

**Fish in the life of Kalk Bay – Examining how fisheries policies are affecting the access to fish
for the food security of the fishing community of Kalk Bay**

**A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
Masters Degree in Development Studies**



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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that the content of this mini-thesis is my own work. This mini-thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes. I certify that all other sources, used or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signed:

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May 2015



ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how recent South African government fisheries policies have affected the livelihoods and food security of small-scale fishers, using the Kalk Bay fishing community in Cape Town, South Africa, as a case study.

Fish has for generations provided food security for the fishers of Kalk Bay and their families. This food security has been both through catching fish for direct consumption and selling fish for income. Fish is an excellent source of nutrition, supplying easily digestible protein, as well as vital macro and micro nutrients essential for development and growth, thereby providing nutritional security.

In South Africa, the right to food has been identified by the South African government as a primary policy objective. The Constitution of South Africa also guarantees access to food for citizens of the country primarily through providing access to food sources and livelihoods. This mini-thesis argues that despite the stated objectives of the government, the development and implementation of policy in the fisheries sector has not supported the right to food.

Research was conducted through in-depth interviews with government representatives, fishing activists and fishers with a direct interest in Kalk Bay, as well as a survey completed in the Kalk Bay fishing community. The findings were examined through a sustainable livelihoods perspective, with a focus on access rights as a necessity to access livelihoods. The results clearly indicate that households in Kalk Bay who have traditionally pursued livelihoods and food security through fishing are often no longer able to do so.

Small-scale fishers were completely omitted from the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998. This has resulted in the removal of access rights to marine resources which has led to these traditional fishers no longer being able to access their historical livelihoods and provide food security. These fishers have experienced further disenfranchisement from policies that were promised to empower the citizens of South Africa at the beginning of the new democracy in South Africa.

As a result of a loss of access to livelihoods, small-scale fishers in South Africa launched a class action against the government. This legal action was won by the fishers and a judgement was given that the government was to amend the Marine Living Resources Act (1998), and a fisheries policy ensuring the inclusion of small-scale fishers was to be written. This thesis also addresses the attitudes towards and challenges of the newly adopted “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa” of the fishing community of Kalk Bay. The evidence suggests that although small-scale fishers are now included, there are still notable challenges that could derail its successful implementation. A key

challenge is the uncertainty by any parties about the quantity and value of marine resources to be allocated to the small-scale sector. It is unclear how much, if any, of the allocation is coming from the large scale industrial sector. This could result in continued challenges to the small-scale sector in terms of being able to access livelihoods and maintain food security.

KEYWORDS

Fisheries policy, food security, livelihoods, fishing, food security policy, Kalk Bay, sustainability, human right, right to food



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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|---|
| ANC | African National Congress |
| DAFF | Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries |
| EAF | Ecosystems Approach to Fisheries Management |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organisation (of the United Nations) |
| GEAR | Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy |
| HDI | Historically Disadvantaged Individual |
| ITQ | Individual Transferable Quota |
| MCM | Marine and Coastal Management |
| MLRA | Marine Living Resources Act |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| SMME | Small, Medium and Micro-sized enterprises |
| TAC | Total Allowable Catch |
| TAE | Total Allowable Effort |
| UN | United Nations |
| WCRL | West Coast Rock Lobster |

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CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTUALISATION

1.1. Introduction

In 1994, the newly democratically elected government of South Africa identified food security as a priority policy objective in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (RSA, 2002). Public spending was reprioritised to address this focus area and a number of initiatives were developed to improve food security for previously disadvantaged citizens of South Africa (RSA, 2002). This paper seeks to establish how fisheries policies implemented since 1994 have affected small-scale fishers' ability to access food and nutrition security through their traditional livelihoods of fishing.

The study examines whether policy development affecting small-scale fishers has supported the policy platform established by the national government in the early years of democracy, with a focus on the initial priority objective of food security. This is assessed by examining how fisheries policies have affected small-scale fishers' access to fish as food (food and nutrition security) or fish for cash (livelihoods), using the traditional fishing community of Kalk Bay in the Cape Town metro as a case study.

The Constitution is South Africa's highest law and was put in place with the purpose of healing the divisions of the past and establishing a society that is based on fundamental human rights, sufficient food and water (RSA, 1996). The South African government has an "Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa" adopted in 2002. The goal of this strategy is to: "Eradicate hunger, malnutrition and food insecurity by 2015" (RSA, 2002). The Integrated Food Security Strategy has as its underpinning the Constitution, so is rights based in its approach. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) has been established as the national institution to ensure that the democracy of South Africa is functioning constitutionally and in 2013 embarked on a Right to Food Campaign (SAHRC, 2014). The South African Human Rights Commission (2014) proposes that: "Under a rights based system such as ours, the government must provide an enabling environment in which people can adequately produce or procure food for themselves and their families. In order to purchase food, people must have access to an income". This study examines whether policy development and implementation, particularly regarding small-scale fishers has supported the right to food and the goals established by the South African government with regard to the eradication of food insecurity.

In the 2010 State of the Nation address, food security was highlighted as one of the priorities of the South African government (RSA, 2010). However, despite what should be a “food secure” status, an estimated thirty-five percent of the nation’s population is not food secure, while a quarter of the children of the country under the age of six years are thought to have been stunted by insufficient nutrition. The most common form of malnutrition, stunting means that there is a low height-for-age and is an indicator of an ongoing lack of thriving. Two and a half million children in South Africa live in households where child hunger is reported (Nannan, et al., 2014). The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has stated that fish and small-scale fishing can play an important role in livelihood provision, as well as food and nutrition security (HLPE, 2014). This study proposes that policy development and implementation in South Africa has not supported the access to sustainable livelihoods, food and nutrition security for the Kalk Bay fishing community located in the Cape Town metro of the Western Cape, South Africa.

The South African government states that it has initiated a number of programmes through the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) that are to contribute positively towards food security (Du Toit, 2011). The Directorate: Food Security within the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (cited in Du Toit, 2011) refer to three aspects of food security. These are food availability, food access and food use. Relevant to this paper are the aspects of, firstly, food availability which implies that a country must have sufficient amounts of food available for its citizens consistently at both household and national level. The second relevant aspect is that of food access, which means that households within a nation have the ability to acquire a sufficient amount of food sustainably (Du Toit, 2011). This paper examines whether policy implementation regarding small-scale fishers in South Africa supports the aim of positively contributing towards food security and access.

During the Apartheid era in South Africa, the government adopted the Sea Fisheries Act 12 of 1988. That Act introduced the Individual Transferable Quota (ITQ) system into the South African fisheries sector, recommended by the Diemont Commission appointed by the then State President in 1985 (Isaacs, 2011). An ITQ allocation gives a person a privilege of catching a specified portion of the annual total fish catch (Buck, 1995). According to Jaffer (2012), cited in Fuller (2012), the introduction of the ITQ system in South Africa established the privatisation of fisheries through the commodification of fish.

The Diemont Commission had been established to give recommendations as to how access rights should be determined in the fishing sector. The commission concluded that commitment to

investment together with past performance were criteria that would decide access (Isaacs, 2011). A quota board was instituted to control the granting of rights. The guideline for granting rights to marine resources was that eighty percent of the Total Allowable Catch (TAC) was to go to established companies, while twenty percent could be allocated to new entrants. The ITQ system was established predominantly to benefit the large-scale commercial fishing industry (Ranicki, 2013). Thirty-eight quotas were allocated to community trusts with the goal of economically developing fishing communities (Isaacs, 2011).

Due to Apartheid policies, rights to marine resources and the means to use them, for example factories and boats, were massively skewed in favour of the white minority. As a result, black South Africans were largely relegated to the role of cheap labour in the fishing industry (Van Sittert, et. al, 2006). Legislation supported access rights to marine resources being held by white owned commercial entities. The fishing industry was largely in the hands of ten large companies owned by white people, who held eighty percent of access rights to marine resources (Hersoug & Holm (2000) cited by Hersoug, 2011). As a result, small-scale, artisanal and subsistence fishers were often excluded and thereby not able to legally gain access to resources (Stern, 2013). This resulted in these small-scale fishers not being able to access their historical livelihood source and thereby challenged their ability to secure food, either through fish to eat or fish to sell.

At the end of Apartheid in South Africa, many existing policies were reformed. One of the central goals of the reformed policies was to reduce poverty and uplift previously marginalised communities (Normann, 2006). The election promises of the African National Congress (ANC) had resulted in high expectations amongst the historically disadvantaged individuals in fishing communities that they would be granted access rights to the sea and become owners of their own small businesses (Isaacs, 2006). A specific promise of the ANC election campaign was the “upliftment of impoverished coastal communities through improved access to marine resources” (ANC, 1994). This was to be achieved through the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (ANC, 1994). However, soon after democracy the macro-economic policy of the ANC was changed and the RDP was forfeited in 2006 in favour of a more neo-liberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR)(Adelzadeh, 1996). This resulted in a change in emphasis as to how new policies were structured.

A policy that was amended was the Fisheries policy, which was published in 1997 following the 1996 enactment of the South African Constitution. The objectives were equity, sustainability and stability and that policy then formed the basis of the Marine Living Resources Act (MLRA) of 1998

(Witbooi, 2006, Branch & Clark, 2006). The focus of the MLRA was to restructure the fishing industry and address historical imbalances, while also attempting to protect marine resources and ensure sustainable fishing practices (Witbooi, 2006). Although that was the intended goal of the Act, it was not detailed how that was to happen in practice. Attempting to achieve equality, economic goals and ecological balance has been challenging (Sowman, 2006; Branch & Clark, 2006). It is questionable as to which of these objectives has been the priority. A controversial and seemingly unfair rights allocation process has been one of the outcomes of this lack of clarity.

Before the MLRA was promulgated, the only fishers that were recognised by law were recreational and commercial fishers (Sowman, 2006). Fishing rights that were in the hands of a few entities, changed dramatically with the implementation of the MLRA when an increased number of rights holders then entered the industry, supposedly as an attempt to reach the goals of transformation (Hara & Isaacs, 2012). The MLRA recognised three groups of fishers, namely commercial, recreational, and the new group, subsistence (DAFF, 2014). Recreational fishing was defined by the Act as: “any fishing done for leisure or sport and not for sale, barter, earnings or gain” (DAFF, 1998, p. 12). A subsistence fisher according to the Act was defined as “a natural person who regularly catches fish for personal consumption or for the consumption of his or her dependants, including one who engages from time to time in the local sale or barter of excess catch, but does not include a person who engages on a substantial scale in the sale of fish on a commercial basis” (DAFF, 1998, p. 12). The MLRA completely omitted small-scale fishers and, therefore, unless they somehow managed to access commercial rights they were not able to fish, leaving them without previous food and livelihood sources.

The MLRA was based on the ITQ system, with access rights granted through quotas to commercial operators, which could be resold (with the permission of the Marine and Coastal Management (MCM) authority of DAFF) (Hersoug, 2011). In 2005 the draft long-term fishing policy was released by the South African government. The policy was based on an individual quota allocation principle (Jaffer, 2011). The primary instrument that the government of South Africa chose to achieve equity in the fishing industry was through the allocation of rights (Hara & Isaacs, 2012). This aligned with the neo-liberal agenda newly adopted by the democratic government. Although rights allocation was redistributed rights into the hands of historically disadvantaged individuals (HDIs), many with a background in fishing did not receive rights, while many who did not have any experience in the industry did appear to receive rights. That resulted in the emergence of a group now referred to as “paper quota holders”. This group had absolutely no history or experience of fishing or even an

intention to fish, but because of being previously disadvantaged by the previous political dispensation were granted a quota allocation (Hersoug, 2011, Isaacs, 2006).

The quota sector of the fishing industry now comprises largely of big companies, with some medium or small operators (Hara & Isaacs, 2012). In the ITQ system, allocation of rights is given to those who are the most efficient fishers, resulting in an elite group who are able to access marine resources (Isaacs, 2011). Fishers who had been crew on boats often did not receive an allocation. Although they had been fishing often for generations they had no records of their catches, as what they caught would have been recorded as part of the boat's total catch. As a result of the ITQ allocation process, levels of poaching increased, poverty in fishing communities appeared to worsen and fishing communities divided into camps of those who had rights versus those that did not and those that poached versus those that did not (Stewart, et al., 2010).

Due to the dissatisfaction of small-scale fishers not able to access rights to their livelihood source, a class action was launched against the Minister of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), who was at the time responsible for the management of fisheries. A case was lodged against the Minister for discriminatory and inequitable allocation of fishing rights, particularly focussing on the injustice of the ITQ system (Sharma, 2011). As a result of this, a task team was set up to develop a small-scale fishing policy to ensure that the socio-economic rights of small-scale fishers were reinstated (Hersoug, 2011). Interim relief permits were created to provide a small income for claimants of the litigation. These permits gave access rights to small quotas. That was to cover the time frame until the implementation of the amended policy (Isaacs, 2011).

A new "Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa" was released in 2012 (DAFF, 2012a). The aim of the new policy is to improve the livelihood security of *bona fide* fishers and communities who depend on fish for food security. A major step forward in this policy is that it recognises the rights of small-scale fishers; specifically that they have a right to access fish for consumption and for livelihoods. This is the first time in South African history that the rights of small-scale fishers are recognised in order to access livelihoods and food from fishing (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, 2014).

The small-scale policy aims to "provide redress and recognition to the rights of small-scale fisher communities in South Africa previously marginalised and discriminated against in terms of racially exclusionary laws and policies, individual permit-based systems of resource allocation and insensitive impositions of conservation-driven regulation "(DAFF, 2012a:1). The role of women is

also recognised and they are encouraged to be involved in all aspects of fishing activity, including management and representation on institutional structures (Isaacs, 2014). This policy has been developed to bring the rights of small-scale fishers into alignment with the rights promised by the South African Constitution (Sunde, 2013). A key difference in the new policy is that rights allocation is no longer based on a quota allocated for a specific species to certain individuals.

Communities are now to be represented as a collective who will be given a “basket” of fish that they are allowed to catch, choosing for themselves how to distribute this basket. The recently released Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector has been guided in its development by the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations’ Code of Conduct for responsible fishers (Isaacs, 2011).

The Marine Living Resources Amendment Bill was recently passed by the National Assembly. The President of South Africa signed it into an Act on 16 May 2014 (Isaacs, 2014). This amended Act now provides for measures relating to small-scale fishers and includes reference to small-scale fishers in the Act for the first time in the history of South Africa (Polity, 2014). This study examines the attitudes of different role-players within the Kalk Bay community towards the new small-scale fisheries policy and whether they believe the new policy will enable them to improve access to sustainable livelihoods and improve food and nutrition security.

1.2. Problem statement, research question, aims and objectives of study

1.2.1. Problem Statement

South Africa has had a number of policy reforms since democracy in 1994. These reforms have as a stated aim to empower the poor and previously disadvantaged and to address injustices brought about largely due to Apartheid (DAFF, 2012a). Prior to 1994, all rights to marine resource exploitation were in the hands of white-owned commercial enterprises (Branch & Clark, 2006). The African National Congress government established a Fisheries Policy Development Committee to review and revise legislation pertaining to the fishing sector to bring about reallocation and redistribution (Isaacs, 2011). Despite early promises of the fisheries sector being reformed to allow for access rights especially for the benefit of those making a livelihood from the sea and democratic management, macro-economic policy changes resulted in the passing of the Marine Living Resources Act (MLRA) of 1998 which did not have the same emphasis.

