first two years when owners were still learning how to run their business. Mead and Liedholm also identify trends in expansion of small businesses, stating that younger SMEs were more likely to show higher rates of growth; that SMEs located in rural villages were less likely to grow than their urban counterparts; and that SMEs on the side of the road were more likely to grow than those conducted from within the home.

Downing (1995)[10] also discusses trends of SME sustainability and growth through comparisons between male and female owned enterprises in Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Downing states that many development strategies in the past have ignored women with the assumption that their businesses are "small, marginally profitable, and offer little potential for contributing to the macro-economy." The authors' findings show that women's enterprises were just as stable and long lasting as men's. However, female-owned enterprises tended to grow at much slower rates than male-owned enterprises, especially in South Africa. One explanation for this was the trend that female-owned enterprises were more often home-based than male-owned enterprises. This provided women with the advantage of upholding their domestic responsibilities but limited their interaction with customers. Downing offers other possible explanations, including the increased likelihood of female generated profits being used for "household

consumption” such as paying for the education of the children, and that women were more likely to undertake multiple smaller businesses as opposed to expanding an existing business in order to minimize the risks of their investment.

2.1.4 Spatial development initiatives

The spatial development initiatives were started in 1995 by the South African Government (Department of Trade and Industry) in an attempt to leverage investment, create jobs, develop infrastructure and improve socio-economic conditions.

Lefakane (1998)[11] describes the SDI as a short-term initiative that “does not seek to replace the broader, long term planning process.” The main investment emphasis is placed on public-private partnerships. Primary financing of the developments rest with the private sector while the government “determines bilateral arrangements, incentives, policies, and regulation that would support economic development.” The first SDI in place was the Maputo Development corridor, which was a joint initiative between South Africa and Mozambique. Since that time, a series of other SDI's have been designated including the Fish River SDI, West Coast Investment Initiative, Richards Bay SDI, Lubombo Initiative, the Platinum SDI and the Wild Coast SDI. Lefakane describes each initiative including

its location and focus, and highlights many of the investment opportunities that have been "announced." At the time of planning, the SDIs claimed to have generated 400 investment projects and were expected to create more than 68,000 new jobs.

Arkwright, de Beer, and Mmatli (1998)[12] describe the four main objectives of the initiative: to generate sustainable economic and export-oriented growth by exploiting the under-utilized potential of the regions; the generation and sustainability of employment opportunities; the attraction of private sector investment and lending into the regions; and the development of SMEs and empowerment of local communities through public and private sector investments with the hope of economic spin-offs from these investments. In an attempt to give an update on the progress of the SDIs, emphasis is placed on the identification of investment opportunities, the growth of interest in the SDIs (from other countries), and the stimulation of other infrastructure projects. These types of achievements have prompted investors and the government to consider (in the case of the Maputo Development Corridor) the SDI "an outstanding success." The SDI approach is seen as a useful example of development within South Africa and potentially between "borders" of other southern African countries.

Mahlati (1999)[13] is still optimistic but outlines some of the bottlenecks to investment apparent in the SDIs when put into practice. With particular reference to the Wild Coast SDI, he believes investment has been complicated by factors associated with a region with a history of neglect including “high unemployment rates and unresolved social conflict.” Other problems include the lack of complementary development programmes; poor infrastructure (roads, water, electricity, telephones); and limited local government capacity. Mahlati states that the government underestimated the difficulties involved with the transitions involved in the SDI strategy. These transitions include community empowerment, the transition from labourer to owner, and the transition to mixed and diversified land use. Mahlati, however, feels the government is in the process of devising new integrated strategies to address these problems. These strategies, he feels, need to focus on issues involved with training and capacity building (for the SDI team and management structures); coordinated approaches to implementation; and a revitalization of the rural economy.

The existing literature shows that theories and intentions about the SDIs are well documented. However, there is a lack of literature reporting on the progress of the SDIs based on real empirical evidence.

2.2 The use of geomatics in planning

Much of the existing literature on geomatics and planning focuses on the technical aspects of organising geographic data. Dangermond (1990)[14] provides an overview of these components by outlining trends in hardware, software, data integration, modelling and user training that are important for development planning. Important trends include a shift towards personal computers and networks, specialized workstations, improved data access, improved analytical tools (such as land suitability and allocation models) and 3-D capabilities leading to an increasing user base. While optimistic about the impact GIS will continue to have, Dangermond also warns that "the technology must be adapted to real needs rather than our needs being adapted to what the technology can do."

Williams, Shalaby, and Whitehouse (1994)[15] identify two broad tasks for GIS-based planning in developing countries: land use suitability mapping, and identifying areas for development and improvement. The authors review two case studies where GIS was used for development planning. The first involved locating tourist areas in Mauritius. Data overlays, buffering, and multiple criteria analyses were performed to select the site that was most appropriate. The second case study evaluated the use and efficiency of child immunization clinics in Kenya. Proximity and flow analyses highlighted problems such as overcrowding, non-use

and accessibility. In both case studies, GIS managed to generate timely and valuable information needed for planning decisions to be taken.

Kelley (1996)[16] states that with the proper data GIS can also have valuable benefits for business development, both from the perspective of economic developers and from individual businesses themselves. For example, GIS allows spatial aggregation of data regarding workforce availability, locations of competitors, and the availability of other infrastructure such as water and health care. In addition, the author states that GIS "can be used to forecast the economic impact of various infrastructure projects, to respond to ‘what if' inquiries, and to assess the relative economic benefits of projects in various geographic areas." GIS modelling can also take into account various ecological factors, such as predicting the effect of development on the environment. Individual businesses can use GIS for a variety of applications, including the targeting of potential new customers and minimizing shipping costs.

This thesis demonstrates the advantages of geomatics in evaluating local economic development. However, less emphasis is placed on the technological advantages it provided. Instead, emphasis is placed upon the role it played in providing a visual tool that led to discussion and communication of the major issues affecting the Wild Coast.

3. The CIET methods

The research and analysis methods used in the evaluation were based upon the CIET methods, which have proven successful in generating high quality and actionable data for planners during the past 15 years[17]. The CIET methods have been implemented in more than 44 countries and have addressed a wide variety of themes including land mines (Angola)[18], sexual violence (South Africa)[19], gender gap in education (Pakistan)[20] and health (Serbia)[21].

Data were collected through modern research techniques and were analysed to provide a platform for evidence-based planning. Research was conducted in sample communities which were weighted to bring them into proportion with the population being studied. The CIET methods were implemented through successive cycles of research allowing for the thorough measurement of indicators and an opportunity for the development of local partnership and capacity building. During each of the research and communication steps, special attention was paid to ensure that the communities were involved in order to build their voice into the planning process.

3.1 Training and piloting

Data collection teams were recruited for the fieldwork in the Wild Coast, each consisting of seven interviewers, a field supervisor and a CIET researcher. The field supervisors and most of the interviewers had previous experience in CIET surveys and were familiar with the methodology.

A training course covered the data collection process and instruments and included both classroom and field testing. Training for the household questionnaires focussed on reading the questions properly and recording the answers exactly as they were given by the respondent, in order to ensure that coding was not being done during data collection by the field workers.

Before piloting, the instruments were translated into the local language (Xhosa) and then back-translated into English to ensure the questions remained true to their intended meaning. The instruments were then piloted using the standard CIET five-step pilot process. As part of this process, the instruments were first piloted among the design team in order to ensure they were correct and capable of meeting the objectives. Secondly, support staff was asked to pilot the instruments in order to get a second opinion before they were taken out to the field for additional piloting. The instruments were then implemented in pilot sites for a

minimum of three additional tests. These included testing sections of the instrument which were presenting problems, testing the instrument for flow, and finally testing the instrument as a whole in order to finalize the process. The pilot exercises assisted in refining the instruments, testing for clarity and ensuring proper translation.

3.2 Informed consent and confidentiality

Before research began in the field, community leaders were notified in advance of the survey and if requested, were given an opportunity to review the questions being asked. The survey only began in a community once the community leader granted permission. In addition, prior to answering any questions, survey respondents were informed that their participation was voluntary; that their responses were confidential (ie: no names get recorded); and that they did not need to answer any questions they were not comfortable with.

The data were stored without any identifying fields, ensuring confidentiality of the respondents was maintained. In addition, the database was only distributed to the researchers directly working on the analysis. During reporting, data were aggregated to appropriate levels so that no individual or household could be identified by their characteristics.

Confidentiality of the communities themselves was maintained as much as possible, especially with regard to the non-anchor areas. Identity of the exact sample sites was only revealed to the data collection team and were not included in any of the reports. In cases where regional comparisons were necessary, the data were aggregated by district or by anchor/non-anchor status. It should be noted, however, that it was not possible to avoid identifying the anchor sites as the nature of the survey required comparisons between the anchor and non-anchor areas.

3.3 Data entry and analysis

Double data entry was performed using public domain software Epi-Info[22] with validation to identify and to correct all keystroke errors. Further cleaning excluded logical errors.

The data were analysed using Epi-Info. In order to draw conclusions about the strength of associations, represented by the odds ratio (OR), a large number of other explanations had to be excluded. This was done by using the Mantel-Haenszel procedure[23], stratifying sequentially for each of the possible factors that might explain the association. All reported findings were statistically significant at the five percent level. It is conceivable, however, that some other explanation

exists that was not taken into account in the design. The test of significance used to measure compatibility between proportional indicators (especially during this project for comparisons between years) is the Mantel-Haenszel chi-square (M-H). Averages are accompanied by a measurement of the standard error of the mean (se).

3.4 Mapping

Key findings from the questionnaires were represented by a set of raster maps called “CIETmaps”. Raster maps are represented by a grid of cells which create a continuous surface of the study area. CIETmaps were first developed while tracking the social costs of landmines and the impact of mine action in Afghanistan[24].

CIETmaps are derived from a set of sentinel communities selected and weighted to represent the population. Darker colours on the map do not represent higher concentrations of population, but higher proportions of the indicator being mapped if the population were "spread out" on the geographic surface. Population weighting thus transforms the geographic space into population space. If 30% of the map falls into a given class range, then 30% of the population falls within that range.

As a standard, darker areas on the map represent the need for attention or investment. Due to the process of interpolation, CIETmaps are designed to be interpreted much like a standard weather map, where trends are much more accurate than the exact location of any contour gradient. Sufficient class ranges are used to ensure that individual communities are not easily identified. Each colour set represents the different CIET levels of indicators. For example, a green palette represents coverages, and a brown palette represents impacts.

3.5 Feedback and communication

Preliminary findings were returned to the communities involved in the survey through gender stratified discussion groups. In these focus groups, participants were encouraged to give their opinions on several issues through a series of prompts designed by the research team. The discussions hinged on how the analysis and interpretation of results could lead to planning strategies for communication and action. One member of the research team facilitated the group while a second member recorded the main points and quotes from the discussion.

Once the data analysis was completed, a report was produced for each research cycle outlining the objectives, methods, main findings, and recommendations. These reports were then distributed to a variety of role players and planners. Information about the research and findings was also supplied through various

media outlets, including local radio and newspapers.

4. Background on the Wild Coast SDI

4.1 The Wild Coast region

The Wild Coast region is located in the northeast corner of the Eastern Cape province (Figure 1). It gets its name from its notoriously rough and beautiful coastline and is made up of eight districts: Kentani, Willowvale, Eliotdale, Mqanduli, Ngqeleni, Port St Johns, Lusikisiki and Bizana. The Wild Coast was part of the former Transkei, one of the ten black homelands that existed during the apartheid era. During that time the area was seen as a “dumping ground”, only good for providing cheap male labour to the mines out of the region.

As a result of those years of neglect, the population of the Wild Coast (approximately 1.3 million people[25]) is predominantly female, poor, and unemployed. The economic base consists mainly of small and micro-enterprises, some agriculture and livestock, and wage remittance by migrant workers[25]. It is a largely rural area with most of its inhabitants living in huts made of mud walls and grass roofs. There is inadequate access to clean water and very little infrastructure.

The N2 national highway runs parallel to the Wild Coast region. The only main road into the area is the R61 which runs from Umtata to Port St Johns, through Flagstaff and Bizana, and then back towards Port Edward. Most of the other roads run from the N2 to the coast, making cross-regional travel difficult.

4.2 The Wild Coast SDI

The South African Government started the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) through the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) in 1997 in an attempt to provoke economic growth through investment in the Wild Coast[26]. The SDI was designed to recognise and to utilise unexploited local resources in the Wild Coast region. The approach for development relied on collaboration from the public sector, private sector, communities and civil society[27]. It was designed as a short term investment strategy, using public resources to encourage private sector investment.

The main goal of the programme was to create sustainable employment through investment-led development and opportunities for SMEs. Four main performance objectives were identified. These included achieving growth in local informal and formal employment; increasing the stock of SMEs; creating opportunities for local investment in LED initiatives; and establishing planning processes and skills

development leading to local empowerment[28]. Emphasis was also placed on targeting women.

The SDI identified various sectors for potential growth and development including tourism, manufacturing and agriculture[29]. Four coastal anchor projects in particular were targeted for investment: Mbashe (Cwebe/Dwesa), Coffee Bay, Port St Johns, and Mkambati (Figure 2). It identified these four “growth centres” as the focus for investment with the hope that any economic growth in these areas would spill over into the rest of the SDI. The main thrust behind these four nodes was to present them as potential tourist areas for local and international investment.

Initial activities planned for the SDI included improvements to health infrastructure, water installation, school construction and road work. In addition, SDI facilitators were hired to work with the communities with the intent of ensuring community involvement in the planning process.

It can be argued that many of the Wild Coast SDI activities were not implemented as they were intended. The SDI facilitators were terminated shortly after the project began; there was little, if any, evidence of interest by international investors; and very few infrastructure projects that were originally implemented were maintained. However, some “investments” were reported to have taken place

in the region. These included at least R80 million in road improvements and R11 million in water projects[30].

4.3 The baseline survey (1997/98)

CIETafrica's involvement in the Wild Coast SDI project began in 1997 with a design workshop in Port St Johns. This included SDI stakeholders from the government, community representatives, NGOs and investors who developed objectives for a baseline survey. The objectives included establishing coverage levels of basic services (health, education, transport, and communication); levels of food security; providing baseline information on employment (skills, training needs, SMEs and informal employment); determining household access to, and participation in, local decision-making and information sharing processes (local authorities, institutions, organisations); and to identify bottlenecks to local economic development and investment.

Later in 1997, CIETafrica and its local counterpart, the Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council (Ecsecc), visited 2475 households from 20 sites in the Wild Coast. Data were also collected from local authorities, community leaders, and owners of small businesses. The baseline showed that people in the Wild Coast SDI were unaware of what they could do to improve their socio-

economic conditions. There was little, if any, concept of income generating activities as locally-motivated and locally-run production units. They seldom regarded starting one's own business as an option.

Other key findings from the baseline included: only 23% (554/2475) of households reported getting their water from protected sources; there was a significant level of corruption in the public services, with many people having to pay for administration and health services that should be free; two thirds (1303/1959) of households produced food but among these, only 14% (170/1301) sold any; some 77% (1498/6512) of adults were unemployed; and overall knowledge of the SDI project itself was very low. One positive indicator was the high level of school enrolment: no less than 89% (4927/5549) of school-aged children attended school.

The 1997 baseline report identified four main action points. The first among these was a wide-reaching communication strategy about the SDI. Second was the provision of water to reduce household expenditures and water-related illnesses. Third was to generate an increasingly informed dialogue on SMEs, in order for people to understand what was possible and what was likely to succeed. Finally, it recommended an immediate clean-up of unofficial charges in order to reduce household costs and slow leakage of resources from the public service.

5. Impact assessment of the Wild Coast SDI (2000)

An impact assessment survey at the end of 2000 evaluated local economic development since the SDI project began in 1997. The 2000 survey included 2,363 households and collected information about 11,171 individuals[31].

5.1 The 2000 sample

Since the objective of the 2000 survey was to evaluate development since the SDI project began officially in 1997, CIETafrica revisited the same 20 communities that were selected to represent the SDI in 1997. During the 1997 sample selection communities were stratified by anchor/non-anchor status. Additional stratification was based upon geographic features (such as coastal/non-coastal), proximity to infrastructure, and accessibility.

Where possible, the same number of households was visited in each community in 2000 as was visited in 1997 in order to provide a strong comparative basis to assess impact. During analysis, sites were weighted to be proportional based on district populations.

5.2 Data collection instruments

The data collection instruments for the 2000 survey included a household questionnaire, a community review, a market survey, an existing SME questionnaire, and community-based focus group discussions.

5.2.1 Household questionnaire

The household questionnaire used for the impact assessment focussed on household knowledge of the SDI, access to water, use and satisfaction with government services, food security, and credit and loans. The respondents were also asked a series of questions about each member of their household regarding use of health services, employment and income, and small business ownership. Many of the same questions from the 1997 survey were used in order to allow direct comparison of indicators. For these questions, the exact same wording of the question was used. Open question format was used for the household questionnaire with the responses being recorded in Bhopal books.

5.2.2 SME questionnaire

The SME questionnaire was designed to document the experience of owners

about the daily operations and struggles of their small businesses. The same questions from the 1997 SME review were used in 2000. The intention was to visit the same SMEs that were reviewed in 1997 however, in most cases, this was not possible. To preserve confidentiality, only the types of businesses (but not their names) had been recorded in the baseline survey. In some cases, owners were asked if they had been interviewed in 1997 but many could not remember. In other cases, there were no similar types of businesses left in the community implying that the SME interviewed in 1997 no longer existed or had changed its operation. Therefore, important information was collected from existing businesses in 2000, but specific changes from the baseline could not be documented.

5.2.3 Community review and focus groups

In each site, the headman or community leader answered the community review and provided information such as access to electricity, access to public transport, distance to government offices, and distance to health care providers. Local market surveys included prices of various products that were also reviewed in 1997 in order to assess price differentials.

Gender stratified focus groups were conducted in each of the communities which took part in the surveys. Participants were asked to comment on some of the

preliminary findings and provide further insight into the data.

5.3 Key findings

5.3.1 Demographic structure of the sample

The demographic structure of the 2000 survey followed the same pattern as the 1997 survey (Figure 3). As in 1997, there were fewer working-age males than females which was a result of the many years of migrant labour in this region. In addition, no less than 38% (899/2363) of households reported no adult males over the age of 18 years living in the household.

5.3.2 Lack of knowledge of the SDI

In 2000, 23% (530/2336) of respondents had heard of the Wild Coast SDI. This was the same proportion of respondents who had heard of the SDI in 1997 – 23% (578/2471); M-H chi-sq=0.33.

In the proposed anchor areas, where SDI planners intended the main focus of the initiative, people were nearly three times more likely to have heard of the SDI than people in non-anchor areas – OR 2.8, 95% CI 2.2-3.4 (281/806, 249/1530).

However, overall knowledge within the anchor areas had decreased since the baseline – anchor areas: 1997 - 41% (355/862), 2000 - 35% (281/806); M-H=7.05. Nearly half (50%, 261/525) of those who had heard of the SDI claimed they heard about it from the headman/chief or community meetings (Table 1).