The quota system was extended to most fisheries. The Individual Transfer Quota (ITQ) system was implemented in South Africa as a means to reducing overfishing and overcapitalisation (Joubert, et.

al., 2008). In this system fixed quantities of the Total Allowable Catch are allocated to chosen individuals for a specified period of time. Allocations were made in South Africa to a few established companies to achieve economic stability and to a larger group of new entrants, in an attempt at reform and social equity (Isaacs, 2011). As regulations and allocations have changed over recent years, many small-scale and artisanal fishermen in South Africa have found themselves unable to have access to their traditional livelihood and source of food security. Some have been unable to access rights and of those that have, many have received quotas that are unsustainable (Jaffer, 2015). This paper argues that small-scale fishers and fishing communities are in an even worse position than they were during Apartheid, despite the election promises of the ANC government.

The recently released policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa states specifically: “This policy aims to provide redress and recognition to the rights of small-scale fisher communities in South Africa previously marginalised and discriminated against in terms of racially exclusionary laws and policies, individualised permit-based systems of resource allocation and insensitive impositions of conservation-driven regulation” (DAFF, 2012a). Small-scale fishing communities still await the implementation of this new policy (Jaffer, 2015).

This paper examines whether individuals in Kalk Bay are still able to make a livelihood from the sea and obtain an acceptable level of food security, either through catching fish to eat or catching fish to sell. This paper examines whether the Kalk Bay fishing community is aware of the new policy regarding small-scale fishers and what their attitude is towards it.

This paper argues that recent fishing policies in South Africa have denied small-scale fishers access to the sea. This is, in turn, denying them a chance to practice their livelihoods, the right to food and to maintain food security, through either not being able to access fish to eat or to sell.

1.2.2. Research Question

What is the contribution of recent fisheries policies to the food security and livelihoods of the fishing community of Kalk Bay?

1.2.3. Aim of the research

This research aims to explore how fisheries policies in South Africa have affected the food security and livelihoods of a fishing community.

1.2.4. Research Objectives

1. Examine to what extent the food security of the fishing community of Kalk Bay is reliant on fish landed in Kalk Bay for consumption or income.
2. Determine the effect of recent fisheries policies on the livelihoods of the fishing community of Kalk Bay.
3. Explore what the livelihood strategies of the fishing community of Kalk Bay are.
4. Explore attitudes of the Kalk Bay fishing community towards the new small-scale fisheries policy.
5. Provide relevant conclusions and recommendations.

1.3. Research design and methodology

The research methodology that this research used was qualitative research. Qualitative research is conducted in order to: “develop concepts which help us to understand social phenomena in natural (rather than experimental) settings, giving due emphasis to the meanings, experiences and views of participants” (Pope and Mays, 1995, p. 52, cited in Nigatu, 2009). This methodology assisted in understanding the context and experiences of the population.

The type of qualitative research design that the researcher used was that of a case study. The researcher conducted a community case study, which furthers the understanding of the researcher about a social issue or population being studied. Cases are chosen so that comparisons can be made between cases and concepts and so that theories can be extended and validated (Fouche in De Vos et al., 2005). The particular unit of analysis is the Kalk Bay fishing community.

1.4. Data collection

The type of sampling technique that the research used was non-probability sampling, in particular purposive/judgemental sampling. With this type of sampling, researchers seek out individuals, groups and settings where the specific processes being studied are likely to occur (Denzin and Lincoln in De Vos et al., 2005:328).

The data collection methods the researcher used for the qualitative research were in-depth interviews with key informants and a survey with residents of the “fisherman’s flats” in Kalk Bay.

For the in-depth interviews, snowball sampling was used as further suitable respondents were identified and referred by already identified respondents. Each of those informants was chosen for their knowledge of and involvement in the fisheries sector.

1.4.1. Interviews

For the interviews twelve respondents were interviewed. The first interviewee is a fisher who has been a very strong activist to bring about the new policy for small-fishers (Fisher A). Fisher B is a ski boat owner and skipper who is a fifth generation fisher. He grew up in Kalk Bay but states that due to gentrification in the area he cannot afford to buy property there. His family owns a small medium, micro-size enterprise (SMME) and has a West Coast Rock Lobster (WCRL) quota. Fishers C are a couple who live in the fisherman's flats and have a small WCRL quota. The wife coordinates the interim relief forum in Kalk Bay. Fisher D is the owner of four boats that are kept at Kalk Bay harbour. He has WCRL quotas and catches other people's allocation, as well as being one of the few fishers that still benefit from the community WCRL quota given to Kalk Bay in the 1980s. Fisher E has been involved with fishing for 70 years, first as a boat owner and fisher and then as a buyer for Irvin and Johnston for fifty years. He is currently a buyer for another company. Fisher F is a retired fisher who lives in the fisherman's flats in Kalk Bay. He is from many generations of fishers and himself fished for decades. Fisher G is a boat owner who lives in the fisherman's flats and has a WCRL allocation. Fisher H is a trek net fisher who is currently not able to fish as he does not have a quota allocation. He does not live or fish in Kalk Bay but has knowledge of fishing in the False Bay area. Fisher I lives in the fisherman's flats and has an SMME with a WCRL allocation and owns a factory on the West Coast. Another person interviewed was a woman who works in support services for fishers in Kalk Bay harbour – cleaning and selling fish. She lives in the fisherman's flats with her inter-generational family and has done so her whole life.

The other interviewees were the Director of an NGO who has been very involved in the drive for a policy for small-scale fishers and the drafting thereof, as well as a senior official at DAFF.

1.4.2. Survey

The survey was conducted at the fisherman's flats, where eighteen households were surveyed (as represented by an individual). There are forty-four fisherman's flats in a specific area in Kalk Bay and the respondents were selected by going door to door in the area. The sample size reflects those that were at home at the time of the different visits and those that were willing to respond. The researcher was also warned against visiting certain flats by other residents, as the residents were

deemed unsafe for various reasons (most particularly drug taking). Additionally, some of the in-depth interviews were conducted with residents of the fisherman's flats so those respondents could not be part of the survey in order to avoid duplication.

The survey was conducted to assess the livelihoods, consumption of fish, how the community residents obtain their fish, purchasing and food use. The survey was completed by an interviewer following a questionnaire. As this was a qualitative survey additional discussion was allowed and recorded.

1.5. Data analysis

Data analysis involves the procedures and processes whereby the researcher moves from the data that has been collected into attempting to explain, understand or interpret that data (Nigatu, 2009). This research used framework analysis to study the link between cases, concepts and frameworks in the data.

1.6. Limitations of the study

As this was a mini-thesis study, the scope and focus was limited to the case study area of Kalk Bay, within the Cape Town metro in the Western Cape.

One limitation of the study was the potential unwillingness of the sample to participate in the research, due to the topical nature of the subject matter. There was a chance that respondents may consider it dangerous to participate for fear of repercussions. There was some sense that respondents felt they may be "victimised" by either not getting quotas in the future or being allowed to be a part of the new community based "Small-scale policy" organisation/s. As the topic related to livelihoods and food security, respondents seemed to be cautious that revealing too much information could negatively impact their lives. This was particularly true as this is a small community. When respondents were assured of anonymity, they then seemed to respond freely, with most appearing to talk very openly and at length.

As the interviewer was a white female, certain barriers could have been in place as the community respondents were all from a different racial group, which, historically in South Africa, could bring a reduced willingness to engage. However, the interviewer was generally warmly invited into homes and respondents seemed glad to have a chance to talk about an issue that affects them.

Relying on snowball sampling, there was a concern that there could be a bias when further referrals were made, which could be to people who were known to share similar viewpoints. An attempt to

eliminate that was made by ensuring that a cross-section of the community was reached, with referrals received from different parties.

A restriction was the number of flats that were able to be reached at the “fisherman’s flats”. Certain flats were pointed out as being unsafe to visit due to alleged drug taking. Some flats were always vacant despite numerous visits.

1.7. Ethics statement

In this nature of research it is important to meet the basic ethical principles of social science research. Each respondent was treated with dignity and respect. Each respondent had the purpose and objectives of the research clearly explained to them and were encouraged to ask any questions needed for clarity.

Interviewees were given an information sheet detailing the title and purpose of the research, which included the contact details of the research supervisor and the researcher. A consent form was signed by respondents and the researcher.

Due to the sensitive nature of this topic, the anonymity and confidentiality of each respondent was guaranteed. The majority of the respondents chose to remain anonymous. A decision was taken to protect the anonymity of each respondent. The only way that it would have been forfeited is if they were aware of a person being in danger or endangering another, but that was never the case within this study.

1.8. Thesis outline

This mini-thesis is divided into eight chapters.

Chapter one is the introductory chapter and provides a background and contextualisation of the current standing of small-scale fishers in South Africa, within the broader policy frameworks of the country. The chapter explains the research process and introduces the problem statement, research question, aims and objectives of the study. The paper introduces the research design and methodology, including data collection methods, data analysis, limitations of the study and ethics statement and concludes with a thesis outline.

Chapter two reviews the literature addressing the key issues in the debates regarding small-scale fishers in South Africa. The chapter begins with a review of the internationally and nationally recognised right to food and then specifically examines the right to food within the fisheries sector and the important contribution that fisheries, and small-scale fisheries in particular, makes to food

security and livelihoods. The chapter then looks specifically at fisheries policy and legislation within South Africa and how these relate to the food security and livelihoods of small-scale fishers.

Chapter three introduces the key concepts that underpin the study. This chapter introduces and defines the key concepts of food security and livelihoods and highlights their importance and role in this study. Definitions of food insecurity, including malnutrition and undernutrition are given and the reader is introduced to the aspects of livelihoods that will be explored.

Chapter four introduces the fisheries sector in South Africa, and particularly looks at the context within which small-scale fishers operate. The chapter provides an understanding of the categories within which small-scale fishers can fish and examines the contribution of these categories to fishing in South Africa. The chapter then gives an overview of two particular species of fish that play an important role in the case study area of Kalk Bay, namely WCRL and snoek.

Chapter five provides an overview of the case study area of Kalk Bay in the Cape Town metro of the Western Cape, South Africa. The chapter gives the reader an understanding of the demographic profile of the area. A history of Kalk Bay is given that highlights the role that fishing has played in the area.

Chapter six presents the findings of the fieldwork in the case study area of Kalk Bay, Cape Town. These findings are analysed through the key themes of food security and livelihoods and by assessing the data in response to the research questions and objectives.

Chapter seven discusses the findings and analysis of the data from the fieldwork conducted with the fishing community of Kalk Bay. The discussion is presented according to the key concepts in relation to the research question and objectives.

Chapter eight concludes the mini-thesis and provides recommendations based on the research findings. This chapter highlights how recent fisheries policies have impacted the fishing community of Kalk Bay and highlights issues that have been noted by the community as being concerns regarding the new “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa”. Recommendations are then provided based on issues raised and input from other stakeholders.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter provided the context for small-scale fisheries in South Africa. The chapter gave an overview of the South African government’s commitment to the right to food and nutrition security and livelihoods, as outlined in the macro-economic policy of the country, as well as the Constitution,

the Integrated Food Strategy and State of the Nation addresses. The chapter then introduced policy development that has taken place within South Africa Fisheries, with a focus on small-scale fisheries. The problem statement was then introduced, as well as the research question, aim and objectives of the study and the scope and limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with a mini-thesis outline.

The next chapter provides a literature review of the key themes presented in this paper. The literature review examines the right to food and then looks specifically at important right to food and livelihoods policy frameworks within the fisheries sector. The literature review then demonstrates the contribution that fisheries make to food security and livelihoods, with a focus on small-scale fisheries. Attention is then given to the relationship between fisheries policy, livelihoods and food security in South Africa.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The right to food has become an internationally recognised human right and includes not only the right to sufficient food, but also the ability to access adequately nutritious food (UN, 2012). This literature review highlights the development and role of right to food. Although not legally binding, many countries have signed treaties which make it obligatory for governments worldwide to ensure that their citizens are, wherever possible, able to access nutritious, sustainable food sources (Allison et al., 2011). South Africa has been commended internationally on the progressive Constitution that includes the right to food for all citizens (Smout, 2011). This chapter demonstrates that with regard to the right to food, governments need to prioritise policy making that allows access to food sources and livelihoods to enjoy the right to food. The chapter then looks at the importance of the right to food within the fisheries sector and provides an understanding of the significant contribution that fisheries makes to food security and livelihoods, particularly for small-scale fishers and the global poor. This chapter ends with an overview of recent fisheries policy in South Africa, with a focus on those policies affecting small-scale fishers.

2.2. The right to food

The right to having food is recognised in both international and South African law (SAHRC, 2014). The right to food was initially formally recognised as a human right in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (Ghanem & Pucci in Bultrini, 2009). Since 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, the right to food has been recognised internationally as a key human right. Article 25 of this Declaration states: “Everyone has a right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food...” (UN, 2014, p.1). This declaration was not legally binding, but this right has since been included in many human rights instruments and has formed the basis of many human rights treaties (Bultrini, 2009, UN, 2014).

The right to food has grown in importance and recognition as an indisputable and integral right for all people. The right to food does not simply refer to access to any food, regardless of nutritional quality. Increasingly, and importantly, the right to food includes the right and means to access an adequate, nutritional diet (UN, 2012).

The right to food forms part of a group of economic, social and cultural rights. This cluster also includes such rights as housing, water and dignified work. These basic human rights have a legal

framework that supports them and that forms part of international human rights law. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was adopted in 1966 by the United Nations General Assembly and in 1976 was entered into force (UN, 2010). This covenant legally binds the 160 states that are party to it to provide the right to food to their citizens. States that are signatories to this and other covenants and agreements regarding the right to food are duty bound to protect the right of their citizens to a diet that is sufficient both in terms of quantity and quality (Allison et al., 2011). This entails them having: “a duty to protect the right to an adequate diet, in particular by regulating the food system, and to fulfil the right to adequate food by proactively strengthening people’s access to resources, allowing them to have adequate diets” (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 2009, cited in UN, 2012). The primary obligation of the member states is to take legislative measures to ensure the right to food for its citizens (Ghanem & Pucci in Bultrini, 2009). This includes appropriate policy development and implementation that enables access to available and nutritious food sources. It is important that the right to food is supported by relevant legislation and institutions, to make it a reality and not simply an idealistic concept. This means that policy formation and implementation has to actively support the right to food and prioritise access to food and livelihood sources.

The 1996 World Food Summit brought a pivotal change to the Right to Food landscape. Post-World War Two, many countries and organisations were involved in various uncoordinated attempts to reduce hunger and provide food security. Those efforts were not conducted within a human rights framework (Bultrini, 2009). At the 1996 World Summit member states were encouraged to ratify the covenant to establish their commitment (UN, 2010). The importance of the right to food was then agreed to by the signatory states. That acknowledgement of the right to food has to be supported by ensuring access to food and livelihood sources.

In 1999, the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights released a General Comment 12 relating to the human right to food. That Comment obliges governments to protect and uphold the right to food and facilitate access to food wherever possible. If that is not possible, the Comment then makes it obligatory for governments to provide food for its citizens (Kurien, 2005).

In 2004, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations adopted “Voluntary guidelines to support the progressive realisation of the right to adequate food in the context of national food security” (FAO, 2005). These voluntary guidelines are an attempt by governments to interpret this right and give recommended actions to see it realised. The aim of the guidelines is to give practical

guidance to FAO member states as to how to achieve the strategic objectives of the World Food Summit Plan of Action (FAO, 2005).

Important role-players supporting the right to food include the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, the World Food Programme (WFP) and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Support documents to guide and assist the implementation of the right to food have been produced, such as “The guide to legislating for the right to food” (Bultrini, 2009).

“All human beings, without discrimination, are entitled to enjoy the full realization of the human right to adequate food and nutrition. This right guarantees people’s informed participation in the decision-making and elaboration of public policies assuring an economically, politically, socially and ecologically sustainable supply of adequate and nutritious food within the frameworks of food and of people’s sovereignty” (FIAN, 2013, p.8). This statement highlights that the right to food is not only concerned with people being able to get food, but that they need to be part of the process of policy formation concerning their own food access and choices, again contributing to their own food sovereignty.

The development of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2010 placed the first goal to be achieved by 2015 as the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, with the specific target being: “Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger” (UN, 2014, p. 12). The indicator that measures this particular target is the prevalence of underweight in children under 5 years of age. The aim of the target is to reduce under-nutrition, as opposed to only hunger (food intake). It is vital to consider the nutritional quality as children need essential micronutrients for optimal development and adults need adequate nutritional input to enable them to live productive and healthy lives. These goals are important aspects of food security.

However, despite the increased inclusion of right to food terminology in international frameworks, there has not always been full clarity and acceptance that these human rights are the full responsibility of the state and have priority over all other policy areas. It is recognised as being significant in this regard that there is a strong emphasis on human rights in the Global Strategic Framework for Food Security and Nutrition that was approved by the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) in October 2012. This framework is recognised as being the first to be adopted globally by a consensus of governments and mainstreaming the right to food systematically at local, regional and global levels in issues of policy (Wolpold-Bosien, 2013). Wolpold-Bosien (2013) proposes that this framework surpasses previous frameworks such as the 1996 and 2009 Declarations of the World Food Summits and the United Nations Updated Comprehensive Framework of Action,

in terms of comprehensiveness, making food security an issue of policy priority. An important aspect of this new framework is that local civil society and social movement groups have given input into it, thereby contributing towards their food sovereignty.

The shift away from the right to food being thought of as only accessing food is summed up in the new goal of achieving sustainable diets, that is defined as: “diets that have low environmental impacts which contribute to food and nutrition security and to healthy life for present and future generations. Sustainable diets are protective and respectful of biodiversity and ecosystems, culturally acceptable, accessible, economically fair and affordable; nutritionally adequate, safe and healthy; while optimising human and natural resources” (UN, 2012). Here, the Special Rapporteur to the United Nations on the Right to Food is again highlighting that sustainable diets have to include the aspects of nutrition and food sovereignty.

South Africa has been commended by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food for being a pioneer in the interpretation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. South Africa, along with only eight other countries in the world, has included this right to food in the Constitution, and interprets the Human Rights Declaration of 1948 as meaning that the right to food is explicitly for each citizen, and is not simply a reference to a decent standard of living (Smout, 2011).

2.3. The right to food, food security and livelihoods in the fisheries sector

The right to food has been recognised and acknowledged in the fisheries sector. The Special Rapporteur on the right to food of the FAO has specifically advocated for a right to food in the fisheries sector (FAO, 2012). It was recognised at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development that the contribution made to the right to food and food security by the global fisheries sector is “critical” (FAO, 2012). In the “Interim Report by the Special Rapporteur on the right to food” (UN, 2012) the contribution of the fisheries sector to the right to sufficient food is assessed. This report proposes that “pursuing a human rights approach is critical to achieving sustainable development in the fisheries sector” (FAO, 2012, p.3). Importantly, this document does not only emphasise the right to food, but also the rights of small-scale fishers and people who depend on the fisheries sector as a livelihood. These rights are examined in the context of the declining productivity of fisheries globally and the reasons for this. This is important as the contribution that fisheries can make to food security and livelihoods is limited by the sustainability of the sector and the impacts of such issues as fishing practices and policy decisions. Policy development and implementation supporting the right to food in the fisheries sector has to include access rights to the sea in order to promote food security and sustainable livelihoods.

In 2005, the UN Committee on Fisheries (COFI) published technical guidelines and a review that focussed on ways that the contribution of small-scale fisheries to poverty alleviation and food security could be increased (Allison et al., 2011). These documents were produced to complement the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries produced by the FAO in 1995 (FAO, 1995).

Additionally, a number of international instruments highlight the need to ensure the access rights of small-scale fishers and fishing communities. These documents, covenants and guidelines affirm the right to food and the contribution that small-scale fisheries make to food security and sustainable livelihoods. These guidelines then leave the responsibility in the hands of governments to follow through to ensure that legislation and policy formulation support the right to food in the fisheries sector. In 2013, the Food and Agriculture Organisation established guidelines specific to small-scale fisheries, namely: “Voluntary guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries in the context of food security and poverty eradication” (FAO, 2013). The foundation for these guidelines is a human rights approach. This document was developed to complement the 1995 “Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries” and is intended to support and highlight the role of small-scale fisheries in reducing food insecurity and poverty (FAO, 2013).

Sharma (2011) proposes that livelihoods in fisheries and fishing communities can be vastly improved through adopting a human rights approach. This is highlighted within the context of ensuring that individual rights are protected together with collective, community rights. Sharma (2011) believes that a human rights based approach to fisheries would particularly strengthen the marginalised within the fishing sector.

2.4. The contribution of fisheries to food security and livelihoods

A growing number of people are turning to fishing as a source of food security, either through fishing for consumption or income (Normann, 2006). Supply constraints of fish are faced by people in the most undernourished populations in developing countries, as fish availability is unevenly distributed (Allison, 2011). The state in each country has the responsibility of attempting to find the balance between contributing to the livelihoods and development of fishers and protecting limited fish resources (Normann, 2006).

Hundreds of millions of people around the world face food and livelihood insecurity as a result of economic uncertainty, food shortages, increased food prices and environmental challenges. The FAO has proposed that the fisheries sector can provide some solution to these challenges through providing high quality nutritional food as well as livelihoods to millions (FAO, 2010 cited in WWF, 2011). Fish is a rich source of good quality protein (macro-nutrients) and contains a number of

micro-nutrients and essential fatty acids that are essential for healthy neurological and physiological development (Tacon & Metian, 2013, cited in Belton & Thilsted, 2014). In this way, fish makes a vital contribution to food and nutrition security and can significantly contribute to alleviating under-nutrition and malnutrition.

In 1984, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation held a World Conference on Fisheries Management and Development. At that conference a strategy was adopted that one hundred and forty-seven countries were signatories to. It begins with: “fish is an important part of daily diets in many countries and provides nearly one quarter of the world’s supply of animal protein and ... in many countries fisheries are important sources of employment, income and foreign exchange” (Kurien, 2005).

It has been demonstrated that fish and fisheries play an important role in key aspects of food security and livelihoods and, therefore, contribute to attaining the right to food (Sharma, 2011). Research shows that fisheries provide food security for millions of people globally through supplying an excellent source of easily digestible protein, especially to low-income earners, as well as providing incomes and livelihoods (UN, 2012).

Internationally, growth in employment in the fisheries and aquaculture sector has risen faster than population growth. The growth in employment in the fisheries and aquaculture sector is also faster than that in traditional agricultural spheres (FAO, 2014). It is believed that fisheries and fisheries-related activities (fishing, processing and trading) provide employment for 120 million people globally. Fisheries and aquaculture contribute to the livelihoods of between 660 and 880 million people (including the families of those working in the sector). This means that twelve percent of the world’s population is supported through involvement in fisheries and aquaculture (FAO, 2014). Importantly, ninety percent of these are in the small-scale fisheries sector and the vast majority of them live in developing countries (HLPE, 2014). This is a significant proportion of the global population, and policy development needs to facilitate and support this livelihood opportunity wherever possible.

The Special Rapporteur reports that in the industrial fishing sector two hundred people are employed for each one thousand tons of fish landed. Small-scale fisheries, however, are reported to provide livelihoods for 2 400 people for the same one thousand tons (FAO, 2012). This is a significantly larger number of people employed and efforts to sustain and grow the small-scale industry should be implemented as the ecological impact is therefore significantly less in the small-scale sector, thereby ensuring sustainability.

The fisheries sector provides food security in a number of developing countries through the nutritional benefits of fish, income generation for those in the fishing sector and through revenue from taxes, exports, licence fees and payment of fees for access to fishing resources and foreign investment (Allison, 2011). Fisheries products are one of the most globally traded food commodities, with approximately forty percent of all fishery produce being traded internationally at an export value in excess of USD 130 billion. This trade of fish is an important income source for many developing countries, whose share is more than fifty percent of the total value of all exported fish products (FAO, 2014).

Globally, food security has become a focal area of concern for those involved with fishing sector policy, as highlighted by Allison (2011). On an international level, Kurien (2005) has examined the relationship between the international trade of fish and food security, focussing on food-deficient, low income countries. The research was classified according to the indirect impact on food security (through being a source of livelihood by income generated and employment in the fisheries sector) or the direct impact (looking at fish for consumption). Kurien (2005) believes it is important to make a distinction between the direct and indirect contribution that fish makes to food security. The direct contribution would be catching fish to eat, while the indirect contribution to food security and livelihoods would be selling fish or living off the proceeds of such activities as processing fish.

Kurien (2005) found that the international fish trade has had a positive impact on food security and livelihoods. The reason for this was that fish was made more readily available for consumption and income was produced through trade, thereby contributing to livelihoods. There are limitations to the beneficial impact that the international fish trade has, though, and these include that the resources need to be managed sustainably, and policy making needs to ensure that all sectors benefit.

In Kalk Bay, certain of the species that certain fishers have gained access rights to are almost exclusively exported. This paper examines the effect on food security and livelihoods of the international trade on the fishing community of Kalk Bay, particularly the export of West Coast Rock Lobster. This is the species of fish that certain members of the Kalk Bay fishing community have received quotas for or are employed seasonally on boats catching and it is almost exclusively exported from South Africa.

This highlights once again that policy development and implementation needs to support the right to food and the sustainable livelihoods of the poor. Research by Allison (2011) examined how food security in fisheries can be enhanced in a context of evolving fishing policies in developing nations,

demonstrating the importance of the contribution of fish to food security and how policies need to support access rights for fishers.

The FAO (2012) assessed the extent of the contribution of fisheries to the right to food while examining the challenges the sector faces. This is important as it highlights that fish makes a vital and often somewhat disregarded contribution, but that the whole sector is facing a number of challenges. It is suggested that insufficient attention has been given to fish as a key supplier of food and nutrition security, and has, therefore, often been omitted from national strategies and development interventions (HLPE, 2014).

2.5. Small-scale fisheries impact on food security and livelihoods

The Food and Agricultural Organisation proposes that small-scale and artisanal fisheries do provide extremely nutritious food for markets internationally, nationally and locally and generate income to grow national and local economies (Bultrini, 2009, FAO, 2013).

Internationally, there is an increased emphasis by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) for the need to support small-scale fisheries, particularly in developing countries (Bene et al., 2007). In Somalia, the FAO has recently partnered with the Somali government to find ways to encourage the people of that country to eat more fish in order to fight hunger. This drive is underway as Somalia has large amounts of underutilised marine resources and is still facing a food security crisis following the drought of 2011. The aim of this “Fish is good for you” campaign is to “strengthen the livelihoods of fishermen and provide a nutrient-rich diet for Somali households” (WFP, 2013). This emphasises the importance of governments worldwide to ensure policy support for small-scale fisheries both in terms of catching fish to sell and fish to eat. Policy development needs to ensure access to marine resources by small-scale fishers, while protecting the same resources.

There is widespread belief that small-scale fishing provides livelihoods and food security for large numbers of people around the world, but this contribution has historically been largely undervalued (FAO/WFC, 2008, Macfadyen & Corcoran, 2002; Bene et al. 2007; Chuenpagdee and Pauly, 2006 cited in Andrew et. al. 2007). Sowman (2006) argues that, despite the millions of people around the world that are reliant on small-scale fisheries as a livelihood, food or income source, that the small-scale sector particularly has been systematically and critically neglected by fisheries management for a number of years. Importantly, she proposes that this sector has often been overlooked in favour of the commercial fisheries sectors, in South Africa as well. Andrew, et al. (2007) support this view and propose that the small-scale fisheries sector is often overlooked in terms of the significant input it has

into the economies of many low income developing countries (LIDCs), as well as the vital contribution it makes as an extremely nutrient dense source of protein. They concur that the primary reason for this oversight is poor management of this resource, which is resulting in countries missing a strategic developmental opportunity.

Small-scale fisheries are beginning to be recognised as making an important contribution to food security, livelihoods and poverty alleviation (Bene et al., 2007, Kurien, 2005). This contribution is not simply through consumption and selling at local level, but also through international fish trade. Trade makes fish available to a greater number of people worldwide, as well as enabling local fishers to achieve higher incomes through access to selling to international markets (Kurien, 2005).

The Special Rapporteur (UN, 2012) proposes that small-scale fisheries provide a very important source of livelihoods and food security for many poor people in developing countries, but stresses that they need to be able to access this resource. He emphasises that this is in tension with approaches that only allow for exclusive user access and rights. This paper argues that this has been one of the major challenges for fishers in South Africa. The quota system implemented has allowed for only certain people to access the sea (very often not *bona fide* fishers) and has allowed for only certain species to be accessed (Isaacs, 2006).

Bene et al. (2007), discuss the contribution of small-scale fisheries, both coastal and inland, to food security and poverty alleviation. Their research indicates that small-scale fisheries have a role to play at national level in economic growth and rural development and poverty alleviation at local level. Importantly, the paper proposes that small-scale fisheries can further alleviate poverty and increase food security. These entry points include looking at how fisheries policies can be made more pro-poor and the importance of capacity building and cross-sectoral interventions for improving livelihoods of communities that are fish-dependent. This research again highlights the contribution of small-scale fisheries to food security and livelihoods, and reiterates how the correct governance and policy support is vital to ensure access to fisheries resources.

Kent (1998) shows that although poor people in developing countries do not necessarily consume the most fish, they are the most dependent on fish through catching fish both to eat and to sell. His research reinforces the importance of fish as a source of food security and livelihoods for poor people. He raises this as a concern for their food security as the most vulnerable members of the population. According to Kent (1998), dwindling fish supplies and increasingly limited access will impact the poor the most, largely because middle and upper income consumers can simply move on to alternative food sources. However, research conducted by Kurien (2005) proposes that increased

production together with the importing and exporting of fishery products, have ensured that fish for domestic supply in low income, food deficit countries has been continuously available.

Bell, et al. (2009) conducted research specifically in the Pacific Island region and argue that fish is a very important source of food security in the area. In that region, subsistence fishing was found to be the provider of the majority of protein in diets. This research reiterates that the importance of small-scale fisheries for food security and livelihoods should not be minimised.

2.6. Fisheries policy and legislation in South Africa

“Who benefits from the fish? We’re bringing in food to the land, to the country, but what are we getting? The majority of fishermen are born poor, they live poor, they die poor” (Solomons, 2014). Although food security is a right guaranteed by the Constitution of South Africa, it is estimated that fifty-three percent of traditional fishing communities in South Africa are food insecure (WWF, 2011).

The Marine Living Resources Act, No. 18, of 1998 had as a goal: “to provide for the conservation of the marine ecosystem, the long-term sustainable utilisation of marine living resources and the orderly access to exploitation, utilisation and protection of certain marine living resources; and for these purposes to provide for the exercise of control over marine living resources in a fair and equitable manner to the benefit of all the citizens of South Africa” (DAFF, 1998). Following the promulgation of the MLRA (DAFF, 1998), access rights within fisheries have been redistributed extensively (Branch and Clark, 2006; Raakjaer-Nielsen and Hara, 2006; Isaacs, 2006; Sowman, 2006). In order for successful change in the industry to occur, it is argued that a balance had to be found between economic goals, equitable distribution and resource sustainability (Branch & Clark, 2006; Sowman, 2006). Branch & Clark (2006, p.9) propose that “transformation of the fishing industry has been remarkable” in terms of achieving goals of redistribution to historically disadvantaged individuals (HDIs). To support this, they cite that in 2006, 85 percent of the workforce in the fishing industry were historically disadvantaged people, and they were receiving 62 percent of the Total Allowable Catch (TAC), compared to 0.75 percent in 1994. This paper argues that these figures are not a true reflection of transformation in the fishing industry and that redistribution has not been into the hands of *bona fide* fishers, but rather away from them. Although access rights might have been redistributed to HDIs, those who had a background or experience in fishing were not more eligible than other HDIs who perhaps had no previous connection to fishing at all (Isaacs, 2006). Those HDIs who had access to skills, business acumen and resources but were without first-hand experience and knowledge of the fishing industry, were often more successful in applying for access

rights than those whose livelihoods and food security historically depended on fishing. The process of application did not in any way identify, and therefore, did not favour those who were historically fishers (Stern, 2013). Jaffer (2011) proposes that up to 90 percent of small-scale fishers lost their access to livelihoods and food security when long term rights were allocated in the fishing sector in South Africa in 2005.