There was also a reduction of those who felt they have a say in the SDI. This affected both anchor and non-anchor areas (Figure 4). Among those who had heard of the SDI, in the 2000 survey only 33% (217/475) overall felt they had a say in it (the effect of population weights reduces this coverage from 46% - unweighted, to 33% - weighted). Some 78% (415/532) in 1997 felt they had a say in the SDI; M-H=112.07.

5.3.3 Households' main problems

In 1997, 76% (371/490) of respondents who had heard of the SDI said they felt they would benefit most from the initiative if it brought more jobs or business opportunities. Asked in the 2000 survey what their household's main problem was, 66% (1551/2363) of respondents said it was money or unemployment. This was a significant increase in that category since 1997 (58%, 1411/2427); M-H=28.53. Both male and female focus groups complained of a lack of development, stating that a lack of money and unemployment were clearly the biggest challenges their

households and communities faced (17/20 male focus groups, 15/20 female focus groups).

In 2000, only 20% (477/2359) of households reported getting their water from a protected source such as a tank and taps. The majority of households getting their water from protected sources were located in the Port St Johns area (Figure 5).

5.3.4 Positive views of education

In 2000, 89% (3708/4177) of children aged 6-18 attended school and seventeen out of 20 communities reviewed were located within one kilometer of the nearest primary school.

Overall satisfaction with the education system was high. In 2000, some 75% (1745/2329) of respondents claimed they were satisfied or very satisfied with the education system. When asked what they would most like to see changed with the education system, some 67% (1513/2265) of respondents claimed there was nothing they would like to see changed (Table 2).

Respondents were also asked about costs of education including school fees, books and uniforms. Costs increased as education level increased and were

higher in non-anchor areas (Table 3).

5.3.5 Use and costs of health care services

Some 29% (3062/10446) had last visited a health care service within the month prior to the survey. Among these, 77% (2371/3062) had used government clinics on their last visit. The most common reason for seeking medical help was the treatment of respiratory illness (such as fever, flu, coughs, asthma) which accounted for 23% (2257/9933) of all visits.

Costs varied by type of health provider. Among those who used government clinics, 20% (466/2354) had to pay an average of R4.40 (n=466, se 0.7)(Table 4).

Overall satisfaction with the health services decreased significantly between 1997 and 2000. In 1997, 84% (1978/2352) of households reported being satisfied or very satisfied with the health services as compared to 65% (1517/2349) in 2000; M-H=234.69. There was also some variation among those who were satisfied in 2000: a lower educated household (where all its members have less than Grade 8 education) was 1.9 times more likely to be satisfied with the health services than a higher educated household – OR 1.9, 95% CI 1.6-2.3 (568/767, 949/1582).

Asked what they would most like to see changed with the health services, 55% (1263/2290) of respondents said there was nothing they would like to see changed. However, among those who did want to see changes, the most common response was more medicine (Table 5).

Respondents were asked how much they would be willing to pay each visit to see changes with the health services. Overall, 21% (484/2263) of respondents were willing to pay something to see changes with the health services. The most common amount respondents were willing to pay each visit was R2.00.

5.3.6 Use and costs of administration services

Overall, households were using government administration services less than in 1997. In 1997, some 71% (1759/2475) had used them within the previous year compared with 43% (990/2276) within the previous year in 2000; M-H=369.64.

However, including only those that had used government services within the previous year, 71% (743/1044) claimed they were either satisfied or very satisfied with the service they received. There was no significant change in satisfaction since 1997 (69%, 1209/1749); M-H=1.30. Some 28% (280/985) of households who used government administration services in the last year paid an average of

R57.00 (n=262, se 13.7) for the service (Table 6).

In 2000, the most common reason for contacting the government services in the last year was to obtain identity documents or certificates (51%, 500/978). There was a very low proportion of households who contacted the government offices to seek employment, accounting for only 2% (21/978) of visits.

5.3.7 Increased cost of public transport

In 2000, 20% (457/2266) of households had not used public transport at all in the previous month. Among those who had used it, the average monthly household expenditure on public transport was R102 (n=1876, se 2.9) which was more than twice the average in 1997 (R49, n=1396, se 2.3). In 2000, 66% (1246/1876) of households who used public transport services in the last month claimed they were either satisfied or very satisfied with them. Those who claimed they were satisfied paid less overall than those who claimed they were dissatisfied (Table 7).

5.3.8 Increased use and cost of telephones

Eleven out of 20 communities reviewed in 2000 had access to telephones within their community. Some 44% (1025/2318) in 2000 claimed they had not used a

telephone in the month prior to the survey. Among those who had used telephones and paid, the average monthly household expenditure was R81 (n=1055, se 5.2).

Small business owners were also asked about their use of telephones with regards to their business. Only 3/33 SMEs claimed they had never used a telephone for their business (three general dealers) while twenty out of 33 claimed they had last used a telephone that day.

5.3.9 Decreased levels of food security

Overall, the average household in 2000 spent R318 (n=2307, se 3.9) on food in the month prior to the survey which was an increase of R19 since 1997 – R299 (n=2475, se 4.2). The main food items purchased by the average household in the previous month were maize, samp (stamped maize), and flour which together are considered basics (80%, 1884/2350).

Nearly 30% (688/2314) of households in 2000 reported having no land under cultivation. This was nearly the same proportion who reported having no land under cultivation in 1997 (29%, 722/2475); M-H=0.18. Among those who had land, the average household cultivated 0.6 hectares (n=1565, se 0.1). However, only 55% (846/1532) of households produced any food in previous year which was a

significant decrease from 1997 (67%, 1303/1959); M-H=46.31. There were also fewer households selling food in 2000 than in 1997 (Table 8).

5.3.10 Employment and income

Overall, 15% (790/5118) of the adult population worked for income in the month prior to the survey. This was much lower than 23% (1498/6512) in 1997; M-H=191.22. Unemployment was not evenly spread in the community. In both 1997 and 2000, more males were employed than females (Figure 6). In addition, employment levels and incomes were higher among those with more education in 2000 (Table 9). More than one fourth (211/779) of the working population were employed as labourers, with another 23% (179/779) employed as gardeners/domestic workers.

Some 31% (724/2341) of households received monthly income from migrant workers. Among these, the average amount reported was R390 per month (n=724, se 8.9).

No less than 54% (2947/5423) of the adult population was looking for work at the time of the survey as compared with 48% (3174/6580) in 1997; M-H=44.34. However, only half (52%, 2442/4652) of those who were unemployed were looking

for work at the time of the survey (Figure 7).

5.3.11 Small business ownership

Overall, 29% (1569/5398) of adults had considered owning their own business. However, only 27% (1261/4629) of those who were unemployed at the time of the survey had considered starting their own business.

Only 6% (339/5454) of those surveyed in 2000 owned their own business. Among these, spaza shops (small general dealers) were the most popular enterprise accounting for 17% (57/334) of businesses overall. Alcohol-related establishments, such as shebeens/taverns also made up a substantial proportion of the businesses, accounting for 10% (34/334) of the businesses recorded in the survey.

As with wages, there was some variation in the monthly earnings generated through self-employment. The average earnings from businesses overall were R448 (n=275, se 57.7). However, no less than 3% (11/339) of those who reported owning their own business claimed they generated no income from the business in the previous month.

In addition to the household questionnaire, the 2000 survey interviewed 33 existing SMEs. The most common reason given by the 33 owners for starting their business was a lack of money and jobs. The most common current challenges reported by owners were competition by similar businesses and financial difficulties. Others complained that there were fewer customers because people had no money, and that there had been an increase of people buying on credit.

5.3.12 Increased credits and loans

Some 41% (951/2302) of households had loans at the time of the 2000 survey. There was a higher proportion of households in 2000 in anchor areas with loans than households in non-anchor areas, although the overall proportion had increased in both areas since 1997 (Figure 8). Some 76% (694/911) of all loans were for groceries/food. In 2000, average loan sizes were higher in anchor areas than in non-anchor areas (Table 10).

Among SMEs, nearly one-half (13/33) felt they had access to credit either from the bank or wholesaler. Among these, 11/13 had used credit for their business.

5.4 Discussion of key findings

5.4.1 Lack of impact from the SDI

Findings from the impact assessment indicated that the Wild Coast SDI, conceived as an investment-led project to kick-start economic growth and tourism, showed little signs of improving local economic development in the region up to the end of 2000.

First, overall knowledge of the project within the communities had not changed, which was a sign that little had been done about either investment or tourism in the area. Since 1997 communities seemed to be more marginalised from the SDI process, relying solely on their community leaders for information. This could have been due in part to the termination of employment of SDI facilitators in 1997.

Secondly, one of the main action points included in the 1997 baseline survey was to increase provision of water to the communities. This would imply a reduction of time spent fetching water to reduce labour time, particularly of women. Increased access to water from protected sources would also reduce water-related illnesses.

5.4.2 Decreased trust in government services

During the focus group discussions, the communities concluded they no longer had any trust in their government or government services. Some complained of applying for identity documents or grants and never receiving them. Others felt the government promised them things and then never delivered on those promises.

When attempting to explain the decrease in satisfaction with the health services since 1997, nearly two-thirds of both the male and female focus groups felt there had been a sense of hope with the new government but that more recently they had become disillusioned with this notion. Others mentioned that while there used to be more costs for health services, there also used to be more equipment and medicines and, as a result, better treatment.

5.4.3 Unemployment and lack of ownership

Due to the high levels of unemployment in the Wild Coast area, it was surprising that there was a very low proportion of adults who had considered starting their own business. This reflected the weak culture of SMEs in the Wild Coast. Many people did not feel they could make something happen for themselves and were simply waiting for a job to be created or become available.

In addition, the proportion of adults who had considered starting their own business was the same for anchor areas as it was for non-anchor areas. This should be looked at against the background of the original intention of the SDI to target the anchor areas with external investment for small business development with the hope that this economic boost would spill over into the other parts of the SDI. There is little chance of a spill over when little happens in the proposed target areas.

5.4.4 Increased credits and loans

The increase in total loans over 1997-2000 could be seen as a positive indicator for development if households were taking more loans to try and improve their economic status by starting or improving businesses. However, this was not the case as most of these loans were for food - a direct result of decreasing food security (especially in the form of food production). This represents a large burden on household resources considering the high levels of unemployment and low income in the Wild Coast.

The loans from the local shops in 2000 were almost exclusively for food and given in the form of credits that were supposed to be paid off at the end of each month. During the SME reviews (2000) many of the enterprises felt that customers buying

on credit was one of their biggest struggles. They commented that their customers could often not pay at the end of the month because of high levels of unemployment and very little money for food.

With regards to their own loans, the most common complaint among SME owners was that borrowing rates were much too high and this was one of the biggest obstacles to the success of their businesses. Increasing access to credit and reducing borrowing rates may provide more incentive for current businesses owners to expand, and give more opportunities to potential would-be owners.

5.5 Recommendations

The findings from the impact assessment concluded that the SDI was not meeting basic objectives and immediate action was needed to promote LED initiatives in the Wild Coast. A shift is required to change the SDI perspective from an investment driven initiative to one with a focus on local skills building and incentives for development within the community. Communities must be urged to use their local skills and resources to generate income. Primary initiatives should focus on community development projects and the promotion of small local markets based on agriculture related SMEs. These local markets could create employment opportunities, build skills, generate local finances, and increase the

potential for small business development.

These suggestions are given based on the LED concept that communities need to find local solutions to their economic problems. However, it is important to note that there will be limitations to their impact due to various socio-economic factors that may not have local solutions. These include an unfavourable macro-economic environment due largely to years of apartheid rule and widespread poverty; sparse infrastructure and support services for SMEs; and high levels of crime and corruption. More research is needed to determine the extent of these effects on local development and provide planning solutions that compliment LED strategies.

6. Mapping local economic activity (1999)

In August 1999, in an attempt to begin an informed dialogue on SMEs in the SDI, CIETafrica and Ecsecc conducted a school-based questionnaire and mapping exercise with 2056 grade 12 students in 28 schools across the Wild Coast SDI[32]. A school-based exercise was chosen because of the positive baseline finding of high school attendance. It was believed this would provide a wide reaching feedback framework for dialogue about SMEs and development in the SDI communities. The main objective of this exercise was to document income generating activity in the area, to understand some of the factors that impact on economic activity, and

to initiate an informed dialogue about the issues. By doing so, the students identified “the culture of SMEs.”

6.1 The school sample

Sample schools were chosen on the basis of average walking distances to schools from the sample communities established in the baseline survey, with the 28 schools forming a grid that covered all main roads in the area. The spread of schools ensured full coverage of the region while at the same time avoided excess duplication of information. Population weights for the grade 12 students were applied to bring the school sample into proportion at the district level.

6.2 Data collection instruments

Data collection instruments for the school-based research cycle included a mapping exercise, a student questionnaire, and a school-based focus group discussion.

6.2.1 Student mapping exercise

The mapping exercise was designed to produce an interactive data collection tool

that would allow the students to understand existing trends among small businesses in their communities. A set of maps was produced on A3 (297x420mm) paper showing the schools and surrounding area. Grade 12 classes were divided into four smaller groups of 6-10 students containing both males and females. Each group received a map and a set of pictorial symbols representing different types of small businesses. There were three colours for symbols: blue for male-owned businesses, red for female-owned businesses and white for jointly-owned businesses. A category “other” accommodated business categories not represented by the symbols so the students were not limited to the businesses listed. The students then identified all income generating activity known to them by locating the appropriate symbols on the map.

Information regarding type of business, products sold, how many people were employed, and the geographic area covered by the business was noted. The maps were then processed using ArcView GIS[33]. Each SME was placed onto a digital vector map in ArcView and linked to a database containing the collected information about each business. The maps were then collated to represent the eight different magisterial districts individually as well as the region as a whole. The final maps represented gender specifics of ownership patterns and a breakdown of service and production-related businesses.

6.2.2 Self-administered student questionnaire

The student questionnaire was designed to identify and understand some of the factors that prevented small business development in the Wild Coast. The questionnaire was self-administered by the students, who filled in response bubbles that corresponded with their answers. The use of response bubbles allowed the questionnaire to be scanned during data entry. Students answered questions regarding their attitudes towards small businesses, their skills, education, and knowledge of the SDI. The questionnaire was confidential (ie: students were not asked to provide their names) and voluntary.

6.2.3 Student focus group discussions

The products of the student mapping exercise were returned to the schools that participated in the collection of the data. The same students who were involved in the initial mapping exercise were drawn into a discussion around the findings. At each school, students were given a set of four maps for the district in which they lived: a breakdown of businesses by sex of the owner; a breakdown of service and production-related businesses; production businesses with pictorial symbols; and service businesses with pictorial symbols.

Using the maps as a reference, a number of issues were discussed and the comments of students were recorded in a standardised way. Some of the issues discussed about the maps in particular were trends in business ownership, what types of businesses existed, what types of businesses were missing, and where the businesses were located. Other issues included what could be done to promote small business development and who needed to be involved. These discussions allowed the students to continue and build upon the conversations they had started during the mapping exercise itself.

Results from the mapping exercise, student surveys, and focus group discussions were collated into a Year 2000 calendar, with each page representing information from different regions of the SDI (Figure 9). These calendars were distributed to more than 9000 students in the Wild Coast and other stakeholders.

6.3 Key findings

6.3.1 Service and production-related businesses

The mapping exercise identified 1424 small businesses in the Wild Coast area. No less than two-thirds (958/1424) of these were service related. There was also a dominance of alcohol-related business in the Wild Coast (shebeens, taverns, and

bottle stores) accounting for almost 20% (189/958) of all service business. The most common production businesses in the SDI were arts and crafts followed closely by fruit and vegetable production (Table 11).

6.3.2 Male and female-owned businesses

There were no less than two businesses owned by a male for every business owned by a female (Figure 10). There was also some variation in the kinds of businesses that were owned by males and females. The most common types of businesses owned by women were shebeens (56), vendors (50), arts and crafts (43), and fruits and vegetables (41). The most common types of male-owned businesses were taxis (107), general dealers (77), brickmaking (74), and livestock (58).

6.3.3 Spatial patterns of small businesses

Several spatial patterns became obvious during the mapping and feedback with the students. Almost all businesses followed the road network and businesses of the same type were often clustered together. While the population of the Wild Coast SDI region was fairly evenly distributed, there was variation in the density of businesses from place to place. Business density (number of businesses per

10,000 people) was considerably higher close to two of the anchor areas, Port St Johns and Coffee Bay (Figure 11).

6.3.4 Consideration of small business ownership

Overall, 31% (631/2046) of grade 12 students had considered starting their own business: 35% (263/757) of males and 29% (356/1244) of females (M-H chi-sq=8.26).

In many cases, the reason for not starting their own business was not attributed to one single factor, but a combination of different factors. Not surprisingly however, a lack of finances was identified as the main thing that stopped students from considering starting their own business. The second most common reason among students for not starting their own business was a lack of knowledge, followed by not knowing what kind of business to do and a lack of customers (Table 12).

6.3.5 Attitudes toward businesses

In many cases, students said they had the hands-on skills and natural resources to start a business (such as the production of crops, food, and arts and crafts) but did not consider these as business opportunities. For example, one in four (27%,

539/2028) students in the Wild Coast considered the making and selling of crafts as a business but many more (59%, 1203/2032) felt they could produce them (Table 13).

6.3.6 Knowledge of Wild Coast SDI

Among the grade 12 students surveyed, only 23% (457/2013) had heard of the Wild Coast SDI. Knowledge of the Wild Coast SDI was sparse. In Elliotdale, only 11% (10/88) of students had heard of the SDI. In Mqanduli, one of the anchor areas, only one-third (111/327) had heard of it (Figure 12).

A student who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI was more likely to consider starting a business than a student who had not heard of it – OR 1.8, 95% CI 1.4-2.2 (181/446, 417/1506). In addition, a student who was a member of a *stokvel* (a community saving scheme with social and economic functions) was twice as likely to have heard of the Wild Coast SDI than a student who was not a member – OR 1.9, 95% CI 1.5-2.5 (154/379, 359/1377).

6.3.7 The role of education

Overall, 93% (1885/2032) of students felt further education improved their chances

of a future livelihood. However, this positive finding was overshadowed somewhat by the dismal pass rates from the schools. As reported by the principals of the schools visited, grade 12 repetition rates ranged from 6% (14/236) to 89% (89/100). In addition, there was a large number of students who were repeating grade 12 for a second time or more.

6.3.8 Attitudes towards women

Many women felt they had fewer opportunities than men and were intimidated by the idea of starting their own business. On the other hand, some students believed that women actually had more business opportunities than men. Overall, 29% (591/2020) of students in the Wild Coast thought girls had a better chance of making a livelihood in their community. However, in a predominantly female population, women on their own only accounted for 28% (393/1424) of small business ownership in the Wild Coast SDI.

6.4 Discussion of key findings

6.4.1 Distribution of small and micro-enterprises

The ratio of service to production-related businesses described an important

dimension of the local economy. The dominance of service-related businesses in the Wild Coast SDI was likely due to the fact that they may require less skill and lower start-up costs. However these sources of income are often limited to the local economy, meaning they can only serve those in the area where they are located. This limits expansion in a way that does not always affect production businesses - these can serve local communities but they can also market goods outside of the locality.