The MLRA categorised fishers into three groups – recreational, subsistence or commercial. The MLRA did not make provision for small-scale or artisanal fishers (Isaacs, 2011), only subsistence fishers. Section 19 of the MLRA (DAFF, 1998) defined a subsistence fisher as: “a natural person who regularly catches fish for personal consumption or for the consumption of his or her dependants, including one who engages from time to time in the local sale or barter of excess catch, but does not include a person who engages on a substantial scale in the sale of fish on a commercial basis”. This definition allowed for very little livelihood activity and essentially only allowed fishers to catch food to eat or barter with. The Act gave the Minister extensive powers to regulate the subsistence sector and to declare a specific community to be a subsistence fishing community (Sowman, 2006). After a Subsistence Fisheries Task Group was formed, they reviewed this definition of subsistence and further narrowed it to ensure that only extremely poor and food insecure fishers would qualify as subsistence fishers. Subsistence fishers could not access rock lobster and abalone as they were higher value species and access to linefish could only be achieved through buying a recreational licence (with the attendant limitations, including seasonal limits and not being allowed to sell these fish) (Sowman, 2006). It was clearly intended that subsistence fishers could not profit from fishing like the commercial sector could. This appears to be a contradiction of the goals towards equity and redistribution, which needs to include economic distribution and access to sustainable livelihoods to be viable and authentic.

Under the MLRA, if subsistence fishers wanted to continue fishing, they had to apply as individuals for rights or commercialise their entities (Isaacs, 2011). The MLRA also did not make provision for those involved in the small-scale fishing sector in post harvesting, or other support activities such as bait preparation, net mending, cleaning fish or marketing (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, 2014).

In 2002, small-scale fishers met together at the World Conference on Sustainable Development, which began a process led by civil society to address the issues facing small-scale fishers in South Africa (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, 2014). In 2005, long term fisheries policies were adopted by the South African government that made no provision for small-scale fishers. The primary mechanism chosen by the South African government to bring about transformation was the granting of long-term fishing rights through ITQs in the commercial sector, usually ten to fifteen years in duration. At that time, the number of linefish allocations were particularly reduced (FAO, 2010). The goal of the finalisation and allocation of medium and long term rights was to bring stability to the different fishing sectors, with the goal of enabling the large commercial sector to invest in the industry with confidence (WWF, 2015). This indicates the bias of the South African government towards larger scale fishing industry, at the expense of small-scale fishers.

As a result of not being allowed to practice their livelihoods, many small-scale fishers joined forces with the Non-Governmental Organisation Masifundise Development Trust and instituted a class action case in the Equality Court against the government's system of ITQ allocation and the exclusion of the traditional small-scale fishers from access rights (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, 2014.). That action was successful and resulted in the instruction for the small-scale fisheries policy to be drawn up, as well as the MLRA to be amended. Interim relief quotas were awarded for some fishers left out of the allocation system, supposedly as a short term relief measure until the small-scale fisheries policy was completed (Isaacs, 2011). Sowman (2006) recommended that the South African government should adopt a livelihoods approach if they were serious about empowering the poor fishers of the country.

The first policy in South Africa that focuses on and includes small-scale fisheries, the Small-scale fisheries policy of 2012 (p. iv), defines small-scale fishers as: “persons that fish to meet food and basic livelihood needs, or are directly involved in harvesting/processing or marketing of fish, traditionally operate on near shore grounds, predominantly employ traditional low technology or passive fishing gear, usually undertake day fishing trips and are involved in the sale or barter or are involved in commercial activity”. In this definition we see a reference to the sector being a source of food and “basic livelihood needs”. This implies that fish are either caught for personal and household consumption or for a basic income through the sale of fish. The definition also includes access to an income through fishing related activities. However, there is also a reference to commercial activity, which could entail supplying larger companies and, therefore, could be on a larger scale and, potentially, mean access to a larger income source.

In defining the small-scale fisheries sector, the Small-scale fisheries policy of 2012 (p. v) goes slightly further to define what the activities of the fishers could entail: the small-scale fisheries sector: “means that sector of fishers who employ traditional and/or passive fishing gear and engage in a range of labour intensive harvesting, processing and distribution technologies to harvest marine resources on a full-time, part-time or seasonal basis in order to ensure food security. This sector of fishers also engages in ancillary activities such as their own net-making, boat-building, which provide additional fishery-related employment and income opportunities to their communities”. This definition, then, still has food security and livelihoods in the form of employment and income opportunities as the focus and includes a range of possible livelihood activities.

Despite the small-scale fisheries policy being adopted by the South African Cabinet in 2012 (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, 2014), the DAFF website currently states that there are three fisheries that form part of the wild capture fisheries in South Africa, namely commercial along with artisanal and recreational (DAFF, 2015). Although it is mentioned that there is a new small-scale policy that seeks to “address imbalances of the past and ensure that small-scale fishers are accommodated and properly managed” it is not classified as a separate fishery (DAFF, 2015).

Isaacs (2011), proposes that recent fisheries policies in South Africa have not had a beneficial effect on small-scale and artisanal fishers, particularly the Individual Transferable Quota system (ITQ) system of fishing rights allocation. Uncertainty regarding access rights has impacted on a sense of ownership and security in fisheries, which are important aspects of sustainable livelihoods (Hauck & Kroese, 2006). It is suggested that reform objectives in South Africa have marginalised *bona fide* fishers who depended on marine resources for their livelihoods, while fishing rights have been given almost exclusively to the elite in fishing communities (Isaacs, 2006; 2011). Some fishers who were not granted access rights continued to fish as a form of “protest fishing” as they believed that they had a right to access their livelihood, even although this was not legally given (Hauck, 2009).

The new small-scale fisheries policy of 2012 recognises that past policies have not been beneficial to, or recognised, small-scale fishers and aims to “provide redress and recognition to the rights of small-scale fisher communities in South Africa previously marginalised or discriminated against in terms of racially exclusionary laws or policies, individualised permit-based systems of resource allocation and insensitive impositions of conservation-driven regulations” (DAFF, 2012a, p. 1). This statement then acknowledges that fishing communities have been disadvantaged through the quota system, as well as through inadequately considered attempts at balancing the sustainability of marine

resources. Hara and Isaacs (2012) propose that the recently gazetted small-scale fisheries policy has been established in order to provide food security and alleviate poverty for coastal communities.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has given the reader an understanding of the importance of the right to food policy making internationally and within South Africa, as well as the place that the right to food has in the fisheries sector. This literature review has demonstrated the important contribution that fisheries, and small-scale fisheries in particular, make to food security and livelihoods globally. The chapter concludes with providing an understanding of recent policies and civil society responses to these policies that have impacted the small-scale fisheries sector within South Africa.



CHAPTER THREE: KEY CONCEPTS UNDERPINNING THIS STUDY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter defines and brings further understanding to the key concepts underpinning this study. A definition of food security is given that highlights the importance of the nutritional content of food, as well as the ability to access it. The chapter introduces the concepts of food sovereignty and the aspects of food insecurity that include undernutrition and malnutrition. Within this context, the reader will be introduced to the vital contribution that fish can and does make to food security, with a focus on the nutrient rich benefits of fish. Fish provides a rich source of nutrition, both in terms of macro and micro nutrients, which are essential at all stages of human physiological development, but most particularly during pregnancy and childhood.

This paper addresses not only food security but also examines whether the fishers in the fishing community of Kalk Bay are pursuing, and are able to achieve, sustainable livelihoods through fishing. The chapter gives an understanding of livelihoods and the role that small-scale fishing can play in providing food security through fish for food and fish for cash. The paper also examines the livelihood strategies of the community to assess how they are able to sustain their families and themselves. Livelihood diversification within the community is also examined in order to understand the livelihood strategies that are employed.

3.2. Definition of food security

Food security was defined at the World Food Summit in 1996 as existing “when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life” (WHO, 2014). In this definition it is notable that there is an emphasis on each person having enough food, but the definition goes further to add that the food must be safe and add nutritional value in order for it to be providing food security. In addition to this, as highlighted in this definition by the World Health Organisation, the right and ability to access food is a very important aspect of food security and relevant to this research that is looking at whether fishing communities are currently able to access a food source that they have historically been able to access.

Food security has additionally been defined as: “When all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Allison, 2011, p. 4). This definition goes a little further in placing additional emphasis on the type of access that people need to have in order to get food and also adds that the food is to be to their preference. This definition of food security links with the right

to food goal of the United Nations as outlined in General Comment 12 that states: “The right to food is realised when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has the physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement” (UN, 1999, p.2) This is the definition of food security that is used in this paper, as it is important to assess whether the people belonging to the fishing community in Kalk Bay who want to access the sea for fish are able to access it. They should then have the choice whether they want to keep the fish to eat for their households as a source of nutritious food or to sell some or all of it for an income. If members of the fishing community sell some of the fish, this would then enable them to purchase additional food to supplement the fish that they are eating. This could, for example, be vegetables and bread to enjoy with their fish as well as ingredients that would widen the range of meals that can be made from fish, such as buying flour to make fish cakes or curry to make fish curry and pickled fish. Alternatively, fishers could sell all of the fish that they catch and are allowed to keep in order to purchase completely alternate food sources.

These aspects start to shift the focus to include food sovereignty, which highlights the need for people to have a choice and give input as to how they get their food and what they want to eat. An example of where people would have no choice is “food aid” schemes, where people are donated/given food. Food sovereignty has been defined according to the Declaration of the Forum for Food Sovereignty as: “The right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems.” (Nyéléni, 2007, p.1).” This paper argues that the fishers of Kalk Bay are not able to access a very healthy food source that has played a key role in the culture of these fishers, their families and communities for many generations. These fishers have fished with a great knowledge of the systems of the sea, and with a great respect for it. The state’s denial of access to a crucial food source has, therefore, diminished the food sovereignty of this fishing community.

Food insecurity in the form of undernutrition occurs when the body has lower than the required amounts of nutrients, either macro- or micronutrients. Protein is an example of a macronutrient and amino acids, vitamins and minerals are examples of micronutrients (Bene et al., 2007, cited in Allison, 2011). An understanding of undernutrition is offered by the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF): “Undernutrition is defined as the outcome of insufficient food intake and repeated infectious diseases. It includes being underweight for one’s age, too short for age (stunted), dangerously thin for one’s height (wasted) and deficient in vitamins and minerals (micronutrient malnutrition)” (UNICEF, 2006, p. 1). Stunting is one of the most common signs of chronic

undernutrition and affects forty-two percent of children in sub-Saharan Africa. Stunting is associated with brain development that is sub optimal. Stunting serves as an indicator for underdevelopment and poverty (UNICEF, 2013).

Malnutrition is an abnormal physiological condition caused by deficiencies, excesses or imbalances in energy, protein and/or other nutrients (Allison, 2011, p. 4). Malnutrition can include being under- or overweight, if the correct nutrients are not being consumed (UN, 2012). Malnutrition is not only caused as a result of a shortage of food, but is a result of a lack of nutritionally adequate food (UNICEF, 2006). Fish provides an excellent solution for food insecurity and malnutrition, as it provides macro- and micronutrients in large amounts.

3.3. The nutritional contribution of fish to food security

3.3.1. Protein

There is an increased emphasis on the importance of the nutritional contribution and calorific quality of food for it to be considered to be contributing towards food security (De Schutter, 2011). In order to be considered healthy and nutritionally optimal a diet should contain adequate protein that contains the essential lipids with fatty acids (EPA/DHA), all essential amino acids, minerals and vitamins (HLPE, 2014). Fish can contribute all of these elements, and is an important contributor to food and nutrition security. This is particularly true of fish such as snoek and tuna and the small pelagic species such as sardines and pilchards (Sanchez Durand & Gallo Seminario, 2009, FAO, 2014).

It has been established that fish is an important source of easily digestible protein (Bell, et. al, 2009, Kurien, 2004). The consumption of fish contributes approximately 17% to the global intake of protein. In some countries in Africa, particularly West Africa, this can be significantly higher – up to 72% in Sierra Leone and 55% in Ghana and the Gambia (FAO, 2014). The protein found in fish has high biological value (Sidhu, 2003). The bioavailability (the rate of absorption and availability of a substance to the human body) of the protein in fish is 5-15% higher than the protein from plant sources (HLPE, 2014). Fish is a particularly good source of protein for children as it is vital for their growth and their underdeveloped digestive systems often cannot process more starchy staple foods (Kurien, 2005).

The fish that is often consumed by local populations are the small pelagic fish, which are often regarded as lower value fish in terms of international trade. However, these fish are an excellent

source of protein as well as essential fatty acids and micronutrients, thereby making them extremely high value nutritionally (FAO, 2014).

3.3.2. Polyunsaturated oils

The nutritional benefits of fish go beyond the importance of the role it plays as a source of protein. The lipid composition of fish is different to that of other proteins and the long-chain, polyunsaturated fatty acids (LCPUFAs) have a number of potential health benefits (HLPE, 2014). This is particularly true of certain types of fish that have a higher fat content including snoek, small pelagic fish such as sardines and pilchards, as well as tuna.

The polyunsaturated fatty acids found in these fish are Omega-3 fatty acids (Sidhu, 2003). The Omega-3 docosahexaenoic (DHA) is also believed to be important during gestation and infancy for neurodevelopment (Mozaffarian & Rimm, 2006). This Omega-3 fatty acid that is an important building block for neural and brain development in young children is also found in different vegetable oils. However, in vegetable oils it is a form of fatty acid (alpha-linolenic acid) that needs to be converted into DHA to be effective. The human body is, in fact, inefficient at converting the ALA into the necessary DHA. Therefore, fish is a much more reliable source of DHA necessary, particularly during pregnancy, breastfeeding and infancy (FAO, 2014). For brain development in children to be optimal it is believed that an intake of only 150 mg of fish daily is necessary (FAO, 2014).

The fish that are recommended as being high in Omega-3 fats in South Africa are snoek, pilchards, sardines (small pelagic fish), salmon, tuna, herring and galjoen (Heart and Stroke Foundation of South Africa, 2014). Of these, snoek, pilchards, sardines, galjoen and tuna are currently or have been landed at Kalk Bay harbour. This highlights the importance of allowing reasonable access to these fish for improved livelihoods and food and nutrition security.

The polyunsaturated oils in fish are believed to reduce blood cholesterol and heart disease (Allison, 2011). Heart disease is the cause of 2.6 million deaths worldwide every year so this is significant (UN, 2012). The Omega-3 oils found in fish have been found to reduce unhealthy cholesterol and triglycerides (both of which are causes of heart disease) as well as increase healthy cholesterol. The risk factors for heart disease are able to be controlled by eating a diet high in Omega-3 fatty acids and evidence demonstrates that consuming fish containing Omega-3 fatty acids greatly reduces the risk of coronary heart disease (Seedat, 2014, Mozaffarian, et. al, 2003, Sidhu, 2003, Mozaffarian & Rimm, 2006, FAO/WHO, 2011, FAO, 2014).

The South African Heart Foundation recommends fatty fish as the best possible source of Omega-3 fatty acids and encourages people to eat these fish types at least twice a week in order to benefit from the cardio protective effects (Seedat, 2014). Evidence suggests that optimum intake of Omega-3 oils can reduce the risk of heart disease by 36% (Mozaffarian & Rimm, 2006, FAO, 2014). This optimum intake is believed to be 250 mg daily (FAO, 2014).