The students said that most people lacked the necessary skills to start and maintain production businesses and the finances to buy the necessary equipment. They felt service businesses were more profitable and offered more immediate return. Students also recognised a poor infrastructure as part of the reason for the lack of production businesses, claiming that if roads were better it would be easier to get goods to other markets.

When discussing the large number of alcohol-related businesses, students suggested that, because many people did not have jobs, morale was low and people resorted to liquor. They said an improved economic situation in the Wild Coast might result in fewer alcohol-related businesses due to increased morale and less free time.

The students concluded, however, that creating new job opportunities was not the only answer. New jobs and businesses must be created which complement, and not simply copy, each other in order to build up the overall infrastructure of the entire region. The clustering of many similar businesses in the SDI may be related to a shared infrastructure but could also imply that many businesses were started as “copycats” -- people see a successful business and simply copy it instead of trying to think of something else to do. The students noticed this clustering trend and felt that a lack of creativity and laziness were the main reasons for this outcome. They suggested more information about the different kinds of businesses that could be started might help reduce the amount of copycat businesses.

In addition, “sustainability” of these businesses is important. The creation of many small businesses may provide some work for a short time, but will not provide many long-term benefits if they do not survive.

6.4.2 Constraints to small business development

Many students felt that people did not even have enough money to pay their debts or buy food, let alone start their own business. Students also felt that a lack of financial management skills prevented many businesses from developing in their communities. They suggested that, in the rare case that someone did have the

funds to begin a business, it was often misused without a proper marketing strategy. This resulted in bad credit, high prices and wasted resources.

Lack of finances is a complex issue, as making more money available does not solve the long term problems of management, marketing, and businesses sustainability. On the positive side, the students were not simply asking for more money, but for more information and training on financial management. SDI planners need to look at different sources of funding and provide education about financial management.

Lack of knowledge was another reason given for students' not considering starting their own businesses. However, they distinguished between two different types of "knowledge." The first was knowledge about a specific business. For example in the case of crops, a student may claim that they do not know enough about how to plant seeds, proper watering, fertilization, and exporting. The other type of knowledge was knowledge about running a business in general - including getting credit for start-up, how to turn an idea into a business, customer relations, marketing, management, and finances.

Many students felt that the schools could change the curriculum to help reduce their lack of both types of knowledge. Teachers should be trained to teach specific

business skills, financial management and customer relations, as well as provide hands-on courses on topics such as gardening, and needlework. They also felt that not only should this be taught in the schools from grade 8-12, but that the Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) program should also incorporate the same themes into their courses. It is possible that curriculum reform geared to increase business knowledge would also help students realize what their options were, and give them ideas about what business to do.

6.4.3 The role of women

One of the primary objectives of the SDI when it was planned was to increase women's economic participation. Several suggestions were made by students to explain the dominance of the local economy by males. Many said high crime rates discouraged women from starting small businesses. Others suggested that men had an advantage, as many had left their communities to work in the mines and had returned with money and a skill base which helped them get started.

Another often mentioned reason was the traditional view that women should be at home with the kids and needed to raise their families instead of running a business. Women often felt they were regarded as minors and did not have the same chances that men had. This raises the challenge of how women might be

empowered to start their own businesses and rely less on men. Some suggestions emerging from the student focus groups included the formation of female group projects and for women to take their own initiative to utilize their skills for economic gain.

6.5 Recommendations

Several recommendations were made in order to help local economic development in the SDI. The student survey, mapping exercise, calendar, and focus groups played an important role in defining these recommendations.

6.5.1 Curricular reform

As a direct result of the classroom mapping exercise, the school-based research cycle identified curricular reform as a key change needed for small business development in the SDI region. Importantly, it was the students involved in the exercise themselves that suggested this change. Many students commented that the school curriculum should be structured to prepare rural children to become entrepreneurs with the resources at hand. They suggested that teachers should increase their skills in teaching business development, that hands-on teaching of different businesses and business-related practises should be included as

subjects, and that ABET should make small business development a part of its curriculum. In response to the key findings from the student mapping exercise and survey, the Department of Education (Eastern Cape) acknowledged the need for an evidence-based curricular reform project. As stated by Eastern Cape Minister of Education Stone Sizani, “the department is introducing measures that would reorientate the present emphasis on theory to a focus on skills.”[34]

6.5.2 Provincial roll-out of the mapping exercise

The mapping exercise prompted a request to roll out the mapping of small businesses by the students and calendar distribution to the provincial level, in order to document the entire economic situation of the Eastern Cape as a whole. The calendars proved to be a successful communication tool and were well received by students and planners alike. There was a request for a second printing in order to increase the circulation of the calendars in the schools. Yearly updating of the calendars would enable students and planners to document which types of businesses have been successful, and which have failed.

6.5.3 Increased women’s participation

The mapping exercise painted a clear picture to both the students and planners

that ownership of the existing enterprises was largely dominated by males. During this exercise, many female students discussed this point and agreed that they as women should be taking more initiative. One female student from Phambili Senior Secondary school remarked that “women should come together and form a project that can create a number of jobs and be of some use to the community”. Yearly updates of the mapping exercise would be able to measure whether or not these ideas are being acted upon. In addition, seeing that more women had begun taking matters into their own hands might prompt other women to do the same.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Failure of the Wild Coast SDI

Empirical data collected through community-based research have shown that the Wild Coast SDI has failed. This is demonstrated by little knowledge of the SDI in the communities; little improvements in basic services; a lack of food security; no increase in employment; and the lack of a culture of small business development.

7.1.1 Knowledge of the SDI

The 2000 follow-up survey showed that there had been no increase in local

knowledge of the SDI since 1997. In addition, the proportion who felt they had a say in it decreased in both anchor and non-anchor areas. This implies that little has been done to promote the project and less has been done to interact with the communities. It is unlikely local communities will derive benefit from LED initiatives if they are not even aware these initiatives exist.

7.1.2 Basic services

In 2000, there had been no measurable improvement in basic services. Access to clean water had not improved which leaves the potential working population at risk of illness. In addition, the decreasing level of use and trust with the government services (especially health services) implies a growing sense of decentralisation in the area. It is unlikely that any emphasis will be placed on using community resources for economic development projects when basic needs are not being met.

7.1.3 Food security

In addition to a lack of basic services, there is decreasing food security in the Wild Coast region since 1997. The Wild Coast was targeted for investment due to its "natural ecological resources," therefore success of the SDI should result in an

increase in the production and sale of food. However, there has been a significant decrease in both outcomes. Taking into account the fact that most loans in 2000 were being extended for purchasing food, it is evident that communities were simply struggling to feed themselves, let alone produce food to sell.

7.1.4 Employment

One of the specific performance objectives of the Wild Coast SDI was to increase employment in the area. However, employment levels decreased significantly since 1997 and there was a high proportion of the unemployed who were not looking for work. In addition, there was a significant number of households who are receiving income from migrant workers. It is evident that Wild Coast communities do not feel their region holds many employment opportunities. This would indicate that investment projects in the SDI have either been unsuccessful, or non-existent.

7.1.5 The culture of SMEs

As with increased employment, the SDI was designed to provide a favourable environment for SMEs, especially among female owners. However, there has been no measurable increase of small business ownership in the area and only a low proportion of the unemployed population (including youth who are finishing school)

had considered starting their own business. There was little concept of taking one's own initiative to make something happen.

It can be argued that economic development is a slow process and that not enough time has passed to allow the SDI to have a significant impact. However, it is reasonable to expect that the communities would at least have knowledge of the project and some improvement in basic services. This would lead to favourable local attitudes (if not action) towards small business development opportunities and a sense of hope. However, it is evident that this has not happened and, in fact, there are signs of regression in many of these aspects.

7.2 The role of geomatics

Geomatics played an important role during the second and third cycles of the SDI project. Raster and vector maps were used extensively during the research process for data collection, discussion, and feedback of the results.

7.2.1 Data collection

In the school-based survey, the mapping exercise was used as one of the main data collection instruments to document all income-generating activity in the area.

The mapping exercise provided a lively and interesting interaction with the students. While acting as an effective data collection tool, the exercise itself also provided a forum for communication and learning. The students created the final maps themselves, which maximised participation and ensured that they felt they were important to the process.

As the maps were collated, the students also commented on many of the trends that were emerging (such as the dominance of male-owned enterprises and the clustering of similar businesses). Looking at the final maps, the students involved themselves in discussions about what types of businesses were missing in their areas, and among those that existed, what types were succeeding and which were failing.

Overall, the businesses mapped by the students likely underestimated the actual economic activity in the SDI since larger enterprises and the government sector were not included. However, there were three main advantages in having the students map the SMEs as opposed to a spatial survey: the students knew about many businesses that were not visible (such as selling crafts from within the home), the students did not identify businesses that they did not consider employment or income-generating opportunities, and the mapping exercise itself acted as a communication tool and provoked dialogue. Through these exercises

and discussions, the students identified the culture of SMEs in the Wild Coast.

7.2.2 Representation of key findings

Key findings from the mapping exercise were collated into a series of vector maps showing a breakdown of businesses by sex of the owner and a breakdown of service and production-related businesses.

In addition, key findings from the student and household questionnaires were represented by a series of raster maps (Annex A2 and B2). These maps were used to provide a visual perspective by showing the overall measure of an indicator, as well as its spatial variation. For example, only 20% (477/2359) of households surveyed in 2000 reported getting their water from protected sources. However, this proportion was much higher in the areas closest to Port St Johns. This type of spatial difference is important to planners who may need to target their programs differently in various regions.

During the impact assessment survey (2000), a set of time-series maps was created based on data collected in 1997 and 2000. These maps were presented on the same page in the atlas and allowed direct comparison of key indicators. The maps were useful to show both change and/or lack of change of the variables,

which provided visual evidence that the SDI was not meeting its objectives.

7.2.3 Feedback and communication

The products of the student mapping exercise and raster maps were returned to the schools that participated in the collection of the data and provoked discussion around the findings. These discussions allowed the students to continue and build upon the conversations they had started during the mapping exercise itself.

A calendar generated from the mapping exercise was also produced for the Year 2000 and distributed to the schools. The calendar contained maps of every small business mapped out by the students categorised by type and owner's sex. Other findings were included as were comments from the students in response to the issues discussed during the feedback sessions. Some pages also contained raster maps showing the results from the student questionnaires.

In addition to the monthly maps, a page illustrated the findings relating to male and female owned businesses; another page depicted information about service and production-related businesses; others showed information from the baseline survey and results from the student survey. The back page of the calendar contained contact information for the SME desks of the Eastern Cape Department

of Finance in the relevant districts. Each page of the calendar also included quotes about students' views on income generating activities as a livelihood option. In January 2000, CIET distributed 9000 calendars to the schools that had been involved in the survey.

The calendar was also distributed to a variety of other role players involved in economic development in the Eastern Cape. For them it pointed out certain needs regarding training, access to markets, and access to finances. It also indicated investment opportunities and gaps in the employment market. The calendars proved to be a successful communication tool and were well received by students and planners alike. There was a request for a second printing in order to increase the circulation of the calendars in the schools.

8. Figures

Figure 1
Map of the Wild Coast region showing roads and towns

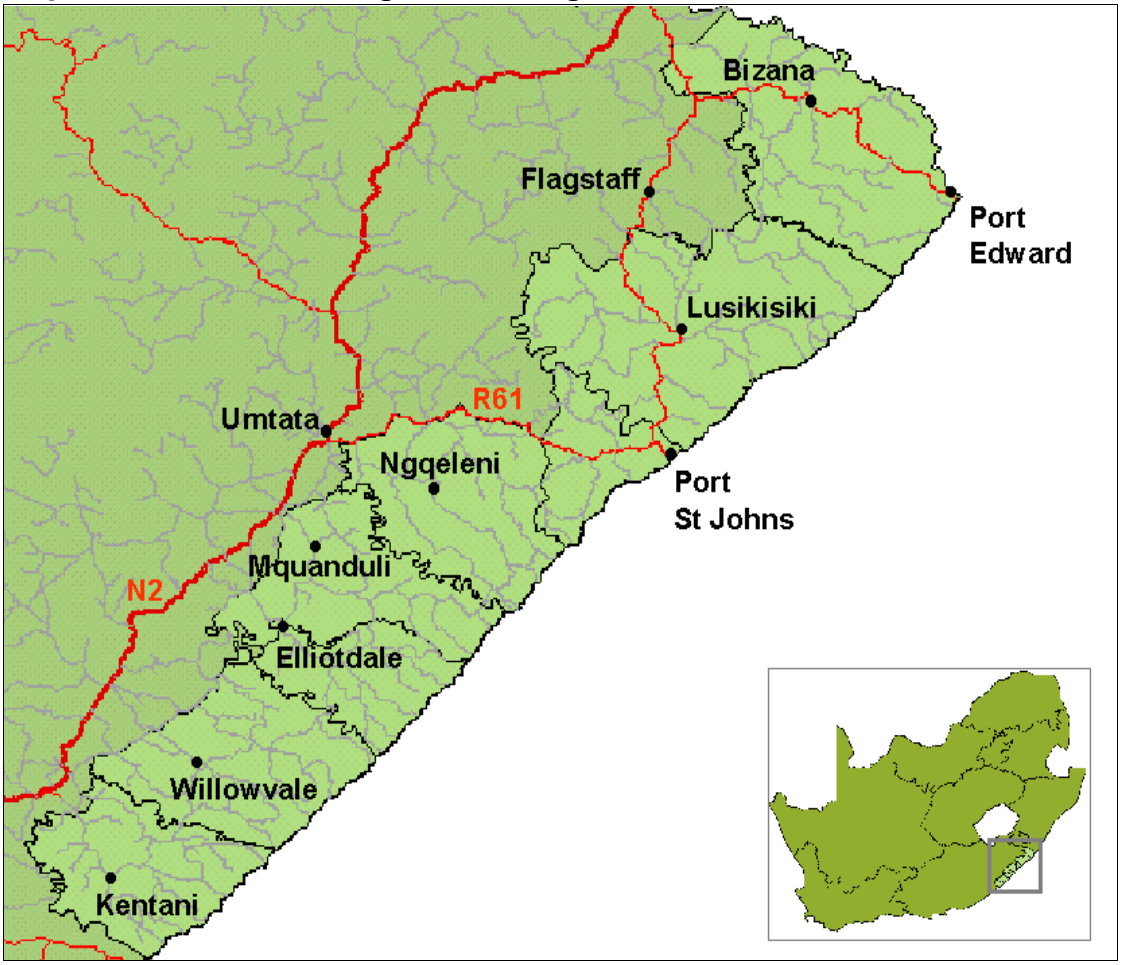


Figure 2
Map showing the location of the four anchor areas in the Wild Coast

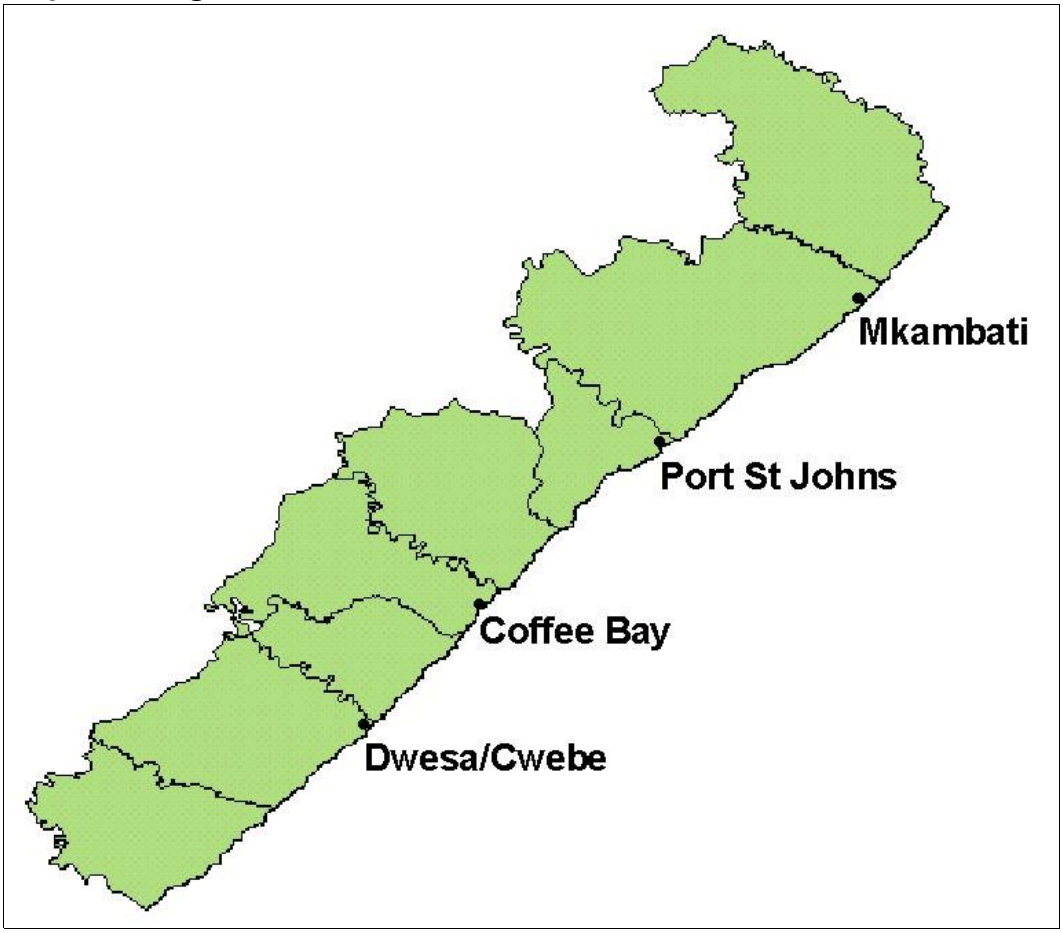


Figure 3
The demographic structure of the sample -- 2000
(number of people)