Evidence is increasing that DHA also has a role in mental illness prevention. This is significant as the incidence of mental disorders is on the increase. In the developed world the costs related to mental illness are greater than the combined costs of cardiac disease and cancer, so any contribution towards prevention needs to be taken seriously (FAO, 2014). There is growing evidence that metabolic imbalances or deficiencies of these fatty acids may be associated with childhood psychiatric disorders including those on the Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) spectrum (Germano, et. al, 2007).

Tests have been conducted on children with bronchial asthma, a chronic inflammatory airways disease, to assess the effect of nutritional supplementation on the disease. The results of these tests demonstrated overwhelmingly that Omega-3 supplementation, taken together with vitamin C and zinc, had a significant improvement on the asthmatic condition of the children involved in the trial. Improved results were measured in the childhood asthmatic control tests (C-ACT), pulmonary function tests and sputum inflammatory markers conducted (Biltagi et. al., 2008).

3.3.3. Micronutrients

More than one in seven people worldwide are suffering from micronutrient deficiency (Agriculture and Horticulture Development Board in Godfray, et.al, 2010). Two billion people in the world are reported to be deficient in these micronutrients so important for human development. Fish can help to alleviate these deficiencies and help to reduce the correspondent health burden. Fish provides lipids and micronutrients that are vital during childhood, pregnancy and breastfeeding (Allison, 2011, HLPE, 2014).

Fish is a source of lysine and methionine. These are essential micronutrients in the form of amino acids (Kurien, 2004, HLPE, 2014). Further micronutrients found in fish include Vitamins A and D, B1 and B2, as well as iron, phosphorous and calcium (Kurien, 2004, HLPE, 2014). Approximately 250 million children globally are at risk of Vitamin A deficiency (FAO, 2014). Vitamin A helps to prevent blindness, assists growth and builds immunity (UN, 2012). Vitamin A is present in fish as retinol and anhydroretinol, which is more easily preserved through the cooking process and more

readily absorbed by humans than the form of Vitamin A found in vegetables (Thilsted et al., 1997). Twenty million children worldwide have a mental disability as a result of iodine deficiency. Seafood is the predominant source of natural iodine (FAO, 2014). The calcium in fish, digested when the bones and organs are eaten, is even slightly more effective than milk as a source of calcium (Thilsted et al., 1997).

Over thirty percent of people in the world are reported to be iron deficient, including up to fifty percent of pregnant women and children in developing countries, with approximately two billion being anaemic (FAO, 2014, UN, 2012). Lack of iron impairs cognitive development, growth, and immune function, very often resulting in sub optimal performance at school and in adulthood (UN, 2012). Fish is a rich source of iron, and also aids the bioavailability of iron of other foods in a meal, such as rice (Thilsted et al., 1997). Zinc deficiency is attributed with the deaths of 800 000 children globally yearly (FAO, 2014). Small pelagic fish, such as those previously landed at Kalk Bay harbour, contain all of these micronutrients in significant amounts.

Small pelagic fish are the largest group of fish landed globally. A large percentage of small pelagic fish are currently processed and used as livestock feed, fish feed (for aquaculture), fish oil and even as fertilisers (Tidwell & Allan, 2001). This processing of these nutrient dense small pelagic fish is greatly wasting their potential contribution to nutrition security globally. Tacon and Metian (2009) note that despite the continued increase in the global population together with a demand for fish as food, there is still a significant proportion of small pelagic fish that is used for non-food purposes. The proportion of small pelagic fish that are caught and processed as feed for aquaculture, pet food as well as for bait has dramatically increased from 1970 to 2006, from three percent of non-food catches to nearly forty percent. In South Africa, pelagic fish landings constitute 69 percent of total fish supply (Tacon & Metian, 2009). Approximately ninety percent of the pilchard catch of Namibia is canned and exported to South Africa for food purposes (Tacon & Metian, 2009). This indicates that there is a certain amount of demand for pilchards in South Africa, but this is not fresh and has been processed and tinned. It is important to note that the primary use of small pelagic fish for non-food purposes does not mean that poor people do not want to consume these fish types, but rather that farmers (of both aquaculture and agriculture) who use these fish as meal are able to purchase them as they have access to the necessary finances. In this way, poor people are not able to access what is a very competitive market.

3.4. Sustainable livelihoods

A broader view of sustainable livelihoods encompasses economic development together with an emphasis on reduced vulnerability and sustaining the environment, while at the same time building on the strengths of the poor (Shackleton, et al, 2000). Although there is a large divergence in the application of the sustainable livelihoods approach, there is general agreement as to the main aim. This is seen to be to provide a conceptual framework that “allows, firstly, the main factors affecting people’s livelihoods and, secondly, the indirect linkages between these factors, to be considered in the context of developing policies for poverty reduction” (Macfadyden & Corcoran, 2002, p. 20).

The definition of the term livelihoods used in this paper: “A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term” (Chambers & Conway, 1992, pp 7-8). This original definition of sustainable livelihoods is used as it includes reference to access as part of the assets required for making a living and this is very important in the debates regarding small-scale fisheries. To expand further on this, a livelihood “comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets. Tangible assets are resources and stores, and intangible assets are claims and access” (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p. 1). De Haan & Zoomers (2005) propose that access is the most important issue in livelihood conceptualisation and is vital to people being able to move out of poverty. They argue that access to livelihood opportunities should be linked to input into decision making. This then allows not only for more equitable livelihood opportunities, but also for increased power sharing. This paper addresses these aspects of livelihood strategies in the Kalk Bay fishing community and examines whether those that are part of the community are able to access their right to a livelihood and reviews the level to which they have been involved in decision making about their livelihood options.

An assumption of the sustainable livelihoods framework approach is that people attempt to achieve a range of livelihood outcomes, which can be goals such as income, food security, health or reduced vulnerability. This is done by drawing on different assets to pursue a range of activities (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005). When families and communities move away from reliance on one livelihood strategy to different strategies this is referred to as livelihood diversification (Fenton, 2012). The activities that are chosen are driven by choice and preference. Options can be limited and determined by structures such as government and their instruments, such as policy directives, or the private sector (Farrington, et.al, 1999 cited by De Haan & Zoomers, 2005). In this way, the ability to

maintain and achieve livelihoods and escape poverty is influenced by different factors, a key one being access.

Chambers and Conway (1992) propose three concepts which can be used to analyse livelihoods in order to generate insight as well as to assist with practical application and bring focus. These concepts are capability, equity and sustainability. Capability is the concept employed by Amartya Sen to refer to a person's ability to perform basic functioning, referring to what a person is capable of being and doing. This includes basic functioning such as being adequately nourished. There is also a set of livelihood capabilities that includes being able to find and use livelihood opportunities (Chambers & Conway, 1992). These capabilities include being able to access necessary resources and making the most of new opportunities and resources (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

Equity refers to a more equal distribution of capabilities, assets and opportunities and includes an end to discrimination against minorities, including women (Chambers & Conway, 1992). The Small-scale policy of 2012 has a focus on "vulnerable groups" that include women, children, disabled and elderly persons who have (historically) been marginalised by others in the fishing sector" (p. v).

Livelihoods are not only concerned with material well-being, but can also include aspects of well-being that are non-material. Assets are not only useful as resources in providing an income, but also give the capability to be and to act. Assets need to be viewed as not only providing tools for poverty reduction or alleviation, but they also provide the basis of the ability of the agent to act, challenge or bring change (Bebbington, 1999 cited by De Haan & Zoomers, 2005).

The Marine Living Resources Act did not acknowledge the rights to livelihoods of small-scale fishers, whereas the Amended Marine Living Resources Act of 2014 now recognises and includes this right. The definition of small-scale fishers within the new small-scale fisheries policy acknowledges the right to livelihood needs through fishing for food or fishing for resale. The new policy goes further to include direct and indirect involvement in fishing through the secondary support services, such as "harvesting/processing or marketing of fish"(DAFF, 2012, p.iv) and goes on to include such activities as "net-making, boat-building, which provide additional fishery-related employment and income opportunities to their communities"(DAFF, 2012a, p.v).

Sustainability in this context can be applied to ensuring that non-renewable resources are not over-exploited, such as fish and the marine environment. Increasingly, an emphasis of sustainability in the fisheries sector is the issue of environmental and resource sustainability. This emphasis has to be balanced with an attempt to protect and even enhance livelihoods. The new Policy for small-scale

fisheries in South Africa of 2012 (p. v.) defines sustainable development as “the integration of social, economic and environmental factors into planning, implementation and decision making so as to ensure that development serves present and future generations”.

The framework will link to the issue of fishing as providing food security together with livelihoods. Food security can be achieved for fishers and their households and community either through catching fish for personal consumption or selling for an income, either to buy more food or other necessities. Fish generates employment, income and livelihoods through harvesting, processing and marketing (Kurien, 2005). Roughly ninety percent of all the people who work in the fisheries industry globally work specifically in the small-scale fisheries sector and they are predominantly found in the global south. There are approximately 140 million people employed in the sector and for each small-scale fisher working in the sea, there are a minimum of four people engaged in related support activities, such as fish processing and preparing equipment. This means that more than half a billion people are directly dependent on small-scale fisheries for livelihoods and many more are impacted through their households (IPC, 2013).

A diagnosis will attempt to identify the livelihood strategies that people use to make a living and cope with stresses. In food security literature these would be referred to as adaptive and coping strategies (Karriem, 2014). The fishing industry has different forms of involvement. There are those who are directly involved in fishing, either as a boat owner, skipper or crew member. In the South African context, in the commercial sector those that receive a quota or fish using another person’s quota allocation can fish legally, within the limits of the given quota. However, due to the nature of the quota allocations, not all those that have wanted to fish have received a quota and have sometimes resorted to fishing illegally as a livelihood strategy (referred to as poaching) (Hauck, 2009). Some can be involved in support services, such as cleaning and filleting the fish, while others can be involved in the selling and marketing of fish. Individuals can take part in one or more of these activities.

In order to provide or supplement livelihoods, government grants can also be accessed. South Africa has grants that cover old age, for permanent residents over sixty years who earn below a certain income, and disability. A disability grant can be granted to a citizen, permanent resident or refugee from the ages 18 to 59 years, who cannot work due to the disability (SSA, 2011).

South Africa supports those who are on leave due to sickness or maternity, are retrenched or injured at work through the Unemployment Insurance Fund. While working, employees and employers

should contribute a percentage of the workers' salary to this fund, and the employee is able to claim for a limited period to a certain percentage of the salary earned while working (SSA, 2011).

South Africa also has Family Allowances grants that include a Foster child grant, a Child support grant, a Care dependency grant and a Social relief (distress) grant. The first two grants are for those who have a low income and have children younger than 18 years in their care. The Social relief grant is paid to vulnerable individuals or households (for a period of up to 3 months, although this can be extended) (SSA, 2011).

This paper examines whether those who live in Kalk Bay who have historically made a living from the sea in the small-scale fishing industry, either through catching fish to eat, selling fish for income or working in a fishing support industry are still doing so and whether recent policies instituted have empowered them to do so, as per the stated aims of the policies.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the key concepts that underpin this study. It gave an understanding and definition of food security, demonstrating that the emphasis of food security is not only on having food, but also on the nutritional value and ability to access food of one's choice. This introduced the concepts of food sovereignty, where people have a choice and say in what they eat and how they are able to access it. In order to further understand food security, the chapter explained food insecurity in the form of undernutrition and malnutrition.

CHAPTER FOUR: FISHERIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the governance of the South African fishing sector and the context within which small-scale fishers operate. The chapter gives an understanding to the three areas of fishing defined by the MLRA (18) of 1998, which are the recreational, subsistence and commercial fisheries. Attention is given to the role that fish plays in the economy of South Africa, to give a context to the issues of livelihoods and food security. The chapter then focuses on fish types that play an important role in the Kalk Bay area and the state of fish that are key in that fishing community, particularly looking at West Coast Rock Lobster and Snoek.

4.2. South African fisheries

The Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) is the government department responsible for fisheries policy and management and is “tasked with managing the development and sustainable use of marine and coastal resources; maximising the economic potential of the fisheries sector and protecting the integrity and quality of the country’s marine and coastal ecosystems” (DAFF, 2015). DAFF manages fisheries in South Africa through setting Total Allowable Catches (TACs) and Total Allowable Efforts (TAEs). This is done through applying scientific advice and applies to the commercial, recreational and small-scale sectors (DAFF, 2012b). DAFF (2012b) states that they supports the Ecosystem Approach to Fisheries Management (EAF), which strives to find a balance between preserving different ecosystems, including human and marine. Part of this is meant to incorporate supporting the livelihoods and food security of humans. This research demonstrates that the policies that DAFF has implemented to date have not improved the livelihoods or food security of small-scale fishers in Kalk Bay, despite South Africa being “considered one of the world leaders in EAF” (DAFF, 2012b, p.2).

The first of the fisheries categories that has been recognised to date, the recreational sector, is not intended or allowed for livelihood or food security purposes. However, the sector is not insignificant and was estimated to be worth R3 billion in 2011. In 2003 the total linefish catch of the recreational sector was approximately five thousand six hundred tonnes, compared to the commercial linefish catch of 16 000 tonnes (WWF, 2011). DAFF reports that the fisheries sector in South Africa is worth R6 billion per annum (DAFF, 2015). Interestingly, then, the recreational sector represents half of the linefish catch. Livelihoods and food security through fishing have been taken away from traditional small-scale fishers but there is still a significant permit allocation given to those who fish for sport. A

recreational licence can be obtained by purchasing one for the fee of R87 each for WCRL and angling (DAFF, 2014).

The commercial fisheries in South Africa consists of twenty-two sectors, namely: Hake inshore trawl, Hake offshore trawl, Hake longline, Hake handline, Small pelagics, South Coast rock lobster, West Coast rock lobster inshore, West Coast rock lobster offshore, Squid, Horse mackerel, Patagonian toothfish, Prawn trawl, Tuna and swordfish longline, Tuna pole, Abalone, Seaweed, Demersal shark, Traditional linefish, White mussel, Gillnet and trek net fishery (WWF, 2011). The commercial fishery is managed through Total Allowable Catches (TACs), Total Allowable Efforts (TAEs) or a combination of both (FAO, 2010).

It is estimated that the Western Cape is responsible for approximately ninety percent of the catch of the South African fishing industry (Hara, 2014). This is where the case study site, Kalk Bay, is situated. Ninety-five percent of the most significant commercial species, inshore and deep-sea hake, are landed in the Western Cape. The demersal hake trawl fishery and the small pelagic fishery dominate the industrial commercial sector, by extent of value and volume of catch (FAO, 2010). Hake accounts for fifty percent of fish eaten within South Africa (Hara, 2014).

With the introduction of democracy in 1994, sanctions were lifted from South Africa and international markets opened substantially. This, coupled with the increasingly neo-liberal stance of the South African government, saw the trade of fish products become integrally important as a revenue source. The international trade of South African fish is dictated by a set of complex trade agreements, at both bilateral and multilateral levels (WWF, 2011). Fisheries products comprise six percent of the exports of the Western Cape (Hara, 2014). The primary fisheries exports are fish fillets, whole fish, rock lobster, cuttlefish and squid. The major trading partners for these products are Australia, Spain, Hong Kong and United States (Hara, 2014). In 2009, the value of fisheries products exported from South Africa was US\$75 million, while the value of imported fish and fisheries related products was US\$69 million (Traffic, 2010, cited in WWF, 2011).