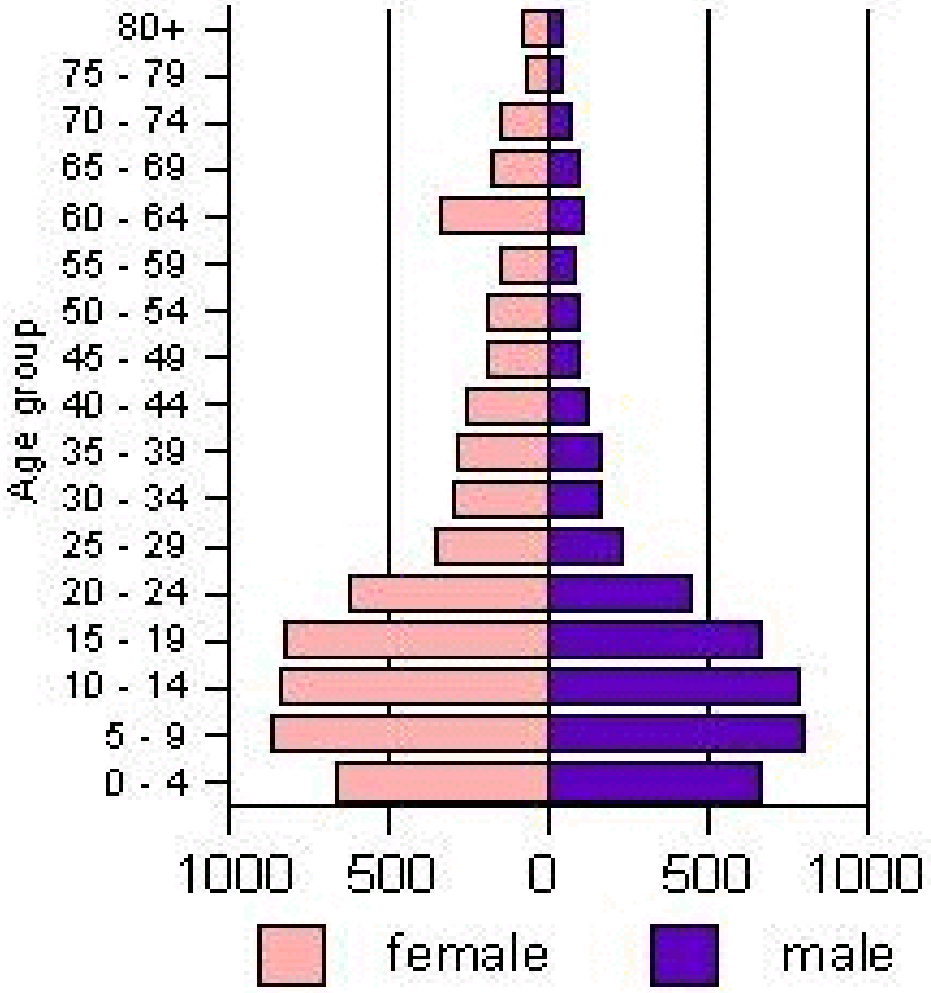


Figure 4
Percent of respondents who felt they had a say in the SDI (among those who had heard of it)

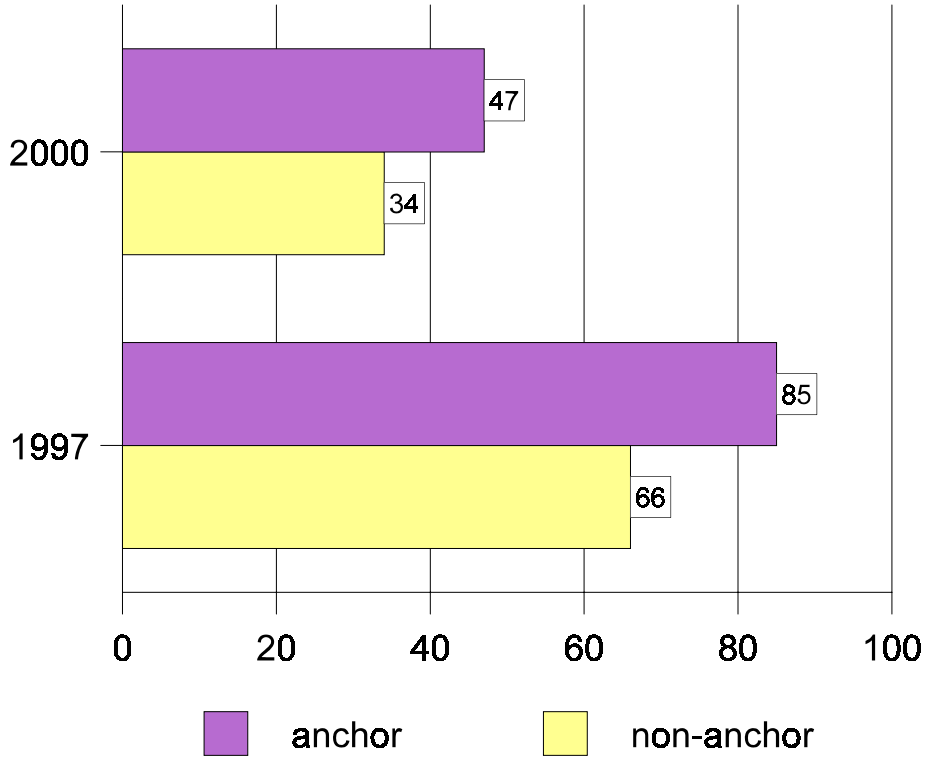


Figure 5
Map showing household access to protected sources of water (2000)

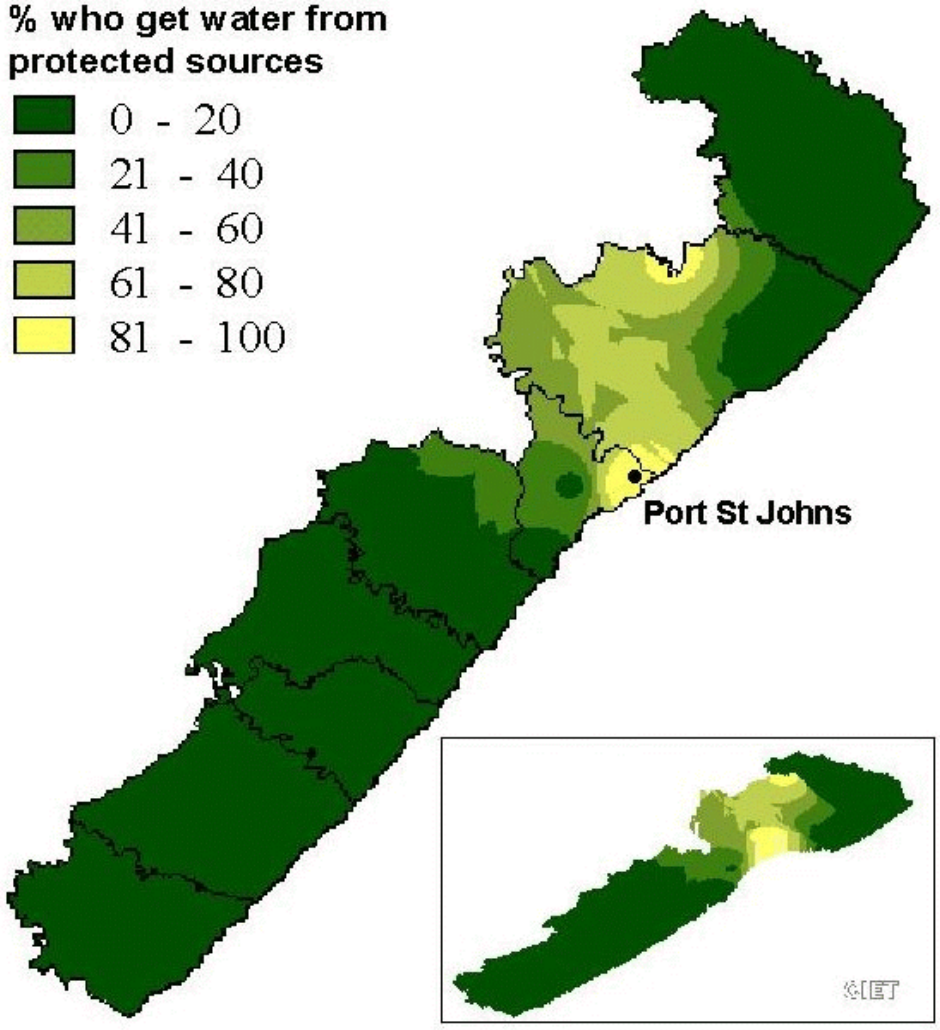


Figure 6
Percent of the adult population who worked for income in the month prior to the survey

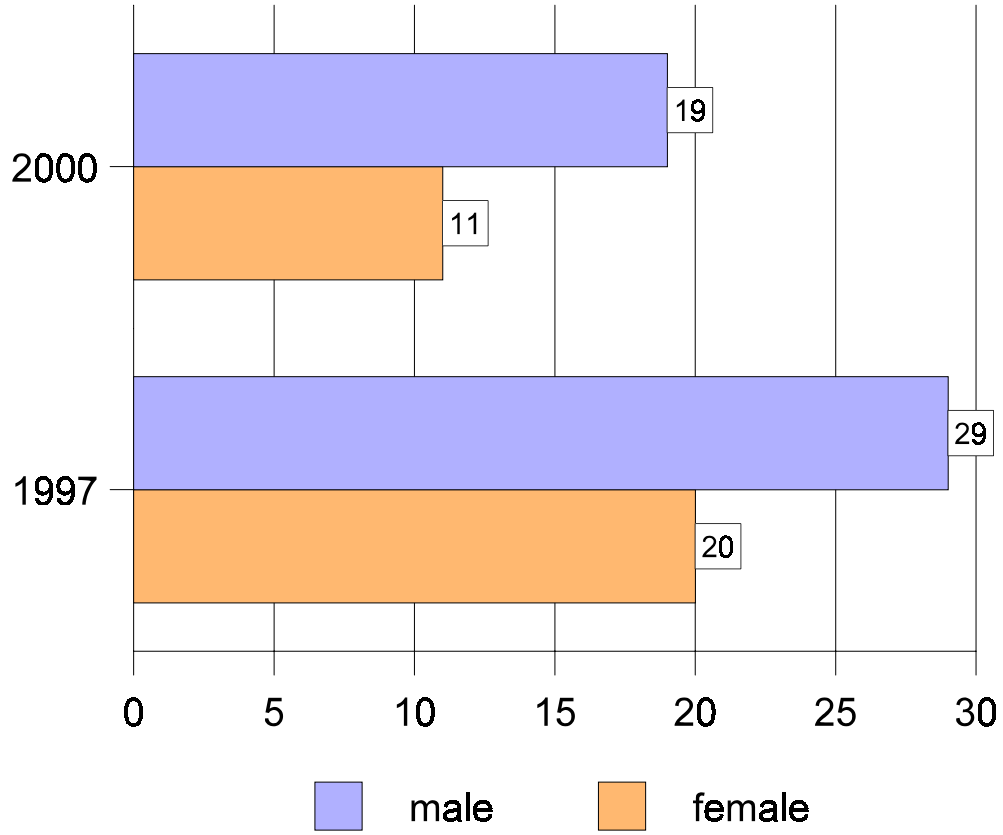


Figure 7
Percent of the adult population who are currently looking for work – by employment status (2000)

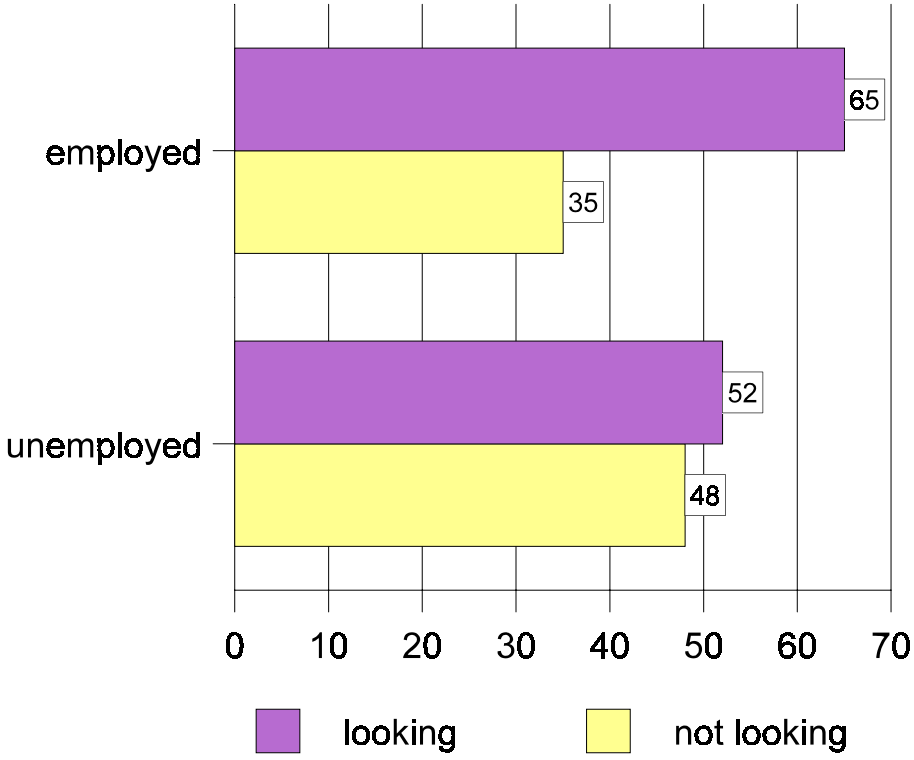


Figure 8
Percent of households who currently have loans or credit

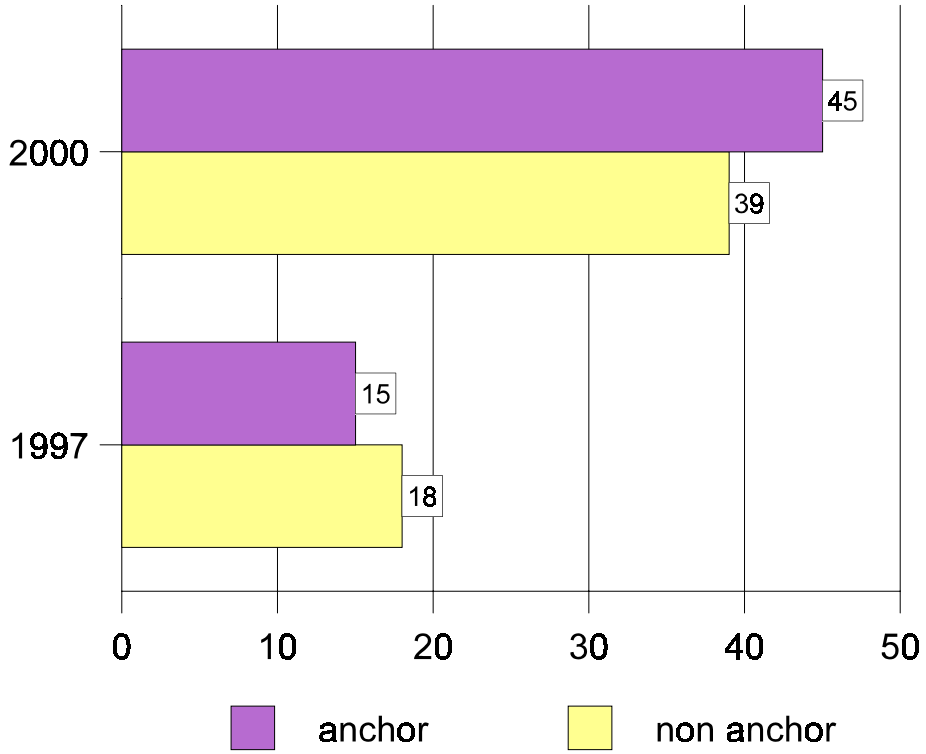


Figure 9
Sample page from the Wild Coast Year 2000 calendar

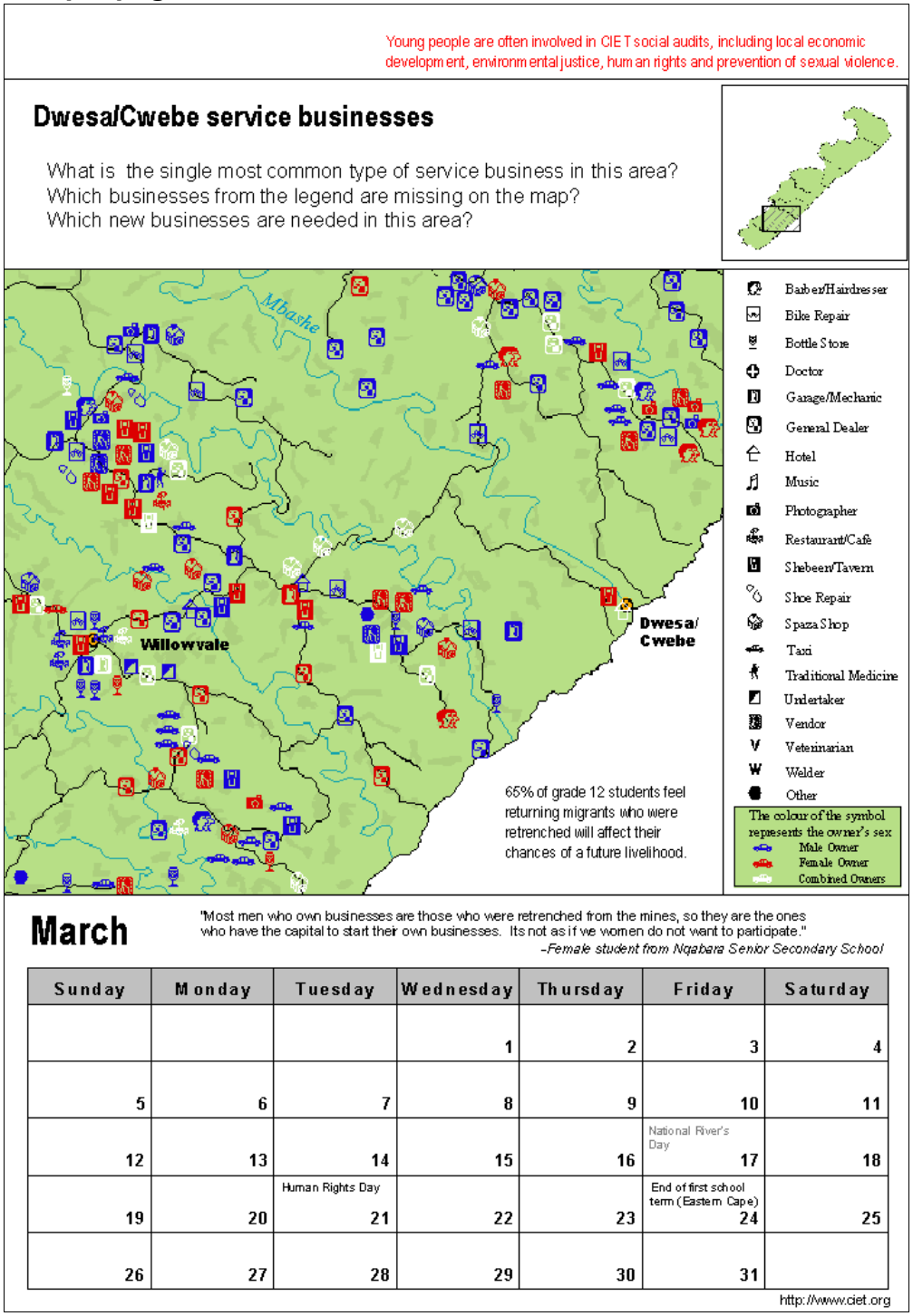


Figure 10
Gender and ownership of small businesses in the Wild Coast SDI - 1999

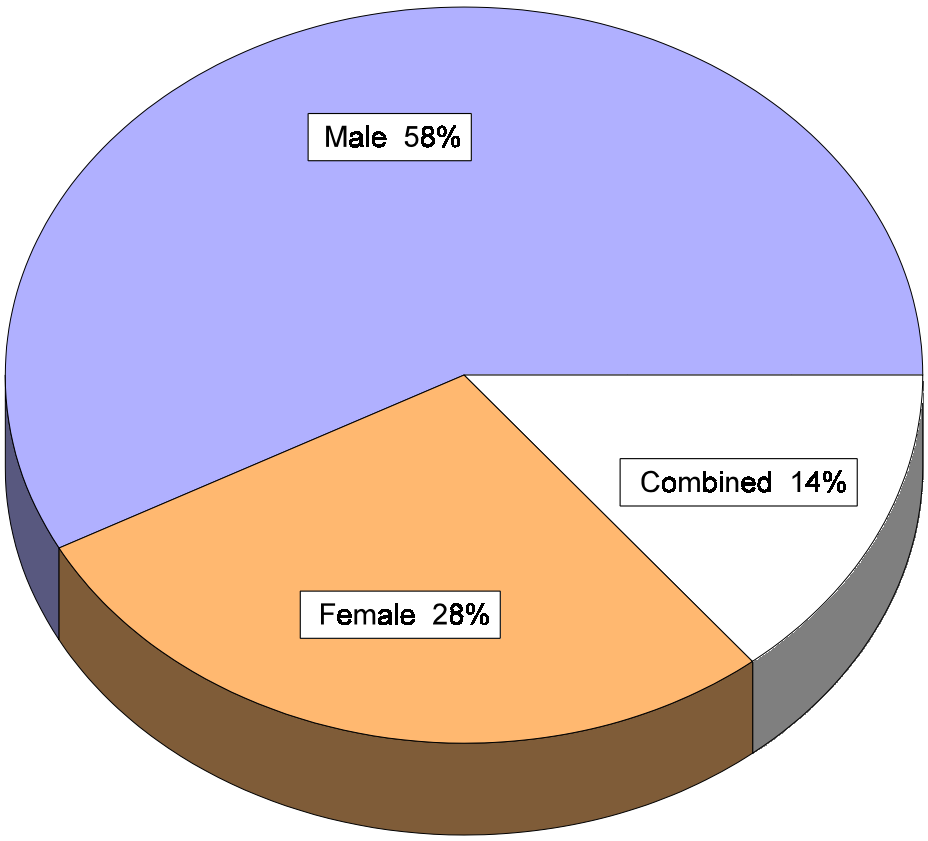


Figure 11
A 3D portrayal of business density in the Wild Coast SDI - 1999 (number of businesses per 10,000 people)