With advancements in technology and equipment post World War Two, including sonar to find fish and refrigeration, fishing vessels began to increasingly successfully target deeper, off shore fish species. Many foreign vessels began fishing off the coast of South Africa resulting in the overexploitation of many species (WWF, 2011). As a result, an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) was created in 1977. The rights of foreign fishing vessels to this zone were revoked in 2002 in an attempt to ensure more South African fishing access.

Of the commercial linefish, sixty-eight percent of fish species are reported to be collapsed. These include Geelbek, Steenbras, Stumpnose, Red Roman and Silver Kob. Eleven percent of species are reported to be overexploited, including elf/shad (DAFF, 2010). Species that are reported to be optimally exploited are snoek and yellowtail (WWF, 2011). These are both migratory fish and are landed at Kalk Bay harbour. Fishers have been limited in being allowed to catch these fish.

Branch & Clark (2006) propose that a number of types of fish are unsuitable for rights reallocation to small-scale fishers, as they require capital intensive equipment to catch. An example given of this is the small pelagic fish, sardines and pilchards. They suggest that these allocations are not taken away from the large commercial companies that have made “substantial investments to establish the industry” (p.2). Branch & Clark (2006) indicate that these companies are “vertically integrated” and are organised to harvest, process and market fish. The small pelagic fishery forms part of the largest commercial fishery in South Africa, annually landing over 500 000 tonnes (Hutchings, 2009, cited in WWF, 2011). This paper argues that this is not a fair representation of the fishing industry as small-scale fishers in Kalk Bay used to trawl for these fish in the past and have now been denied access. This, in turn, has prevented them from catching these “commercially lucrative” fish species (Branch & Clark, 2006, p.4) and therefore, accessing profits to establish the secondary industries. This has prevented these fishers and support workers in the small-scale fishing sector from accessing what could be a very sustainable livelihood.

4.3. West Coast Rock Lobster

West Coast Rock Lobster (WCRL) - scientific name *Jasus lalandii* - is a high value marine species that is caught in-shore and predominantly exported for sale to the international market. This species is the most commercially lucrative rock lobster species in South Africa and contributes approximately R260 million to the Gross Domestic Product (WWF, 2011). The commercial fishery for WCRL uses traps and ring nets to catch them (FAO, 2010). WCRL rights holders usually sell their catch to an agent who sells to a local company who then sells them internationally (Isaacs, 2014). Therefore, those that have quota allocations for WCRL are catching them to sell, not for personal or household consumption.

As a result of the MLRA not including smaller *bona fide* fishers, many fishers who had previously made a livelihood from the sea were no longer able to. These fishers were not able to make a living from the small quotas of limited value fish and were not able to access the commercial sector. Eventually a separate system was set up to bring in some small-scale fishers in the case of West

Coast Rock Lobster and abalone. That was done by creating a “small-scale commercial” group (Hersoug, 2002, cited in Hersoug, 2011). However, this paper demonstrates that the quota allocations are usually not able to sustain the livelihoods and provide food security for the fishers and their families that have received them.

The total allowable catch for the 2013/2014 West Coast Rock Lobster 2013/14 fishing season was set at 2 167 tons. For that period, the total allowable catch allocated to the commercial offshore sub-sector was 1 356 tons and for the commercial near-shore subsector was 451 tons. The total allowable catch allocation for the subsistence (small-scale/interim relief) sub-sector, is set at 276 tons (138 kg per fisher). Recreational fishers were allowed four WCRL per person per day for the duration of the season (DAFF, 2015).

The size of quota allocations is largely based on scientific measurements of fish stocks. Stock rebuilding has taken place through state intervention, who in 1997 introduced Operational Management Plans to stabilise the resource (Isaacs, 2014). Measures to encourage rebuilding have included the implementation of the TAC, closed seasons, restricted areas, minimum size limits, reduced daily limits and restricted fishing days for recreational fishers (WWF, 2011). Although there are reports of recovery of WCRL resources (Branch & Clark, 2006), there is still a ten percent annual decrease in the TAC, resulting in smaller quotas for fishers on a yearly basis (WCRL Association, 2008, as cited in Hauck, 2009). DAFF reports that the decision to pursue the recovery target has been welcomed by WWF and has the unanimous support of all WCRL sector users. This paper demonstrates that this is not the situation within the case study area of Kalk Bay as livelihoods and food security continue to be lost and diminished through the implementation of these targets. This is a particular challenge as quotas are still reduced annually despite the targets reported to have been reached.

4.4. Snoek

Snoek (*Thyrites Atun*) is an important fish in the Western Cape, and plays an important role in livelihoods, food security and even culturally. Snoek is a low value fish, but provides a nutritionally balanced offering of macro- and micronutrients and is listed as one of the South African Heart Foundation’s recommended fish as an important provider of Omega 3s and 6s (Heart and Stroke Foundation SA, 2014). Many retailers in South Africa import a fish named “Barracouta” from New Zealand and sell it as “Snoek” (Isaacs, 2014). The snoek fishery forms part of the traditional linefishery (DAFF, 2012b). This means that a linefish permit has to be granted in order to access this

species (Isaacs, 2014). The current status of snoek is that there are optimal resources of this fish type (DAFF, 2012b).

Snoek has been a source of livelihood for many small-scale fishers and has traditionally been a very important source of food and nutrition for many working class and poor families (Isaacs, 2013). This is particularly true in the Western Cape, where Kalk Bay is situated. Snoek is more than a food and livelihood source, but plays a role in the culture of indigenous people in Cape Town.

4. 5. Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the fisheries sector within South Africa, with a particular focus on issues and species relating to the case study area of Kalk Bay in the Western Cape, South Africa. The chapter provided a context to understand the economic value of the different sectors within South African fisheries, as this potentially impacts on the food security and livelihoods of small-scale fishers. Two particular species that play an important role in the life of the Kalk Bay fishing community were discussed to provide further understanding of their contribution.

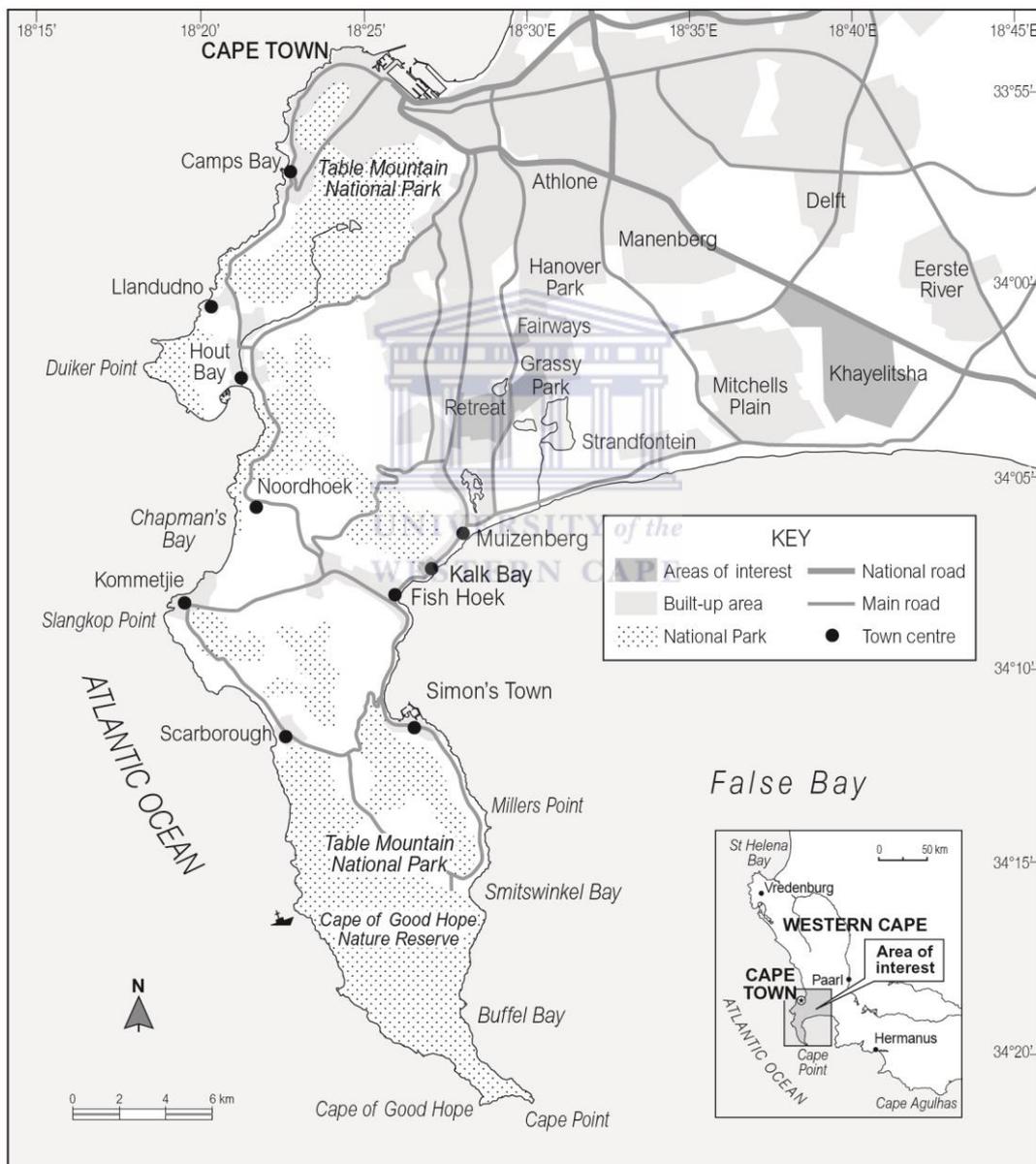


CHAPTER FIVE: CASE STUDY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the case study area of Kalk Bay, found in the Cape Town metro of the Western Cape, South Africa. The chapter gives an understanding of the context of Kalk Bay, as well as insight into the demographics and history of the area.

5.2. Delineation of the case study area: Kalk Bay

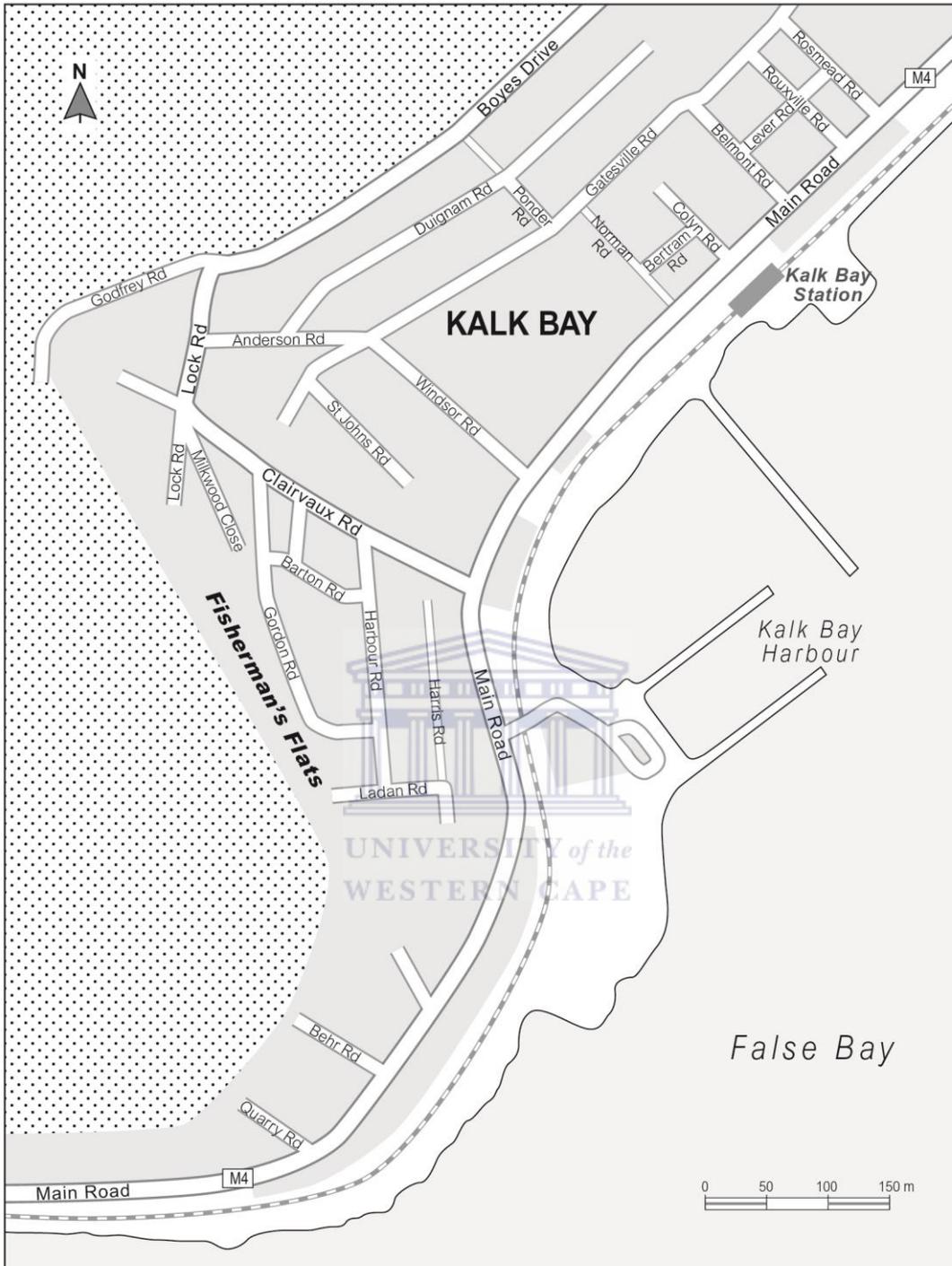


Map 1: The position of Kalk Bay in the Cape Peninsula, Western Cape.

Kalk Bay is part of the City of Cape Town, in the Muizenberg Municipality and forms part of the St. James, Kalk Bay Ratepayers' Association. It is an extremely scenic suburb, nestled in between the mountains and the sea. The Kalk Bay harbour is central to Kalk Bay and is visible from most parts of the village. The harbour consists of a breakwater and a jetty, and in 2006 there were up to sixty boats anchored therein (Bohlin, 2007). Many of the boats are diesel powered wooden fishing boats painted in bright colours, which adds to the picture of Kalk Bay being a traditional fishing village. Many believe that the old tradition of fishing with handlines is still upheld on a large scale by fishers in Kalk Bay (Bohlin, 2007). However, lack of access rights, combined with other factors influencing the fishing industry have drastically reduced the number of fishers in all sectors.

The harbour and boats add to the picturesque fishing village environment of Kalk Bay, along with quaint colonnaded buildings and cobbled streets. These features have contributed to making Kalk Bay an extremely popular recreation and tourist destination, with many restaurants lining the one Main Road that runs through Kalk Bay, as well as in the harbour itself.

The harbour at Kalk Bay is designated as an official landing area for catch to be weighed and recorded against the total quota of a fishing rights holder. It is regarded as a small harbour for this purpose (Hara & Isaacs, 2012). The area between Kalk Bay harbour and St. James has been declared a Marine Protected Area, as part of the Table Mountain National Park Marine Protected Area by DAFF. No fishing of any type is allowed in this designated area (DAFF, 2014). The main fisheries of Kalk Bay have historically been linefish, pilchards and WCRL (FAO, 2001).



Map 2: Road map of Kalk Bay showing the Fisherman's Flats and Harbour

5.3. Demographics of Kalk Bay

According to the 2011 South African Census, the population of Kalk Bay is 700 with 252 households (resulting in an average household size of 2.78). The population of Kalk Bay is predominantly White (55%) and Coloured (32%), while 8% are Black African. According to the official census, 92% of the labour force in the area (aged 15-64 years) is employed.

Nineteen percent of households have a monthly income of R3 200 per month or less and 98% of residents are housed in formal dwellings. One hundred percent of the households have access to piped water, access to a flush toilet, have their refuse removed and use electricity for lighting where they live (Stats SA, 2011).

5.4. History of Kalk Bay

Kalk Bay has been a source of food from the sea since the indigenous inhabitants of the Cape, the Khoikhoi, used the beach and tidal pools to catch fish and other marine life (Walker, 2002). Kalk Bay was most likely established as a village for the lime-burning community that burnt the abundant shells for lime. The name is derived from the Dutch for chalk (lime, or 'kalk' in Afrikaans) (South African History Online, 2014). Lime kilns operated on a wide scale in Kalk Bay (Walker, 2002).

The Cape of Good Hope was established as a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company in 1652. From 1658 onward Muslim political prisoners were brought to Table Bay from Indonesia and the Philippines and they inhabited the area along with Dutch farmers and West African slaves (Isaacs, 2013). The slaves often continued to catch fish as they were skilled to do, and supplemented their owners' income in that way.

From 1742, The Dutch East India Company proclaimed the Simons Town bay a winter anchorage for their ships. Kalk Bay provided a mini-port for the Dutch between Cape Town and Simons Town, as it was very difficult for them to get supplies between the two places (Walker, 2014). Kalk Bay played an important role as a fishing area, supplying tons of fish which were transported back to Cape Town. That was partly because fish was the slaves' staple diet (Walker, 2002). In 1795, a military outpost was established at Kalk Bay (South African History Online, 2014). Fishing soon became one of the main economic activities in Cape Town, along with farming (Isaacs, 2013). In 1820, Kalk Bay became one of the three whaling stations at the Cape, which was the third biggest income earner in the area, after agriculture and wine making. That industry did not last long, as the killing of the whales soon resulted in making them nearly extinct in the area (Walker, 2014).

The fishing industry in Kalk Bay really began thriving after the arrival in the mid-1840s of a Filipino crew who had been ship-wrecked at Cape Point and settled in Kalk Bay. They encouraged fellow Filipinos who were crewing on American sugar ships to join them, and that number was later bolstered by Filipinos fleeing from the Philippines as a result of anti-Spanish riots. The approximately sixty families that settled in Kalk Bay still have a number of descendants in the village (Walker, 2014). Further growth in Kalk Bay occurred when slaves, who were originally from Malaysia, Java and Batavia, were emancipated in the Cape in 1834. Those slaves were originally fishermen and returned to their trade, very soon playing an important part in the community and economy of Kalk Bay (Bohlin, 2007).

During the 1860s, Kalk Bay grew in popularity as a seaside resort for the affluent. The completion of a railway line in 1883 greatly supported that and the quiet seaside village quickly grew, with boarding houses, hotels, shops, schools, pavilions and more homes being built (South African History Online, 2014). In 1913, the Kalk Bay municipality was established (Walker, 2002). That sudden growth resulted not only in positive developments, but also brought health crises such as bubonic plague and typhoid, as well as slum conditions in certain parts inhabited by fishers and their families. That was the beginning of many conflicts of interest between the already existing fishing community and the new leisure industry (Walker, 2007). The livelihoods of fishers were very inconsistent, and at times fishing families were in such need that churches in the area organised feeding schemes for them (Bohlin, 2007).

Life was not easy for those fishers or for many generations of fishers to follow. Extremely hard physical work and long hours included rowing the fishing boats out to sea. At the time, there was no harbour so those same boats had to be carried by the crew up a fairly steep beach, in order for them not to be washed away at night. Fishers also earned extremely low wages, despite their hard and skilled work. Hawkers, as the primary purchasers of fish formed syndicates to ensure they paid the lowest possible prices to fishers for their fish (Walker, 2002). Together with minimal pay, fishers faced limited fishing time due to temperamental weather conditions. When the boats were not able to go out to sea, the fishers often resorted to fishing off the rocks. Household income was supplemented by the partners of fishers working as domestics in the hotels and boarding houses, or in the wash house. Fishers often lived in poverty informal housing with no running water, sewerage, refuse removal or health care (Walker, 2002). Fishers of previous generations in Kalk Bay often lived in desperate conditions. Sometimes living in informal housing, their homes were often floorless and they burnt fish-oil with a wick in it in cups for light (Green, 1981). It is important to note that fishers in Kalk Bay have often struggled to ensure a sustainable livelihood, and any livelihood achieved

came through extremely hard physical labour and long hours of work. The income and food brought into the house by the fisher was often not enough to sustain the household and different livelihood strategies had to be employed.

Up until the early 1900s fishing boats were rowing boats. Fishing boats then became motorised, which resulted in change in the fishing industry. Many of the skippers of the sail and rowing boats were not able to afford the new engines and so they and their crews often found themselves redundant (Walker, 2002).

In 1967 Kalk Bay was classified as a “White” area under the Group Areas Act of Apartheid (Bohlin, 2007). There is a large-scale perception that although declared a White area during Apartheid, Kalk Bay remained relatively unscathed, as members of different race groups were allowed to remain living in the area (Barnard, 2007). However, approximately 25 percent of the Coloured community were forced to leave the area and live in other areas designated for them in the Cape Flats (Bohlin, 2006). While there are varying anecdotal reasons as to why the “non-white” members of the community were not forced to leave the area sandwiched in between white areas during the Apartheid years, there is evidence that the community mobilised to oppose forced removal from the area, led by community leaders and supported by different groups (Barnard, 2007). During the time of Apartheid, fishing was almost exclusively done by Coloured fishers, who were the owners, skippers and crew on boats. White people did occasionally join the crew to go fishing, but that was largely recreational and not for livelihood purposes. The reliance on the sea for livelihoods as accessed through the harbour in Kalk Bay is suggested as one of the reasons that the community was able to motivate for non-removal during Apartheid (Bohlin, 2007, Walker, 2014).

Fishers were allowed to remain in the fisherman’s flats that had been built by the Cape Town municipality and were given a fifteen-year respite. After that period, the proclamation was overturned and Coloured people were allowed to remain in, and even return to, the area.

Importantly, a number of fishers who used to be resident in Kalk Bay but have moved for reasons such as Apartheid displacement or lack of affordable housing in Kalk Bay, still continue to travel to Kalk Bay to fish from areas on the Cape Flats. These are areas that were created during Apartheid to house Coloured people who were moved from areas declared for White people only. The number of fishers estimated to continue to travel to Kalk Bay to fish regularly in 2006 was 130 (Bohlin, 2006). This number will be less today as a result of reduced fishing activity from the harbour.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the case study site of Kalk Bay and provided a context in terms of the demographics and history of the area. The following chapter provides the findings of the fieldwork conducted in Kalk Bay, within the Kalk Bay fishing community specifically. The findings are analysed through the key themes of food and nutrition security and livelihoods, while assessing the impact that recent fisheries policies have had on these aspects.



CHAPTER SIX: FIELDWORK DATA FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the field data of the case study site of Kalk Bay. The key themes that are examined are the food security and livelihoods of the Kalk Bay fishing community. The chapter begins by assessing the reliance on fish for consumption for the food and nutrition security of the Kalk Bay community. Attention is paid to the extent that fish is eaten, what type of fish is eaten and where it is sourced. This addresses specifically whether fish is caught in Kalk Bay directly to eat by households in the Kalk Bay fishing community or whether it is purchased.

The chapter then focuses on the contribution that fishing makes to the livelihoods and food security of the Kalk Bay fishing community through catching fish to sell. The proceeds of the sales can potentially then be used to purchase food. Particular attention is given to the combination of livelihood strategies that are employed by the community. This is important as the fishing community is often not able to access or make a viable livelihood through accessing marine resources and it is necessary to assess how livelihoods are achieved in this situation.

The chapter then addresses the role that fishing policies have played in affecting the community's food security (through enabling the catching of fish to eat) and livelihoods (through enabling or reducing fishing as a means of providing an income for households). This focuses on policies introduced since the new democracy in 1994, which have had as a goal to bring equality and provide employment for the citizens of South Africa. The chapter examines what the community identifies as particular challenges of the policies implemented to date, including the rights allocation process and community allocations. The chapter concludes with the attitudes of the Kalk Bay fishing community towards the "Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa", specifically reflecting on whether it is thought that this new policy will address the shortfalls of past policies and allow for better access to food security and livelihoods contributing towards food security.

6.2. Food and nutrition security of the Kalk Bay fishing community directly through fish consumption

Within the fishing community of Kalk Bay there is still a strong reliance on fish for consumption. More than sixty-two percent of households reported that fish was their main source of protein, while a further eighteen percent stated that fish and chicken were their primary sources. This indicates that eighty percent of respondents have fish as a main contributor to their diet. Those that ate fish indicated that they consume it two to three times a week, with one ex-fisher stating that he eats fish

every day. Respondents who were members of the Catholic faith reported eating fish every Friday as part of their religious tradition. The Catholic influence is evident in Kalk Bay as part of the heritage of the Filipino fishers who founded the village (Walker, 2014). These findings indicate that members of the Kalk Bay fishing community are consuming, or attempting to consume, fish as a very important source of nutrition. There is clearly a dependence on fish for consumption in the community (fish for food), and the fish is not only caught as a means to an income (fish for cash).

Regarding the source of fish, most of the respondents reported getting their fish for free, through either neighbours, family or catching it themselves (eighty-eight percent). To highlight the point that fish was seldom paid for and consumed often, one of the respondents who reported that she and her family eat fish two to three times a week conceded that: “If I need haddock (a fish not caught in the area) I will buy it at a fish shop, otherwise my neighbours give me”.

The reported findings of the strong reliance on fish for consumption and usually receiving it at no cost are very interesting in light of many fishers stating that hardly any handline licences were granted in Kalk Bay and that even those that have been able to fish have not been able to go out for months due to unfavourable weather conditions (Fisher G, personal interview, 2014). This could partly be explained by the “Gazat” system, explained by the fisheries activist. In this informal system that is implemented in small-scale fishing communities the catch of the boat is divided among those on the boat, despite how many each fisher caught. Each fisher is given enough fish for themselves and their families that is essential for food. They then put aside a portion to give to members of the community who need food to eat. The balance of the fish will be sold with the money going to those who caught the fish. In this way all the fishers, their families and those who are in need of food in the community have something to eat, while those that caught fish have some income (Fisheries activist, personal interview, 2014).

Two respondents indicated that they used to solely get fish from family, but acknowledged that now they have to buy due to shortages. Although these people acknowledged that they now have to buy fish, their households still eat fish at least twice a week. One of these respondents particularly noted that she missed the access to fish and fishing that there used to be in the past (Personal interview, 2014). When fish had to be purchased, the preferred place to buy it was from the Kalk Bay harbour. The scarcity of fish also affected the price, as one ex-fisher noted: “When the fish are scarce, the price doubles”.

One of the respondents said he would have to be “very hungry to buy fish from a shop” (Personal interview, 2014). This ex-fisher now mends nets for crayfish fishers in Gansbaai (a fishing town

approximately two hundred kilometres away from Cape Town) and he receives fish from the people he works for.

The respondent that reported eating fried fish and chips as their primary form of fish consumption received the fish and chips through a connection at the local fish and chips seller as a result of her mother making 'samosas' (fried curried mince snacks) to sell there. The small number of respondents who did not receive fish for free through community links still reported buying their fish at the Kalk Bay harbour as they still chose to consume fish as a preferred food and nutrition source.

The fish that were reported to be eaten in Kalk Bay was primarily snoek. Other fish reportedly eaten were hottentot (Cape Bream), yellowtail (occasionally), tuna, silverfish, hake, mackerel, gernets. Pilchards and sardines were eaten, but only out of a tin and, therefore, had to be purchased from a retail outlet. Respondents reported that one snoek could make up to four meals or last for up to four days. The fish could be fried, made into breyani, 'frikkadels' or 'smoer snoek' (Meals such as stews, fish cakes and pickled fish, which are an important part of the culture). This is, therefore, a significant contributor to food security. As the fish can last a family for over half a week and is cooked in a variety of ways, it plays an important role.

These fish types provide not only food security for direct consumption, but also a high level of nutritional security for these community members, as these fish are nutritionally dense. The most frequently consumed fish, snoek, provides a particularly notable nutritional contribution. As an oily fish, it is an important source of protein, as well as polyunsaturated oils in the form of Omega-3 fatty acids and further important micro-nutrients (HLPE, 2014). Snoek is one of the fish types recommended by the South African Heart Foundation to be eaten for optimum heart health (SA Heart Foundation, 2014).

Unfortunately, nutrient dense pilchards and sardines cannot be accessed from the area within which Kalk Bay is situated as it has been declared a Marine Protected Area (MPA) for these fish (Fisher G, personal interview, 2014). However, these fish, when fresh, are often only used for bait by fishers anyway. The survey supported this and showed that many respondents consumed pilchards, but only the canned version. The licences for sardines were previously known as bait licences (Fisher D, personal interview, 2014). One of fishers perceived as being successful by members of the Kalk Bay fishing community stated that for twenty years he has been trying to get back the sardine licence that he used to have. He was told again the day before our interview that he was not successful in his application with the reason given that he is a "newcomer". This is despite him having had a sardine licence in the past and being a fisher for the past sixty years. He stated that pilchard licences are

being given to “paper quota holders” who then sell their allocations to large commercial entities (Fisher D, personal interview, 2014).

One respondent who reported spending over R300 on food per week for him and his wife live off the proceeds of their South African government pensions. This means that almost half of their modest income is spent on food. This highlights the importance of the contribution that the fish makes to their food security that his neighbours give them at no cost when they are able to.

6.3. Livelihoods and food security in the Kalk Bay fishing community through fishing

6.3.1. Access to livelihoods from the sea

The research conducted at the Kalk Bay fisherman’s flats showed that there is still a clear link to fishing and reliance on livelihoods from the sea for many living in the flats. This is important as many respondents of the survey noted that food is expensive and it is necessary to spend R400 to R500 on food per week, or even more. Although there was a strong preference to eat fish caught by family or community members, it was noted that even when fish was available, it did need to be supplemented with other dietary sources. When fish was not available or able to be accessed, other protein sources had to be purchased. So, even although many households ate fish that was caught by themselves or others in the community, there was still a need to catch fish to sell or find an alternate source of income in order to buy additional food.

Sixty-five percent of the households surveyed still directly access, or attempt to access, their livelihoods from fishing. These livelihoods were accessed through at least one person in the household being involved in at least one of the following ways: being a WCRL quota holder (long term rights holder), interim relief quota holders (crayfish), boat owners, crew on boats of others with WCRL quotas, and support services such as net mending for crayfish nets or selling and scaling fish. Those households that are currently not actively involved in fishing all had a connection in the recent past, either through a deceased husband or father or were themselves retired fishers. This also shows that every household surveyed was living in the flats as a result of personal or familial involvement in fishing. In almost all of the houses surveyed there was more than one fisher in the family and more than one generation of fisher.

The clear majority of those that had received quotas in Kalk Bay were for WCRL. The quota allocations were for the period 2005-2015 (long-term rights holders). It was reported that this catch is almost exclusively exported (Fisher I, personal interview, 2014). It was reported that there were 12 WCRL quota holders in Kalk Bay and no linefish quota allocations in Kalk Bay (Fisher G, personal

interview, 2014). Fishers sold to factories in Hout Bay who then sold to overseas buyers (Fisher I, personal interview, 2014). Potentially the income from the sale of the WCRL could then be used to purchase food.

6.3.2. Livelihood strategies of the Kalk Bay fishing community

Although receiving a quota was something aspired to by many in the community, those that had received quotas, even those that were significantly larger than others, reported that they would never be able to live on the income from a quota. Some fishers also pointed out that they can often not go out to sea for months if the weather is not suitable. People interviewed, therefore, demonstrated a number of livelihood strategies.