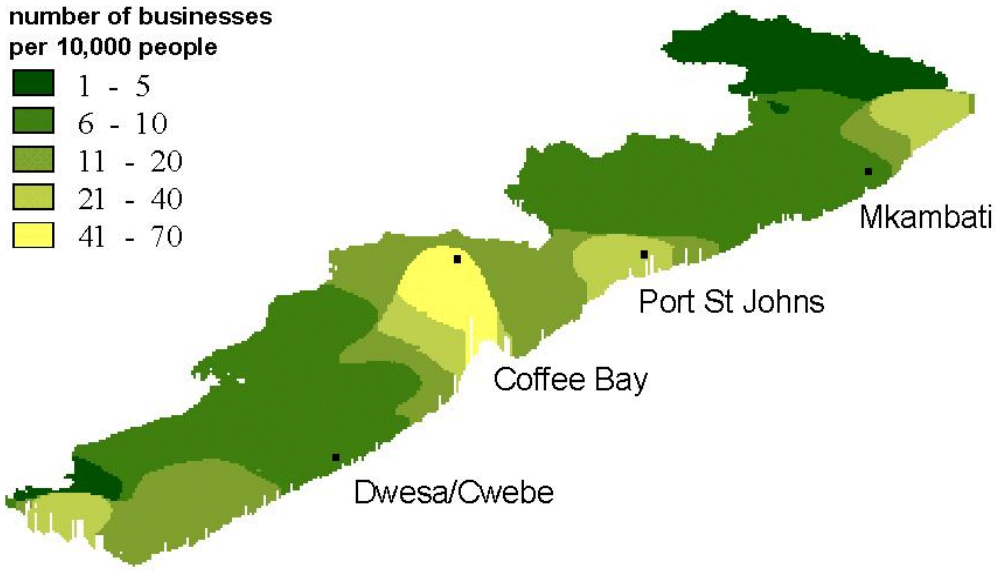
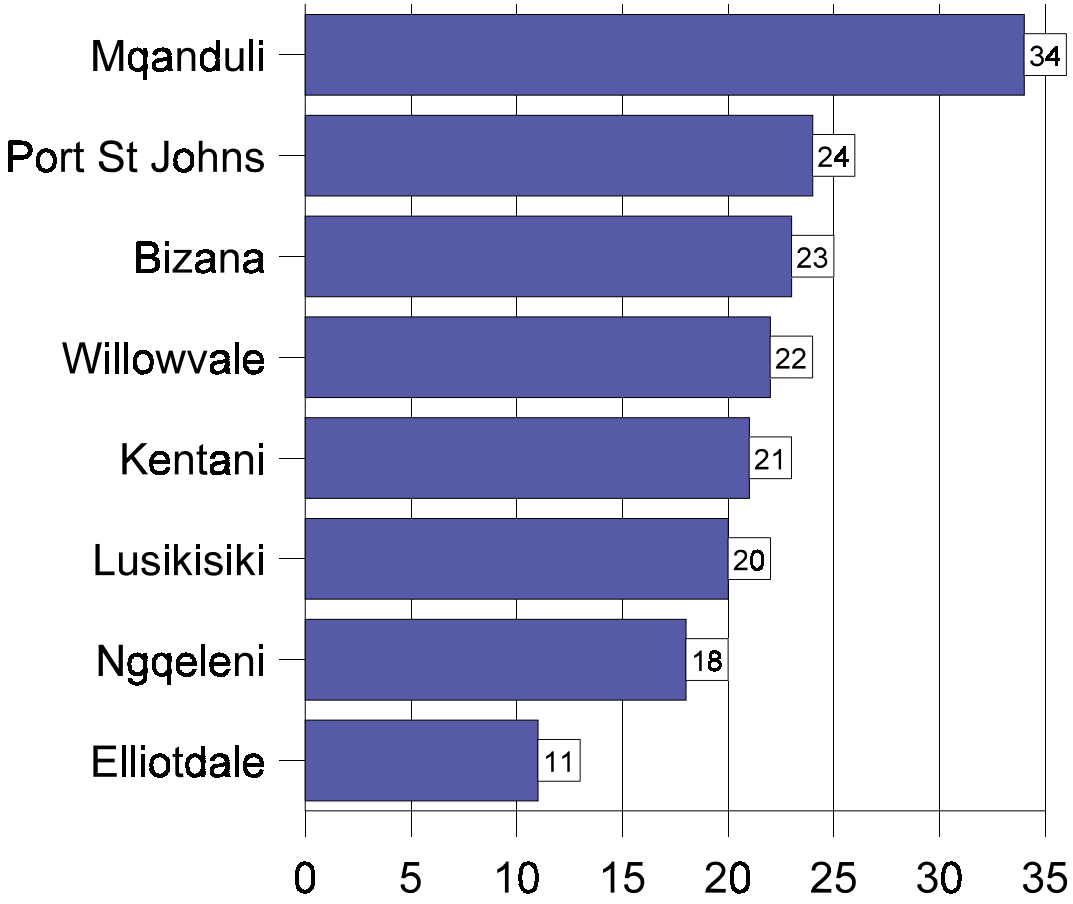


Figure 12
Students who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI - 1999
(percent in each district)



9. Tables

Table 1
Information about the SDI: % (number) of households who found out about the SDI from each source

	1997 (n=578)	2000 (n=525)
headman/community meetings	24% (136)	50% (261)
neighbours/friends/family	11% (66)	21% (108)
radio/media	37% (216)	19% (98)
SDI facilitator	17% (100)	1% (6)
other sources	10% (60)	10% (52)

Table 2

Satisfaction with the education system -- 2000

	2000
% satisfied with the education system	75% (1745/2329)
% who did not want to see changes with the education system	67% (1513/2265)
changes with the education system (among those who want to see changes)	
more/better schools	31% (234/752)
lower costs	22% (169/752)
more/better teachers	15% (113/752)
better materials	5% (39/752)
change discipline	3% (25/752)
other	23% (172/752)

Table 3
Average yearly costs of education per student including school fees, books, and uniforms (anchor and non-anchor areas) -- 2000

	Pre-school	Grade 1-2	Grade 3-8
Anchor	R103 (n=91, se 22.4)	R137 (n=365, se 4.5)	R265 (n=893, se 7.1)
Non-anchor	R133 (n=256, se 18.1)	R160 (n=728, se 5.4)	R313 (n=1992, se 7.1)

Table 4
Use and cost of health services (among those whose last visit was within the month prior to the survey) -- 2000

	% of visits	average waiting time	% who paid	average amount paid*
government clinic	77% (2371/3062)	72 min (n=2092, se 1.9)	20% (466/2356)	R4.40 (n=466, se 0.7)
hospital	12% (357/3062)	102 min (n=294, se 7.7)	56% (189/340)	R14.00 (n=189, se 1.2)
private/traditional	11% (333/3062)	57 min (n=293, se 7.9)	98% (281/287)	R74.00 (n=270, se 1.7)

*among those who paid

Table 5
Satisfaction with health services (anchor and non-anchor areas -- 2000

	total	anchor	non-anchor
% satisfied with health services	65% (1517/2349)	63% (511/809)	65% (1006/1540)
% who did not want to see changes with the health services	55% (1263/2290)	54% (426/795)	56% (837/1495)
changes with the health services (among those who want to see changes)			
more medicine	39% (402/1027)	25% (94/369)	47% (308/658)
better service	23% (232/1027)	27% (101/369)	20% (131/658)
less travel/more clinics	22% (223/1027)	27% (101/369)	19% (122/658)
more workers/less waiting	8% (83/1027)	11% (41/369)	6% (42/658)
lower costs	3% (28/1027)	2% (9/369)	3% (19/658)
open more hours	2% (16/1027)	3% (10/369)	1% (6/658)
other	4% (43/1027)	3% (13/369)	5% (30/658)

Table 6
Use and cost of government administration services (among those who had used them within the last year) -- 2000

	2000
average waiting time for service	106 minutes (n=880, se 5.5)
% who had to pay for service	28% (280/985)
average amount paid	R57.00 (n=262, se 13.7)
% satisfied with service	71% (743/1044)
reason for contact with government administration services	
ID documents	51% (500/978)
apply/claim pensions	14% (132/978)
collect welfare grants	11% (109/978)
collect money/salary	4% (40/978)
settle court case	3% (31/978)
seek employment	2% (21/978)
other reason	15% (145/978)

Table 7
Use and cost of public transport services (among those who had used them within the last month) -- 2000

	2000
% satisfied with public transport service	66% (1246/1876)
average monthly household use	6 times (n=1809, se 0.2)
average monthly household expenditure	
among satisfied users	R94 (n=1223, se 3.3)
among dissatisfied users	R120 (n=627, se 6.1)

Table 8
Household food security: average value of food produced and sold/traded among those who produced/sold food and % (number) of households who sold surplus food

	1997	2000
food produced – cash value	R367 (n=1303, se 16.3)	R340 (n=846, se 19.3)
food sold/traded -- cash value	R314 (n=179, se 45.9)	R274 (n=66, se 61.3)
sold surplus food	14% (179/1301)	5% (66/1282)

Table 9
Level of education and employment – 2000

	% who worked for income in the month prior to the survey	average monthly take home pay
no education	8% (90/1108)	R420 (n=81, se 39.4)
grade 3 - 7	13% (220/1707)	R554 (n=176, se 38.6)
grade 8 and above	18% (458/2538)	R930 (n=370, se 54.0)

Table 10
Household access to credits and loans (anchor and non-anchor areas) -- 2000

	total	anchor	non-anchor
% who had loans at the time of the survey	41% (951/2302)	45% (357/790)	39% (594/1512)
average loan size (among those with loans)	R1158 (n=756, se 143.1)	R1194 (n=263, se 317.4)	R1138 (n=493, se 139.9)
average monthly payment on loans	R279 (n=951, se 7.8)	R281 (n-257, se 14.5)	R277 (n=594, se 8.95)
source of the loan			
local shop	85% (783/917)	89% (300/339)	84% (483/578)
neighbour/relative	4% (34/917)	5% (18/339)	3% (16/578)
credit union/association	4% (37/917)	2% (5/339)	6% (32/578)
other	7% (63/917)	5% (16/339)	8% (47/578)
purpose of the loan			
groceries	76% (694/911)	81% (276/339)	73% (418/572)
furniture	6% (57/911)	3% (9/339)	8% (48/572)
household improvements	4% (40/911)	3% (11/339)	5% (29/572)
school fees	2% (19/911)	1% (4/339)	3% (15/572)
other	11% (101/911)	12% (39/339)	11% (62/572)

Table 11
Service and production-related businesses – 1999

Service-related		Production-related	
general dealer	156	arts and crafts	106
shebeen/tavern	119	fruits and vegetables	105
taxi/bus	119	brickmaking	87
spaza shop	111	livestock	75
bottle store	70	food	68
vendor	65	dressmaker	21
garage/mechanic	63	fishing	2
bike repair	45	gardening	2
restaurant/cafe	44	TOTAL	466
traditional medicine	34		
photographer	29		
hairdresser	28		
hotel	22		
shoe repair	17		
veterinarian	6		
doctor	5		
music	5		
undertaker	4		
welder	4		
tractor transport	2		
finances	2		
other	8		
TOTAL	958		

Table 12
Reasons for students not starting their own businesses -- 1999

	Part of the reason	The only reason
Lack of finances	90% (1243/1381)	18% (238/1315)
Lack of knowledge	63% (865/1374)	2% (30/1315)
Not knowing what kind of business to do	53% (721/1374)	1% (10/1315)
Lack of customers	32% (445/1373)	1% (2/1315)

Table 13
Students' attitudes towards businesses -- 1999

	Consider it a business	Can do/produce it
growing and selling crops	32% (644/2028)	39% (796/2026)
making and selling crafts	27% (539/2028)	59% (1203/2032)
making and selling food	41% (839/2024)	38% (771/2015)
making and selling building material	26% (525/2025)	20% (402/2019)
dressmaking	31% (620/2019)	53% (1069/2018)

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Annex A2
Atlas of Wild Coast SDI cycle 2 (1999)

Map

1. Percent of grade 12 students who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI A2-3

2. Percent of grade 12 students who feel the kind of work they are looking for is available in their community A2-3

3. Percent of grade 12 students who say they will live in their community after leaving school A2-4

4. Percent of grade 12 students who walk more than 30 minutes to get to school A2-4

5. Percent of grade 12 students who feel returning migrants who were retrenched will affect their chances of a future livelihood A2-5

6. Percent of grade 12 students who think girls have a better chance of making a livelihood in their community A2-5

7. Percent of grade 12 students who think further education will affect their chances of a future livelihood A2-6

8. Percent of grade 12 students who have considered starting their own business A2-6

9. Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business due to a lack of finances A2-7

10. Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business due to a lack of knowledge A2-7

11. Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business because they do not know what kind of business to do A2-8

12. Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business due to a lack of customers A2-8

13. Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce crops A2-9

14. Percent of grade 12 students who see growing and selling crops as a small business A2-9

15. Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce crafts A2-10

16. Percent of grade 12 students who see selling crafts as a small business A2-10

17. Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce food to sell A2-11

18. Percent of grade 12 students who see selling food as a small business A2-11

19. Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce building bricks A2-12

20. Percent of grade 12 students who see making and selling of building materials as a small business A2-12

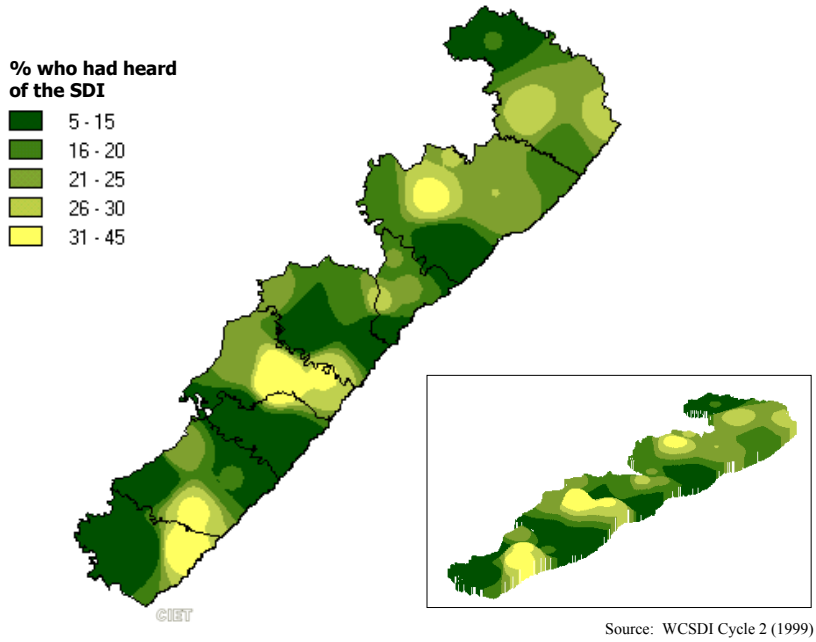
21. Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce clothes to sell A2-13

22. Percent of grade 12 students who see dressmaking as a small business A2-13

23. Percent of grade 12 students who are members of a *stokvel* A2-14

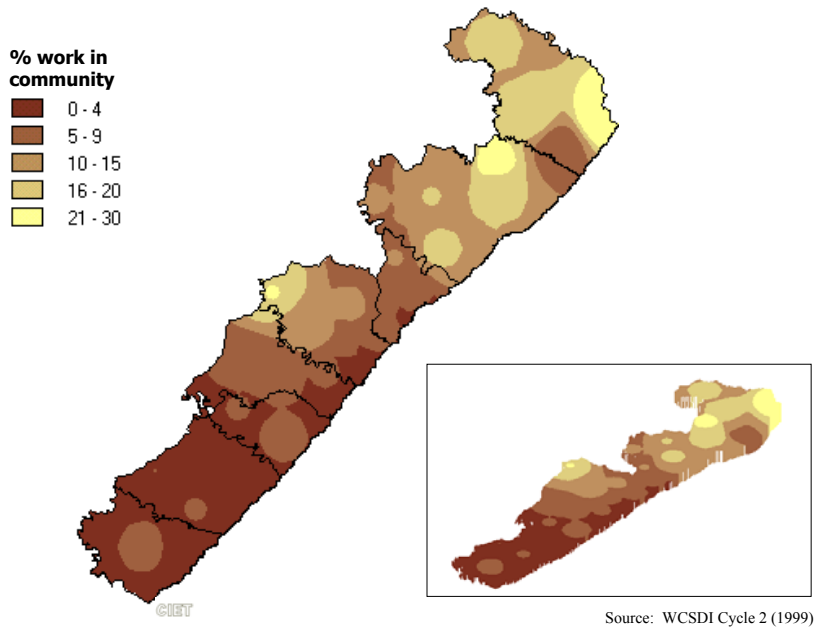
24. Percent of grade 12 students who consider membership in a *stokvel* as a small business A2-14

Percent of grade 12 students who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI



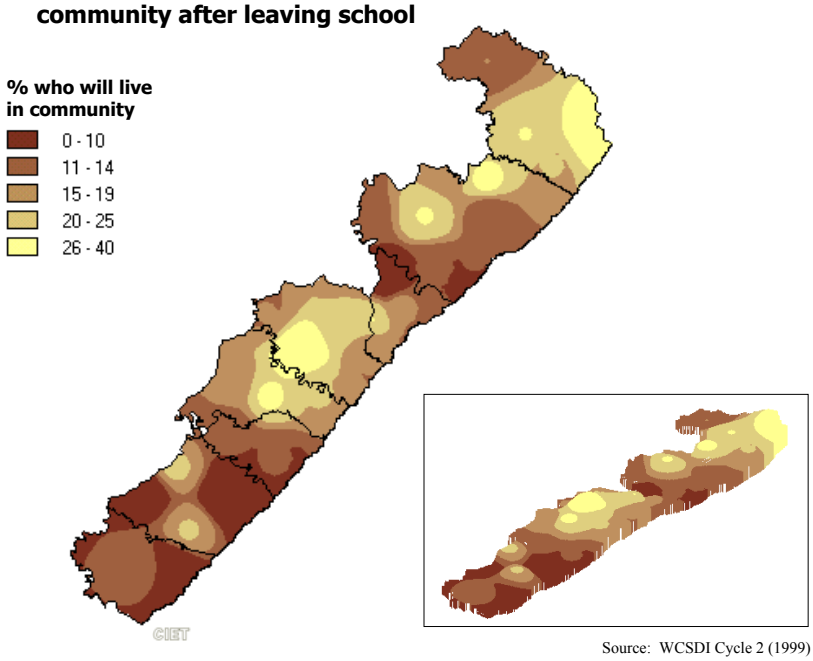
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who feel the kind of work they are looking for is available in their community



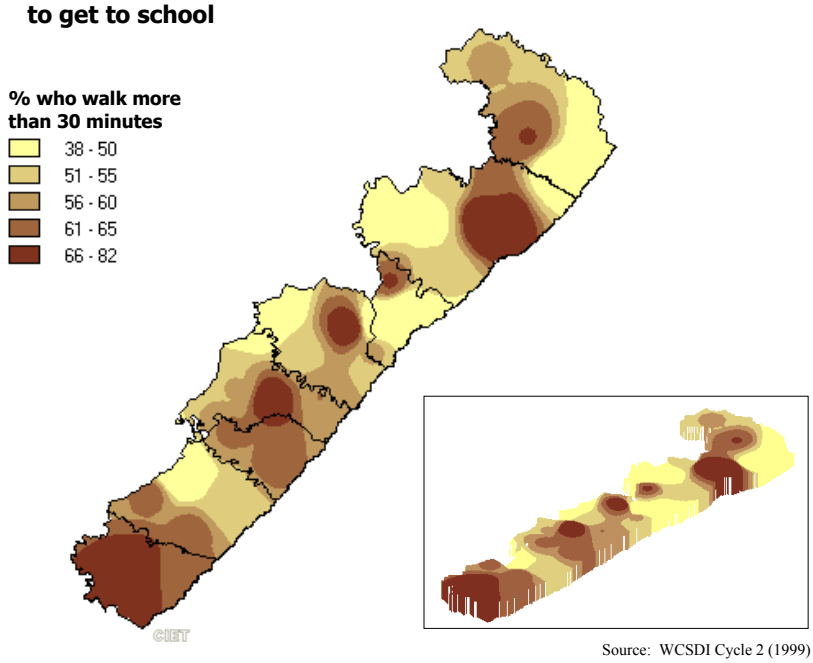
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who say they will live in their community after leaving school



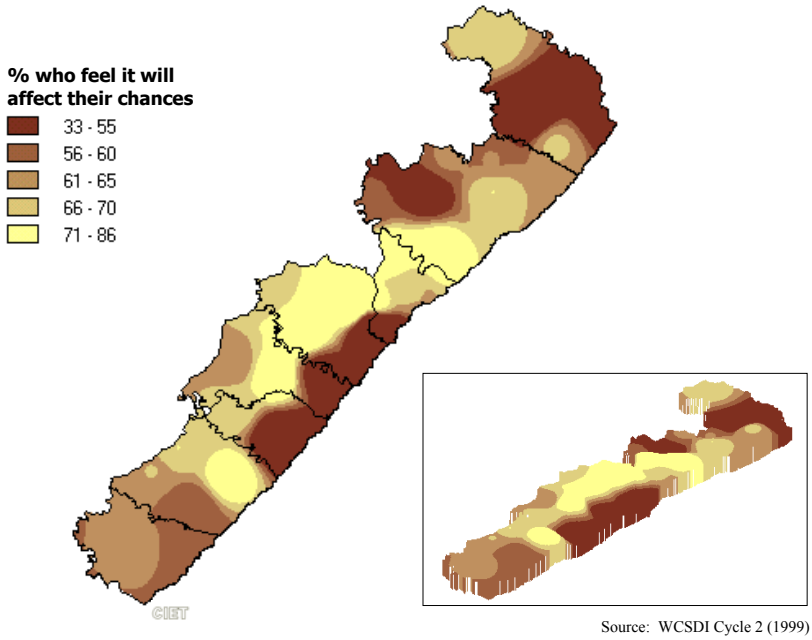
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who walk more than 30 minutes to get to school



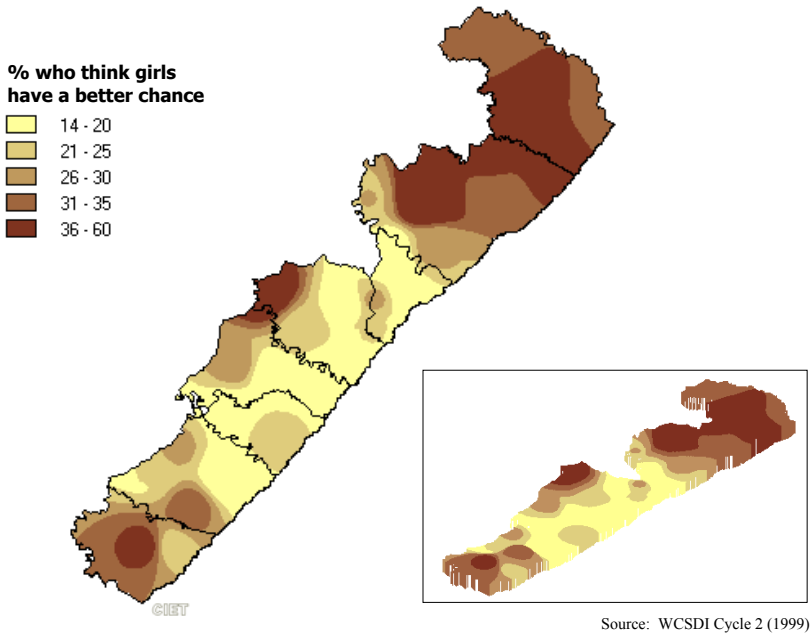
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who feel returning migrants who were retrenched will affect their chances of a future livelihood



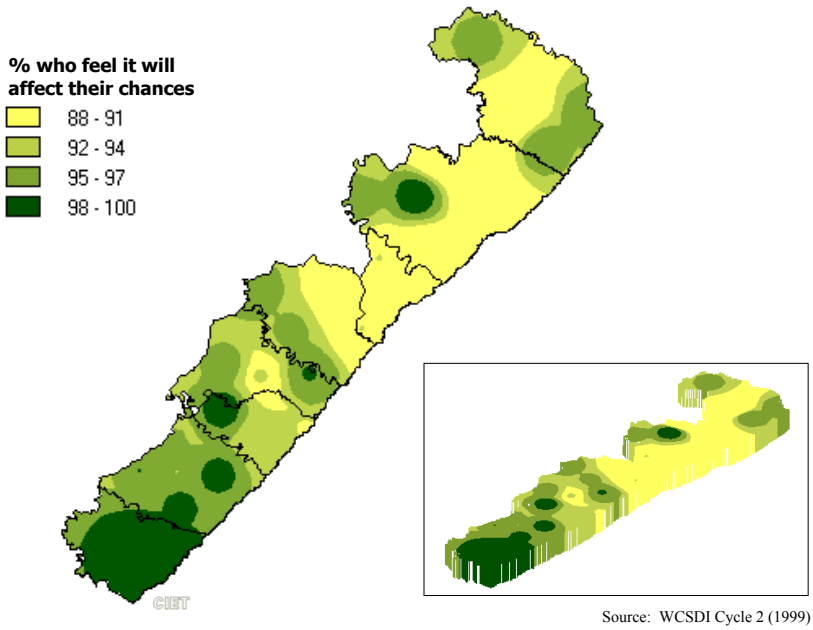
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who think girls have a better chance of making a livelihood in their community



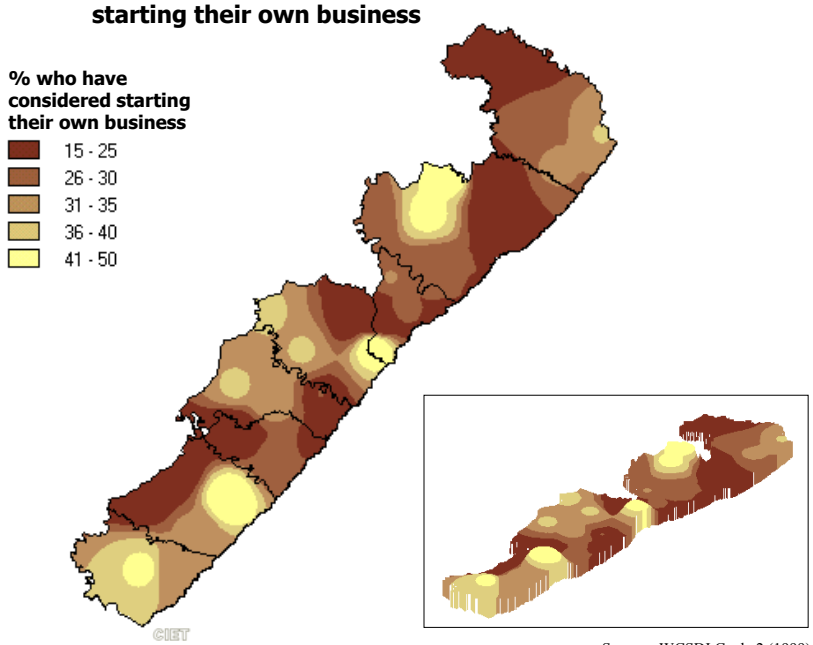
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who think further education will affect their chances of a future livelihood



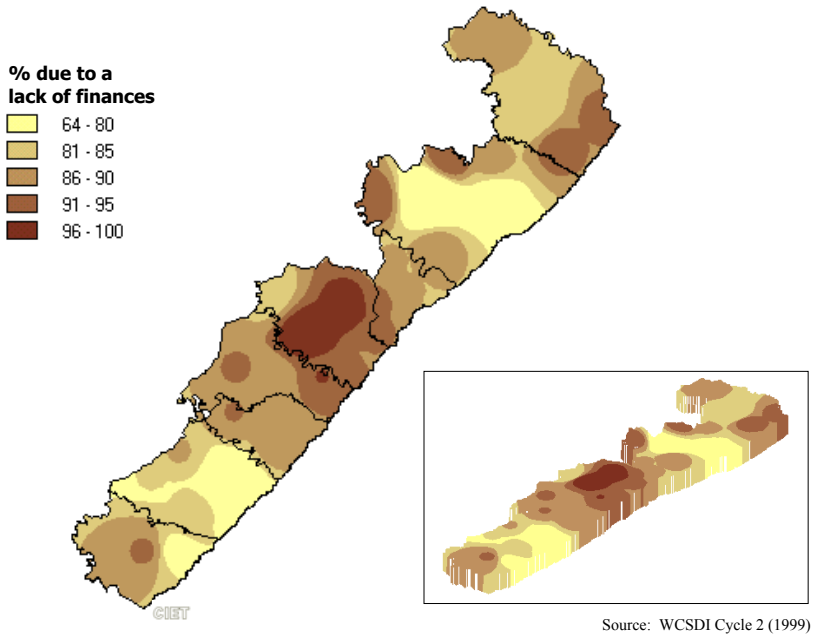
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who have considered starting their own business



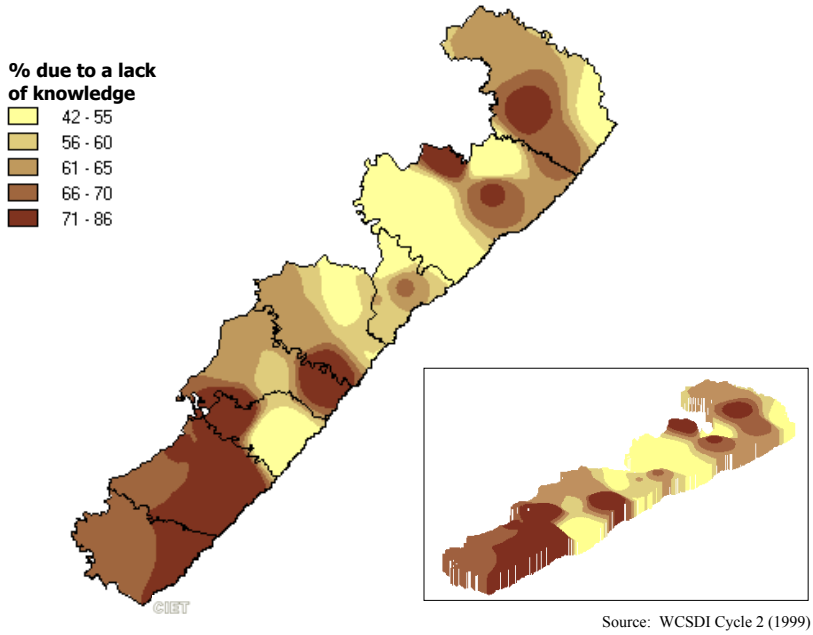
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business due to a lack of finances



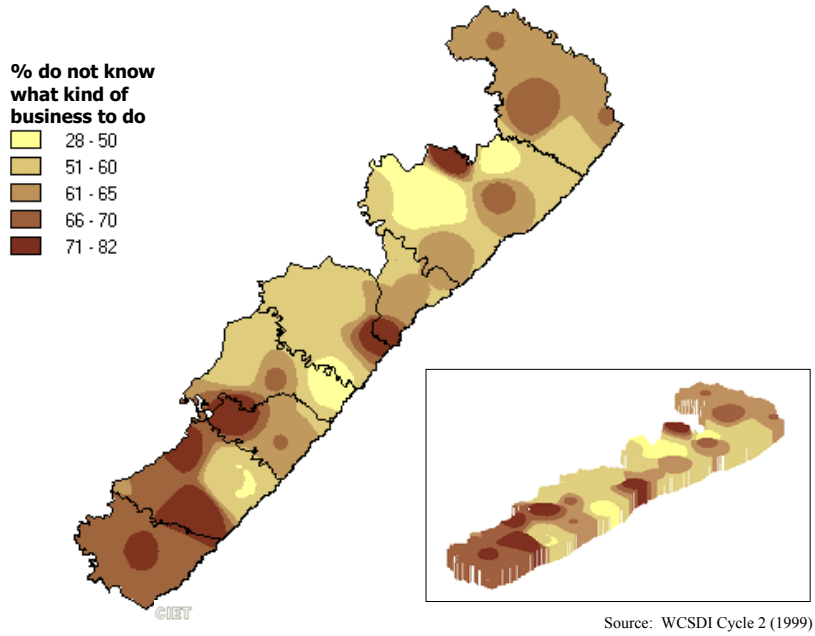
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business due to a lack of knowledge



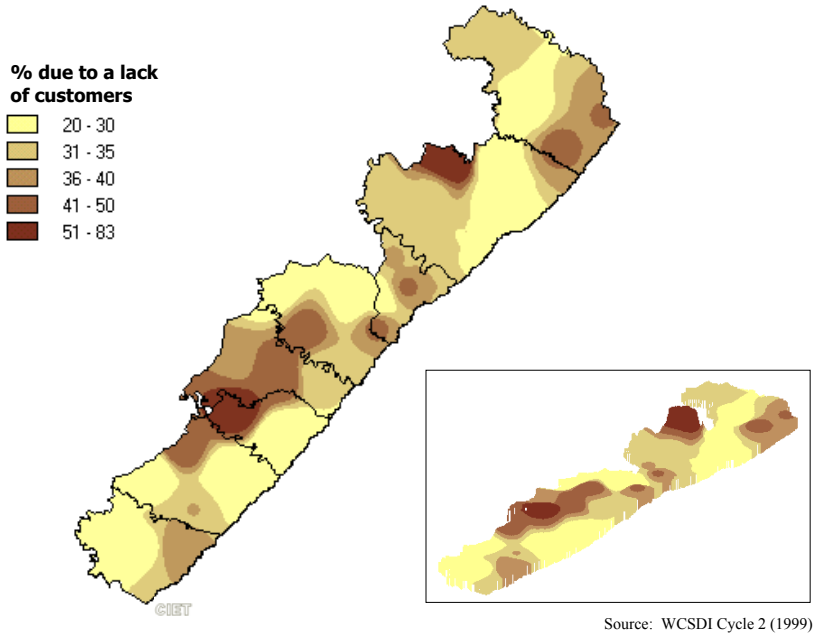
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business because they do not know what kind of business to do



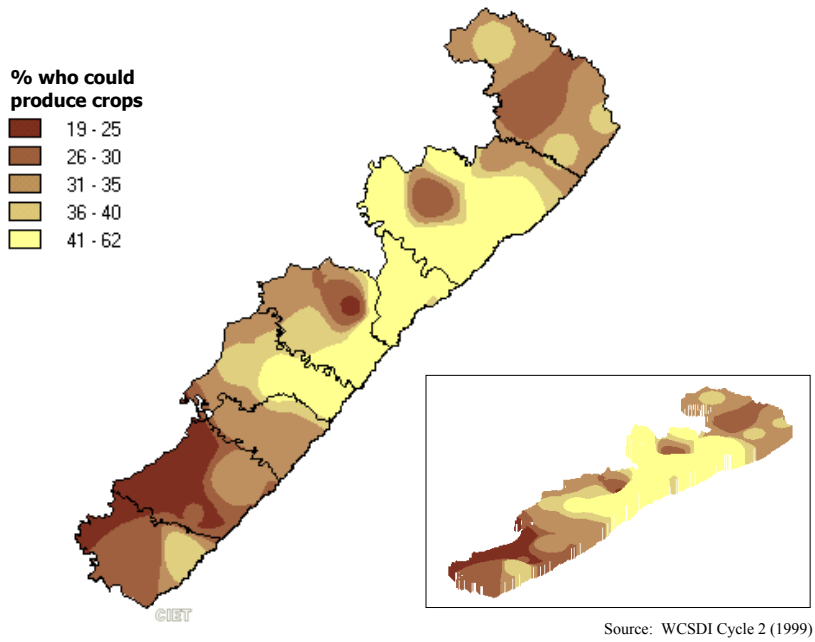
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who have not considered starting their own business due to a lack of customers



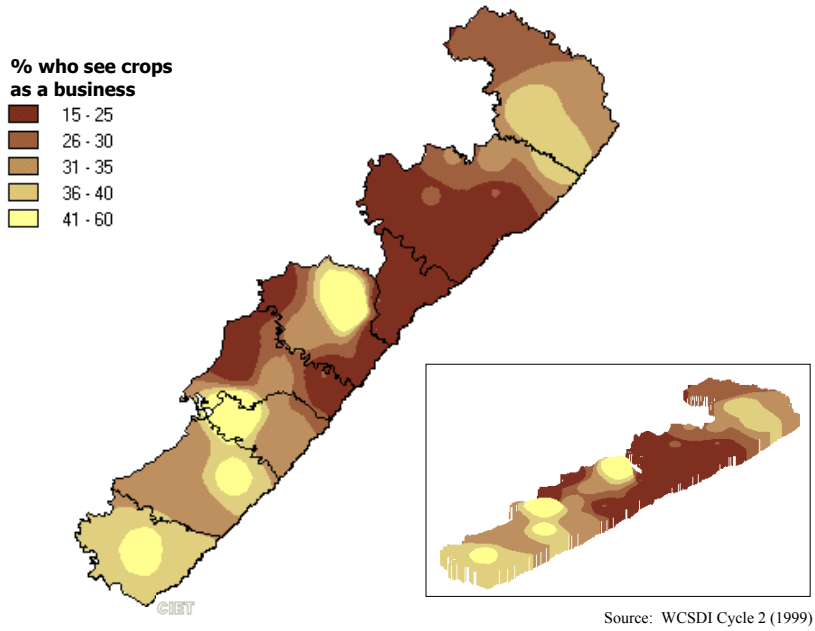
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce crops



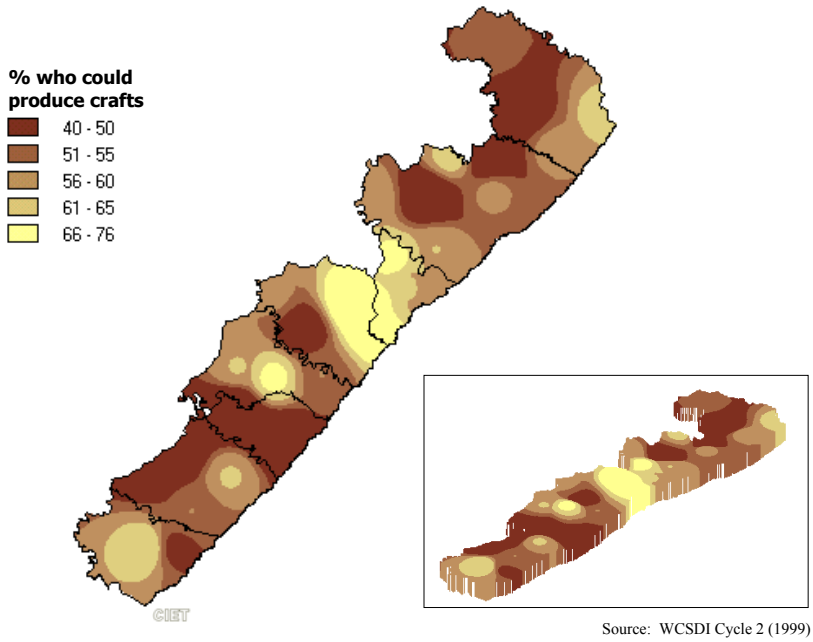
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who see growing and selling crops as a small business



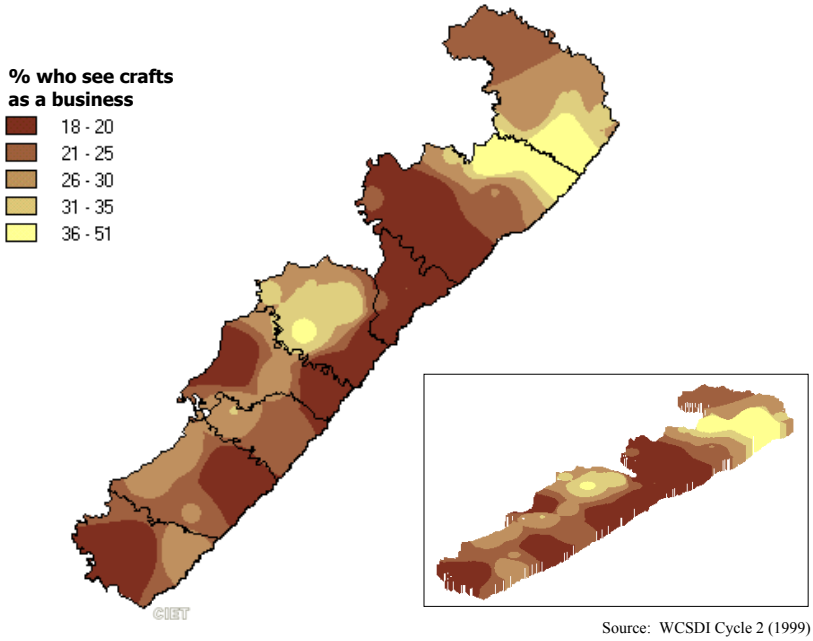
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce crafts



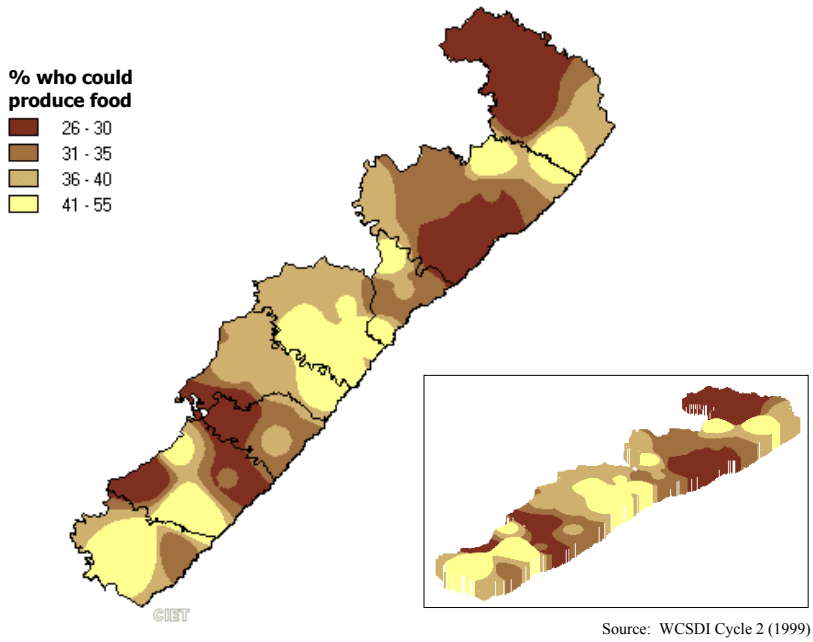
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who see selling crafts as a small business



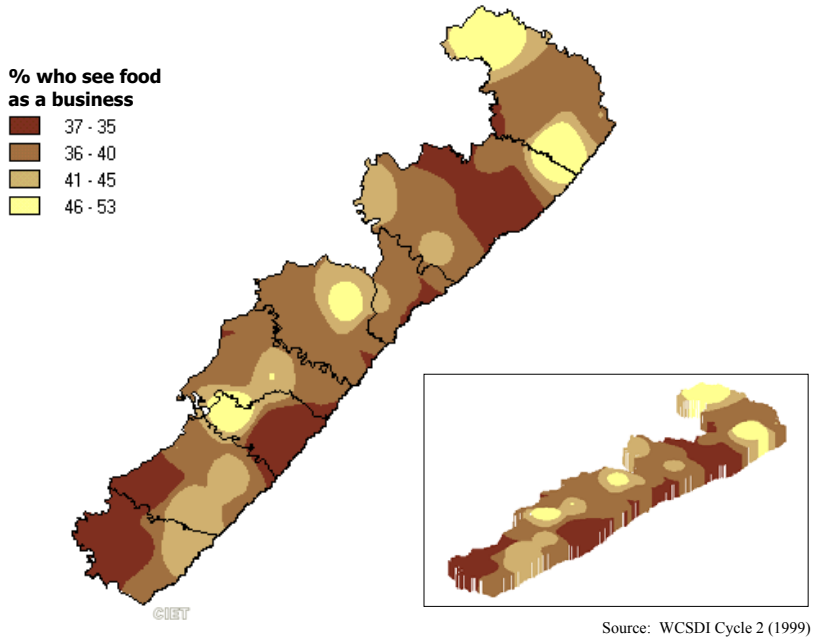
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce food to sell



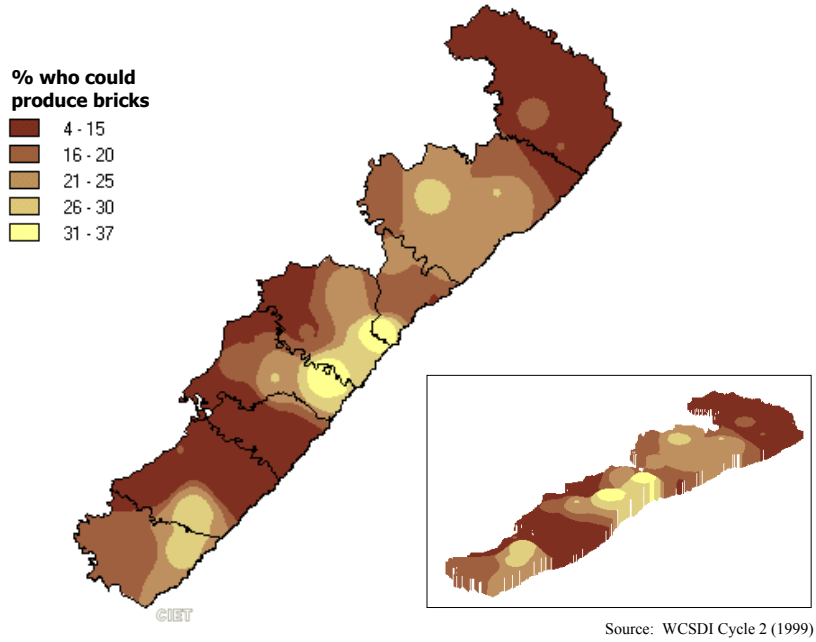
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who see selling food as a small business



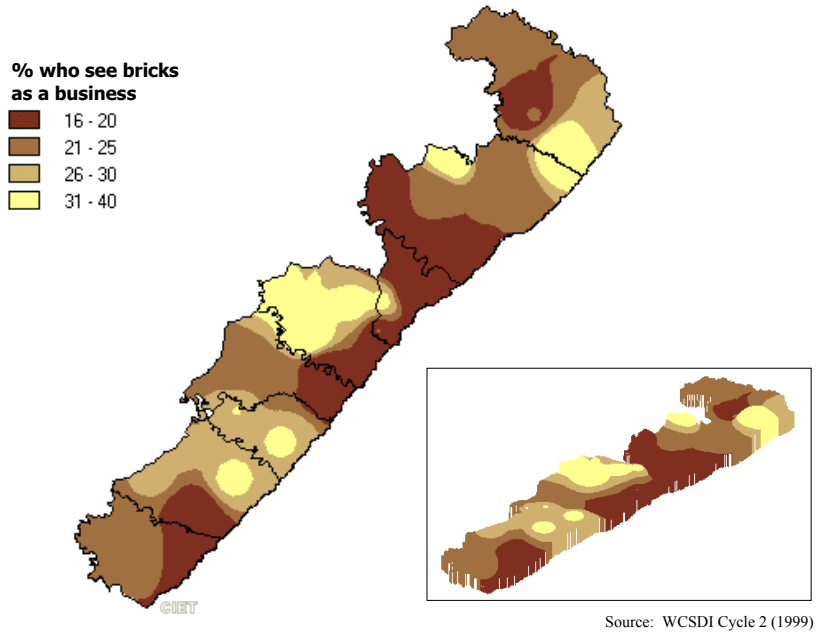
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce building bricks



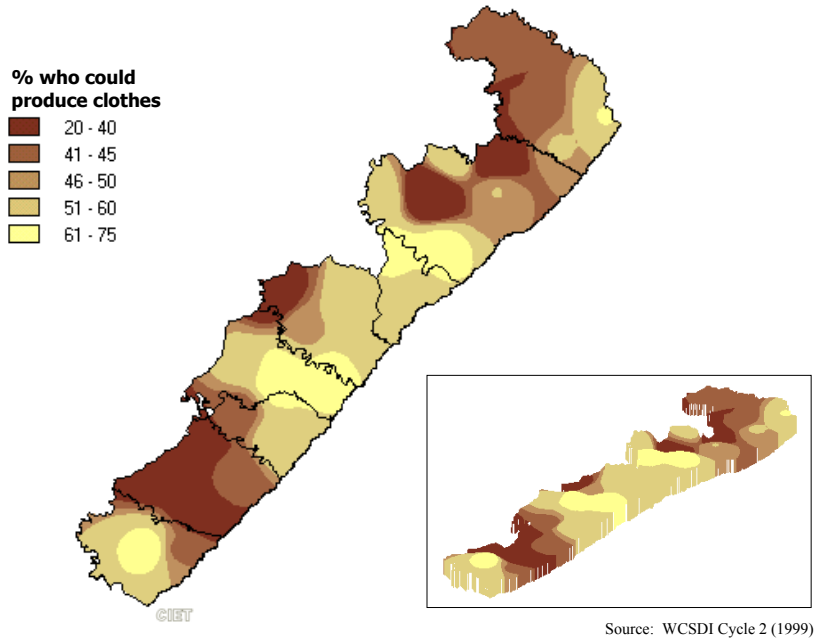
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who see making and selling of building materials as a small business



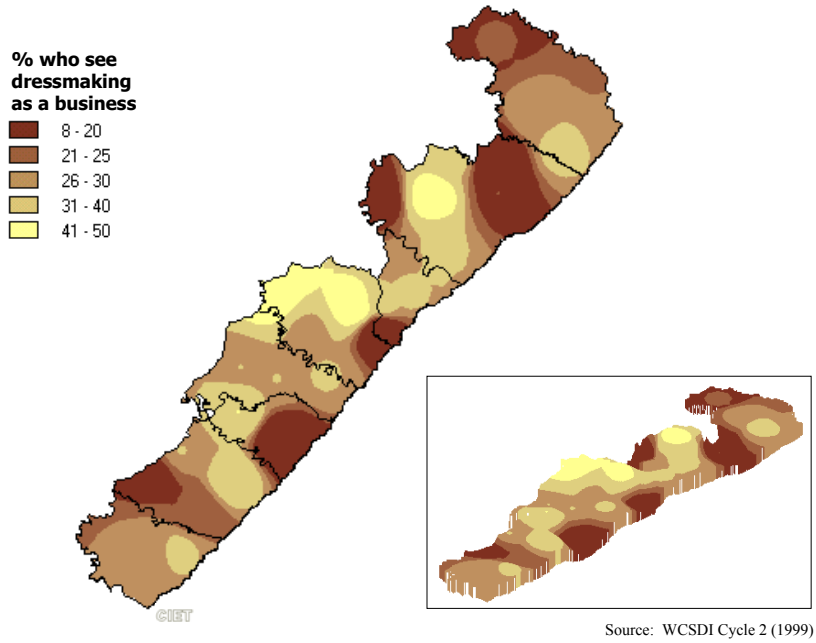
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who feel they could produce clothes to sell



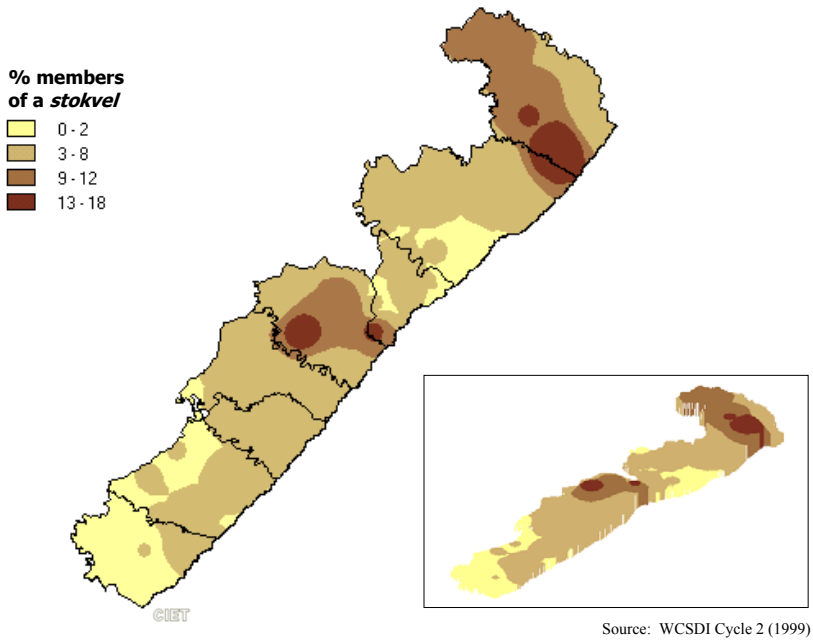
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who see dressmaking as a small business



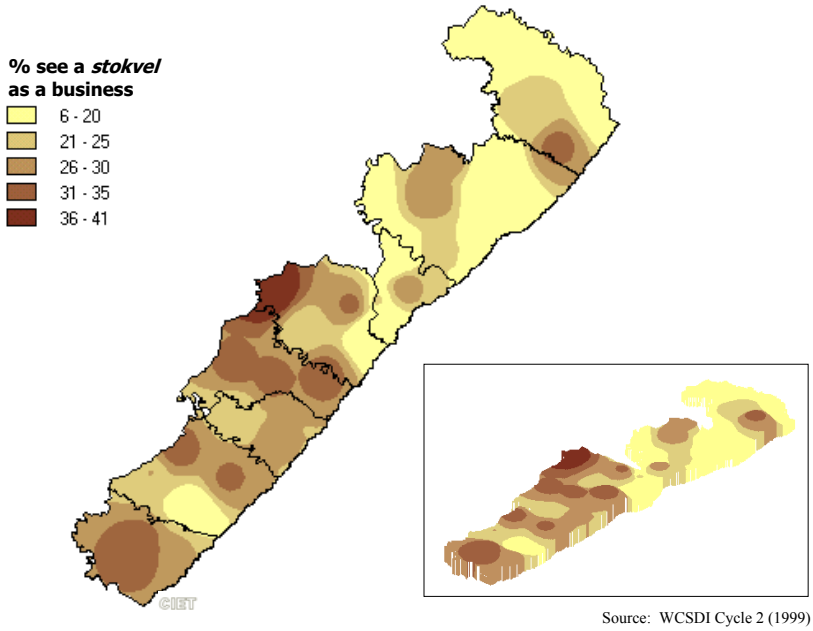
Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who are members of a *stokvel*



Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Percent of grade 12 students who consider membership in a *stokvel* as a small business



Source: WCSDI Cycle 2 (1999)

Annex B2
Atlas of Wild Coast SDI cycle 3 (2000)

Map

1. Percent of respondents who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI - 1997 ..... B2-2

2. Percent of respondents who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI - 2000 ..... B2-2

3. Percent of households who get their water from protected sources - 1997 ..... B2-3

4. Percent of households who get their water from protected sources - 2000 ..... B2-3

5. Percent of respondents who claim money/unemployment is their households main problem - 1997 ..... B2-4

6. Percent of respondents who claim money/unemployment is their households main problem - 2000 ..... B2-4

7. Percent of households who do not have any land under cultivation - 1997 ..... B2-5

8. Percent of households who do not have any land under cultivation - 2000 ..... B2-5

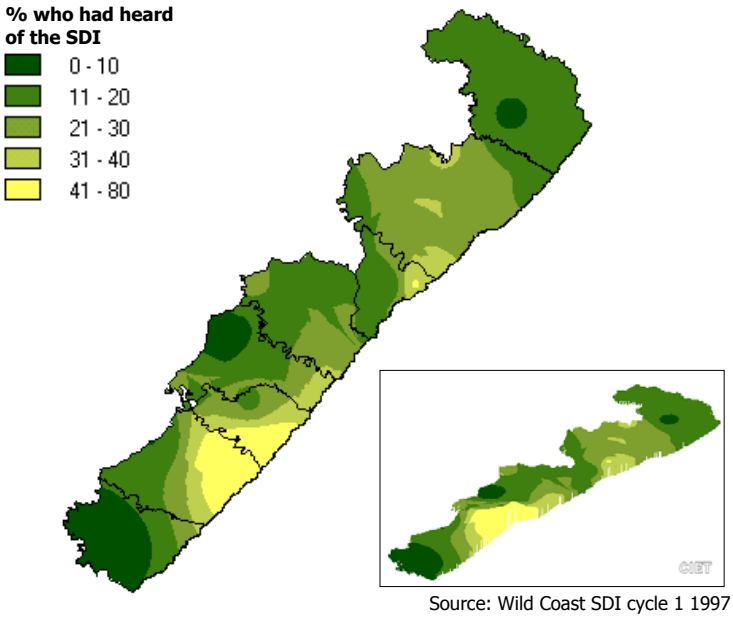
9. Percent of households who did not produce any food in the last year - 1997 ..... B2-6

10. Percent of households who did not produce any food in the last year - 2000 ..... B2-6

11. Percent of households who sold/traded surplus food - 1997 ..... B2-7

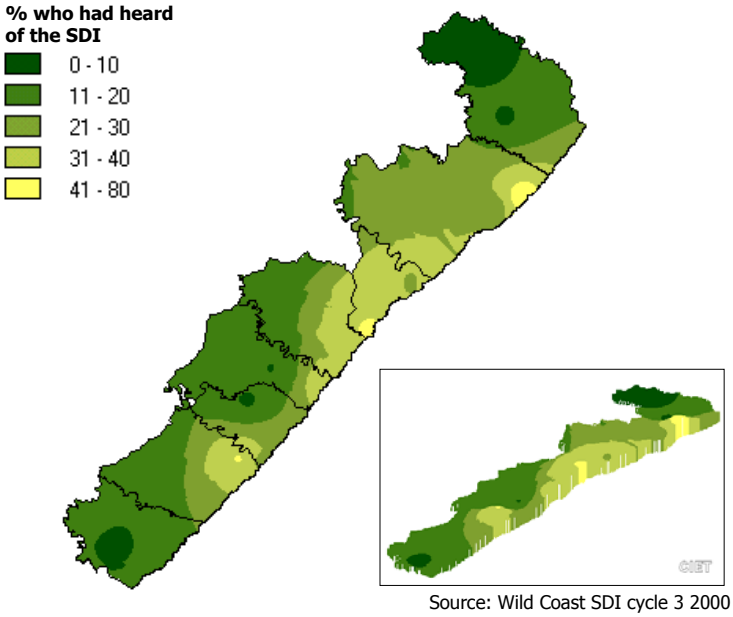
12. Percent of households who sold/traded surplus food - 2000 ..... B2-7

Percent of respondents who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI - 1997



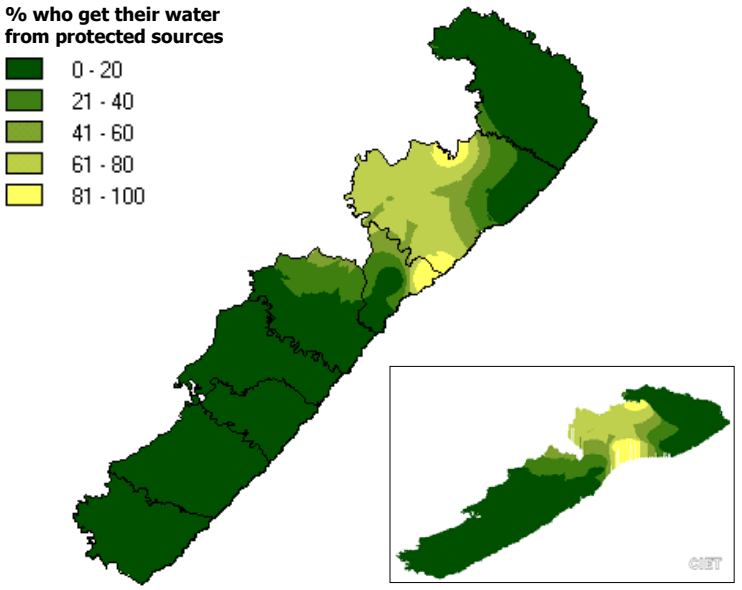
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 1 1997

Percent of respondents who had heard of the Wild Coast SDI - 2000



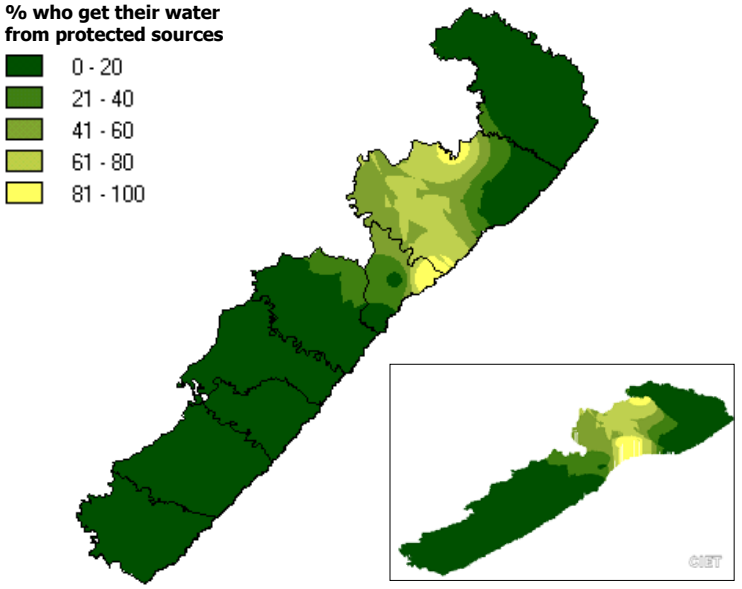
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 3 2000

Percent of households who get their water from protected sources - 1997



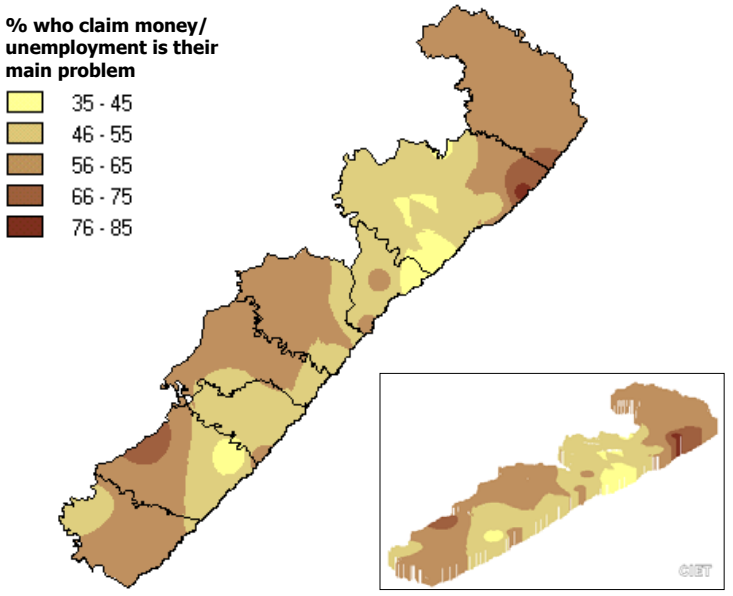
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 1 1997

Percent of households who get their water from protected sources - 2000



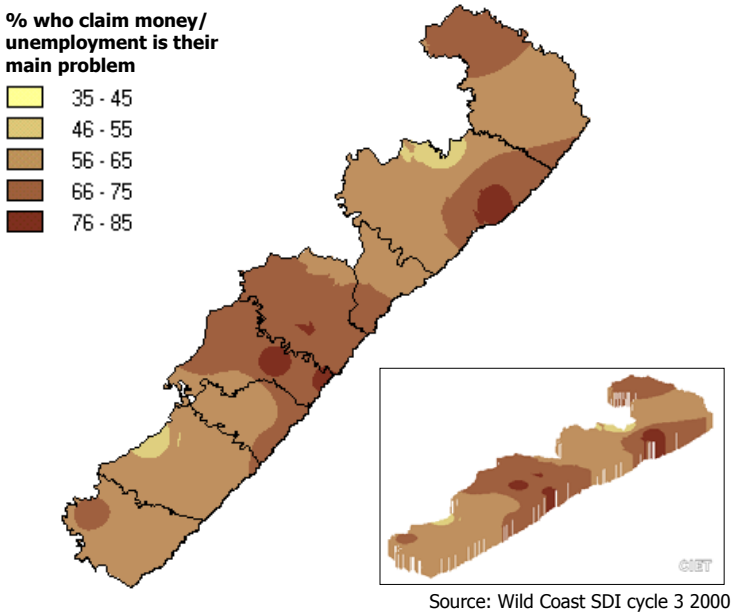
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 3 2000

Percent of respondents who claim money/unemployment is their households main problem - 1997



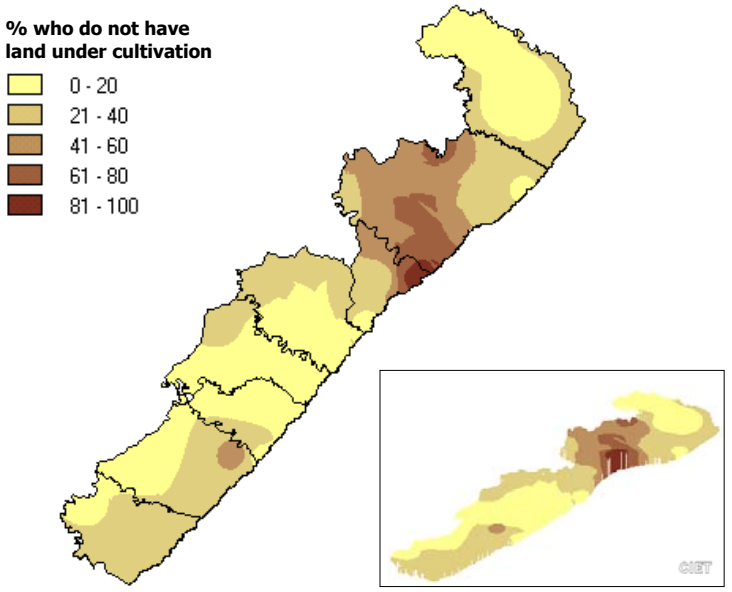
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 1 1997

Percent of respondents who claim money/unemployment is their households main problem - 2000



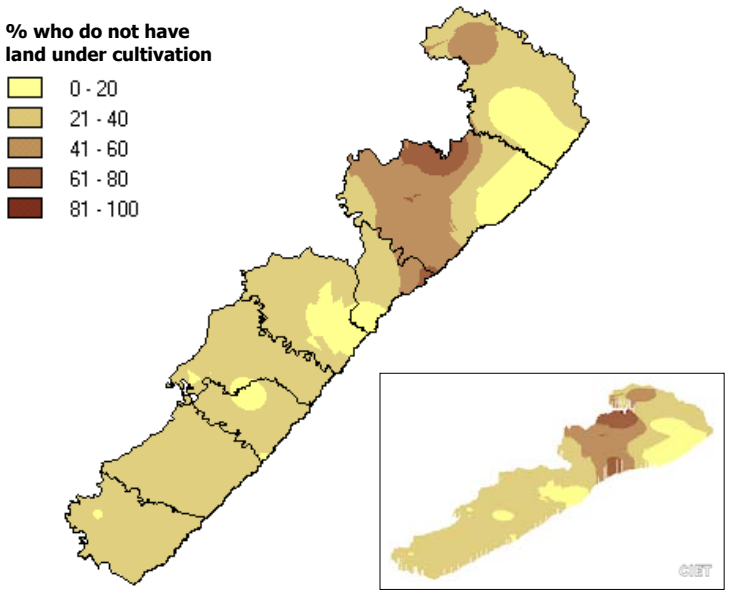
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 3 2000

Percent of households who do not have any land under cultivation - 1997



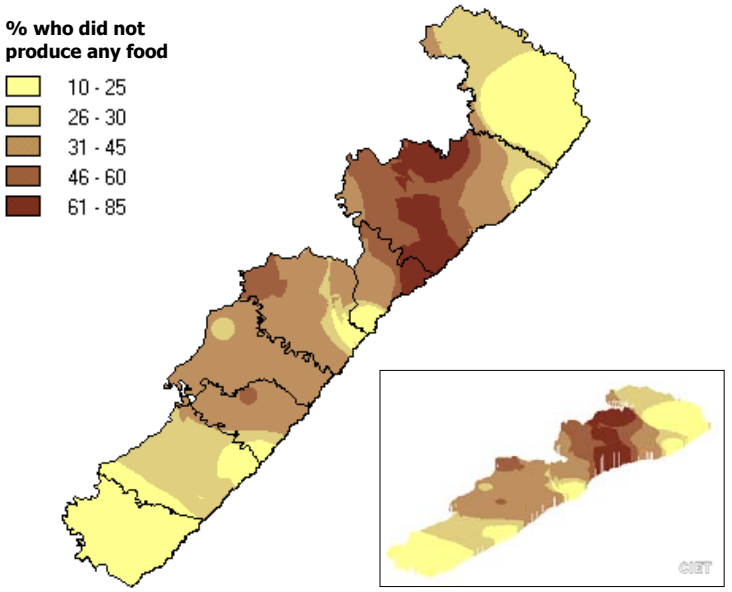
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 1 1997

Percent of households who do not have any land under cultivation - 2000



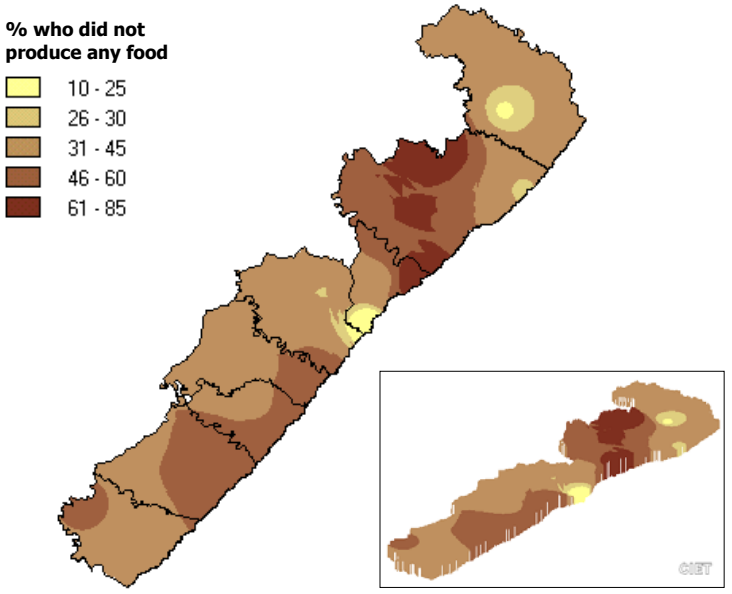
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 3 2000

Percent of households who did not produce any food in the last year - 1997



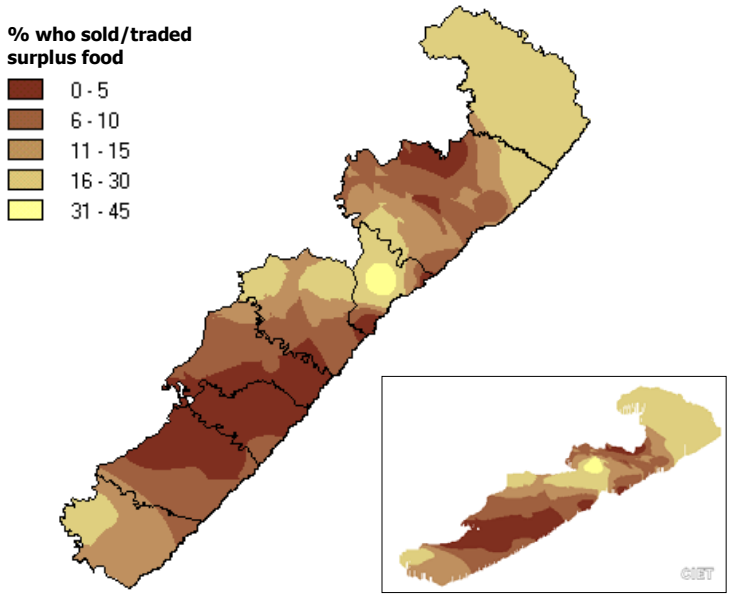
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 1 1997

Percent of households who did not produce any food in the last year - 2000



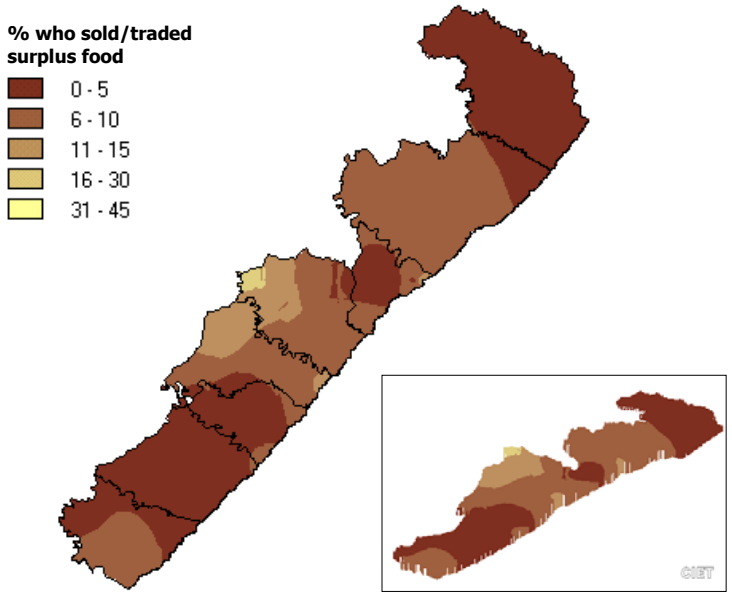
Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 3 2000

Percent of households who sold/traded surplus food - 1997



Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 1 1997

Percent of households who sold/traded surplus food - 2000



Source: Wild Coast SDI cycle 3 2000