A retired fisher and boat owner who has a twenty-five year WCRL quota of four tons per year and a sardine quota of four hundred tons per year also stated that he would never be able to live on his allocation alone. He said that he would catch his quota in one month. As an additional livelihood strategy he charges “paper quota holders” R40 per kilo to catch their allocation. These “paper quota holders” cannot catch their own quotas because they do not have the necessary resources or experience to catch them themselves and were in no way *bona fide* fishers but had received an allocation upon application. The crew on his boats who had received interim relief quotas could also not catch their own allocation while working on his boat, as they were not working in the same zone as their interim relief allocation. They then had to pay others to catch their already small subsistence quota as they did not own boats to go out themselves.

Another fisher who has a quota of 480 kilograms of WCRL per year stated that he can catch this annual allocation in three days and then has to budget for the whole year. His allocation started at 850 kilograms in the year 2000 and this has reduced steadily each year. Although this fisher would like to supplement his income he will not fish on other people’s boats (who have linefish allocations) as they will charge him too much to do so (Personal interview, 2014).

Other quota holders reported working as crew on other fishers’ boats, e.g. as linefishers to supplement the income from the sale of their quota. One of the quota holders who reported working as a crew member on someone else’s boat catching linefish to supplement his income outlined that to catch on someone else’s boat did not allow for much income. He explained the following: if a fisher working as a crew member caught R500 worth of fish, they would have to give R250 to the “boat”. Another R50 would be charged for petrol and a further R100 for bait. This would then leave the fisher with R100 out of the R500 worth of fish to take home. This explanation was repeated by a

number of fishers. This is a scenario that gives an idea of the challenge of catching fish to make a livelihood through selling fish. The same fisher reported that in order to catch fish to eat, if catching as a crew member, one needs to catch 11 fish in order to bring one home “for the pan”(Survey, personal interview, 2014).

As an illustration of the difficulty to sustain a livelihood even as a quota holder this fisher (who has a WCRL allocation of 600 kg per year) mentioned that his wife goes out to work as a domestic worker once a week, which is “a great help” (Survey respondent, 2014). Another quota holder also reported that his ex-wife (with whom he lives in a two bedroom flat together with ten other people) works as a domestic worker to supplement their income.

One of the fishers surveyed was previously a skipper on a boat but has retired and now mends crayfish nets for an income. The people he fixes nets for are from a fishing village along the coast near Hermanus and provide him with some fish to eat as well, thereby contributing towards his food security (Survey respondent, 2014).

In one of the households where the father and the son both have small quota allocations, it was reported that the father, who was over seventy years old, would not apply for an old age pension as he was afraid his quota would get cut by DAFF. Certain members of the community received disability grants, old age pensions and child support grants, but only if they could not fish any longer or were not attempting to receive a livelihood from fishing.

Fisher C reported that in Kalk Bay there is a forum that the interim relief fishers form part of. There are one hundred and fifty members, sixty-five of whom were allocated interim relief quotas, with an additional six beneficiaries. These interim relief quota holders used to receive quotas on an individual basis, but it is now communally managed. Kalk Bay receives a community allocation for interim relief of 8 tons per annum, which is reduced by 17-20 percent each year. Each fisher receives a quota of 103 kg of WCRL per annum, which, in turn, is cut by 17-20 percent yearly (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014). Not only is this an unviable quota, each fisher needs to pay the boat that they go fishing on R40/kilo to fish, as most of them do not have their own boats (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014). The senior official at DAFF acknowledged that this interim relief measure was only meant to last for one season of fishing, while the new policy was drafted but has now lasted for ten years (Personal interview, 2014).

The NGO activist proposed that small scale fishers had been failed by DAFF regarding the issue of “crew lists”, stating that: “the long term policy states that in order to receive a right one has to

register a crew list, consisting of crew that will fish on your boat. DAFF does not have such a list, it does not exist” (Personal interview, 2014). He argued that if the original *bona fide* crew members had been registered on this list they would at least be able to be going out fishing for their livelihoods, instead of sitting at home as they are now. Instead the friends and family of boat owners are now going fishing on the boats, while those who have fished for years should have been protected but have instead lost out on their livelihoods and food security. Although this would not have given every fisher allocation rights, if the policy had been correctly implemented it would have at least protected the right to livelihoods for these fishers.

6.4. Challenges to the livelihoods and food security of the Kalk Bay fishing community

6.4.1. Fisheries policy: Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs)

Prior to the ITQ being introduced fishers were allowed to catch whatever fish were available seasonally and in their area. That period was a time highly regarded by fishers. Respondents indicated that at that time of “traditional rights” they simply needed to get a licence for the boat and could fish for “whichever fish were migrating across the shores at the time.” (Fisher B, personal interview, 2014). One of the fishers described the time of open access in the following way: “When it was open access, people had a relationship with the fish. They protected it. With the quota system there was no relationship.” (Fisher A, personal interview, 2014).

The quota allocation system was pinpointed by many respondents as being a critical point where the ability to achieve a livelihood and food security from fishing was severely diminished. The time when the individual quota system with single species licences was brought in was consistently blamed by respondents for negatively changing the fishing sector, particularly for traditional fishers. The ITQ was blamed for “nearly destroying my family. There were no problems making a living from fish for the longest time. Up until restricted species” (Fisher B, personal interview, 2014); “causing fishing to go down the tubes” (Fisher E, personal interview, 2014); and bringing in poaching and price dumping (where fishers dump smaller fish due to specific regulations) (Fisher A, personal interview, 2014). The consistent reference to the time of “open access” as a favourable time in terms of livelihoods is interesting, as legally fishers fishing on an open permit could not actually sell their catch (Isaacs, 2013). This, however, contributed to a flourishing informal economy and culture, which snoek particularly played an important part in. This could have also encouraged the giving of fish at no cost to community members, as discussed above.

One of the Kalk Bay boat owners and quota holders highlighted the following concern with the ITQ system: “We used to get a traditional permit. Now they have come with this where you can’t catch what is running. Your traditional permit used to allow you to catch all fish. Now they give for example people in Kalk Bay handline hake. What fisher in KB can catch handline hake? They have to go down to Hermanus and go and catch handline hake there. What boats in Kalk Bay can go to Hermanus to catch handline hake? You know, it’s not practical. That is the problem” (Fisher G, in Kalk Bay with regard to the ITQ). Another fisher lamented, “What these people don’t understand is that fishermen don’t want a hand out. They don’t want money. They want a right to go and work. That is what they want. No fisherman is standing here outside the Fisheries with his cap in his hand saying we want a handout. All he wants is the right to go and earn and to catch what they can, all the kinds of fish what there is” (Fisher G, personal interview, 2014).

A lack of education was reported to be a disadvantage in the quota allocation system, where written applications were required. This was proposed by the senior official at the Department of Fisheries and supported by a number of respondents. The fishing rights NGO activist stated: “The criteria and that application process were so stringent that no small-scale person would ever, ever qualify for a commercial licence at all. People just do not have the wherewithal or education to do that. You needed at least an MBA to get a quota. A simple, straightforward economics degree would not have helped. So the criteria connected with that ruled all small-scale people out. Those that were successful were successful because they cheated the system. And they could cheat the system because they could get a consultant to complete the application” (Personal interview, 2014).

This statement was supported by the evidence in Kalk Bay. The level of education of fishers who were part of the sample was generally low, ranging from leaving school in Standard 2 (Grade 4) to Matric (Grade 12). No one involved in fishing had any tertiary education. However, education level seemed to have no bearing on success in the fishing sector, as those with the least education often had the biggest quotas and income. One of the fishers who is self-proclaimed as illiterate was often singled out by respondents as being perceived to be very successful and owning a number of boats referred to as “the five green boats in the harbour” (the most boats owned by one person in the Kalk Bay harbour). Other quota holders had also left school at primary school level, while those with high school and matric level education had not been able to acquire quotas, despite applying and many years’ fishing experience.

In support of the claim by the fishing rights activist, those that had received quotas had often paid a “consultant” to complete the necessary documentation, at a fee of “between R7 500 and R20 000”

(Personal interview, 2014). This meant that in order to receive a quota one had to have access to financial means in order to pay a “consultant” to complete the necessary and complicated documentation. The senior official at DAFF acknowledged that the fees and complicated process were an obstacle for many fishers. Those that were able to afford this were already boat owners prior to the ITQ system being introduced and had saved enough to be able to pay someone else to complete the documentation. Interestingly, those with the biggest quotas (and more than one quota, although this is supposedly not permitted) had bought quotas from others and then these were renewed based on performance.

Most of the fishers who applied themselves had not received a quota, despite applying many times over the years. One respondent who sold and scaled for a living reported that she had tried to obtain fishing rights many times, and had been used on three different occasions by parties who had promised her proceeds from a successful quota application if she provided her identity documents and personal details. She never heard back from any of the parties, except for the last one who gives sporadic and inconsistent amounts of money. This would indicate that an allocation has been received, but it is not being fairly distributed. This respondent feels limited in her power to control this situation as she is illiterate and is not sure what has been signed. This system has reinforced the power and control of the elite within the community. It has also resulted in vulnerable *bona fide* fishers being disenfranchised from being removed from their source of livelihood and sometimes taken advantage of by others outside who have identified the fishing sector as a means to profit financially.

One woman who appeared to receive a WCRL allocation quite easily lived in the fisherman’s flats, but had no direct link to fishing other than her deceased husband who was a fisher. She mentioned that she received a quota allocation for WCRL and reported, in contradiction to most of the other findings, that “whoever applied, got it”. This woman never had a boat or resources to catch her allocation, but paid someone else to catch it for her. She would probably be an example of a quota allocation given based on her gender and racial identity under the MLRA.

6.4.2. Availability and accessibility of fish

There was clear resentment of the policies and the impact that they had in Kalk Bay, particularly the introduction of the ITQ system as highlighted above, amongst fishers interviewed. However, a number of fishers pointed out that it was not only the size or lack of quota allocations that had made fishing as a means of livelihood difficult. A number of fishers suggested that, “there are just no fish anymore”. This was attributed to factors such as overdevelopment, pollution and the expansion of the

naval base in Simon's Town (Fisher A, personal interview, 2014). The most frequently recurring reason given was that large-scale commercial fisheries were catching all the available fish. One fisher expressed this sentiment in the following way: "Big companies are fishing all the fish out. Off shore commercial is fishing all the snoek so no snoek even come to near shore anymore" (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014). This is supported by Isaacs (2013) who states that snoek is specifically targeted by some trawl vessels, which results in decreased availability for small-scale fishers.

This issue relates to the allocation of quotas and the Total Allowable Catch (TAC). Some fishers mentioned how the TAC is based on scientific data looking at the resource availability of fish. This is usually reduced by 17-20 percent every year, which results in quotas being reduced by the same percentage (Fisher C, 2014). Although fishers were not happy with the TAC being determined by scientists without their input and being reduced every year, they acknowledged that there was a shortage of fish to catch. Again, this was often attributed to the large allocations given to the industrial commercial sector, which enforced a sense of injustice in the allocations given to "big business". These findings are consistent with the theory that ITQs are privileges or property access rights with the primary function of promoting economic efficiency rather than community welfare, equity or conservation (Sumaila, 2010; Copes and Charles, 2004 & McCay, 2004 cited by Isaacs, 2014).

There was also clear resentment among fishers interviewed about the allocation of 700 tons of the total TAC in the WCRL sector to poaching, which reduces the allocation that can be made to legal fishers. This is particularly frustrating for fishers as the TAC for poaching "increases and does not decrease", without any clear indication of what is being done to stop poaching (Fisher B, 2014).

6.4.3. Technological advances

In recent decades there has been a shift in the ability to rely on the Kalk Bay harbour for livelihoods and food security. One of the reasons for this shift is that the fishing industry has evolved as technology has evolved.

An example of this is the introduction of faster, more mobile boats than the traditional wooden fishing vessels. These ski-boats do not have to fish from one harbour, but can be towed by car to wherever the fish are available. Only fishers who could afford to make this adaptation have been able to benefit from this development. Fishers who are used as crew on these boats are made to pay for petrol to these different coastal destinations, as well as bait and fifty percent of their share of the catch. This largely reduces any profit crew may have previously made. In this way, those with

money, largely through fishing right allocations, in the community have again been able to take advantage of changes, whereas crew who have not been able to receive allocations are further disadvantaged. It is apparent that the elite within the community have largely benefited.

6.4.4. Community quotas

DAFF highlights that when the small-scale policy is implemented, for the first time fishing rights will be awarded to groups and not to individuals (DAFF, 2015). This is not strictly true, as even in the case study area of Kalk Bay there have been at least two community quotas previously, with at least one ongoing (Fishers A, C, D, G, personal interviews, 2014). The interim relief allocations are also allocated on a communal basis, whereas they were previously individually allocated (Personal interview, Fisher G).

Kalk Bay received a community quota in 1984 of thirty tons of WCRL (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014). Most respondents interviewed mentioned this quota. This quota originally began with two hundred fishers registered to benefit, but through processes that certain, more powerful, fishers (i.e. boat owners) have instituted there are now a handful who still benefit from this quota. Even the inception of this community quota was reported to have had its roots in corruption, which was reported to have significant political bearing on Kalk Bay during Apartheid (Fisher A, personal interview, 2014). It is primarily the fishers who still benefit from this quota who more recently received additional quotas in Kalk Bay. The perceived unfairness of this situation has led to much disappointment amongst the fishers of Kalk Bay. The Senior Official from DAFF had no knowledge of either of these community quotas and stated that they could not be in existence any longer (DAFF Official, personal interview, 2014). However, one of the boat owners interviewed claimed that he was personally responsible for the founding of the quota and benefits to this day (Fisher D, personal interview, 2014).

Kalk Bay also received a community quota after 1995 for 100 tons of whitefish and 1000 tons of sardines (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014.) A respondent stated that “this also fell away due to bad management” (Personal interview, 2014). In both of these community quota allocations, it was mentioned that corruption had been part of the processes, both in the reasons for the allocation and the management of it in the community.

It will also not be the first time that the government has encouraged the formation of cooperatives. It was reported that after the small-fishers started mobilising post 2005, after they were omitted from the new fisheries policy, they were encouraged by the government to form a cooperative. One of the respondents said that they were told that if they formed a cooperative they would receive quotas.

After forming a cooperative (the SA Fishing Cooperative) it became apparent that this was actually a company structure, with one of the largest fishing companies in South Africa receiving the third biggest allocation (Fisher A, personal interview, 2014). Although this was not a community cooperative initiative, it does demonstrate that cooperative structures and processes can also be challenged by political agendas and corruption.

It is noteworthy that the community quota system will be implemented with small-scale fishers, while the ITQ system will continue in the commercial sector. When this happens, there will be two very different systems governing different sectors with opposing interests of the fishing industry in South Africa.

6.5. Response from the Kalk Bay fishing community to the new “Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa”

Despite the lack of success of previous community allocations for the Kalk Bay fishing community, the attitude towards the recently passed policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa was generally optimistic from those that were aware of it. One interviewee stated that: “it can work, even if co-ops haven’t worked around the world” (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014). More specifically relating to Kalk Bay a fisher responded: “There is hesitation from those who were involved in the cooperative times in the 1990s, but I, personally, think that this could work” (Fisher B, personal interview, 2014). Particularly appealing to fishers who were crew on boats or those who worked as support services to fishers was, in fact, the community aspect. Despite being hurt in the past by being excluded from community quotas that they were originally a part of, these disenfranchised were hopeful that community members would be able to “draw from the pot” when the small-scale policy was implemented (Fisher F, personal interview, 2014).

An aspect of interest in the Kalk Bay community is that already two separate groups have emerged claiming to be the representatives of the small-scale policy. Representatives of both of these groups have stated that DAFF has contacted them and told them that they will be the small-scale fisheries policy representative in Kalk Bay (Fisher C, Fisher B, personal interviews, 2014).

One of these groups is the forum that currently receives and administers the interim relief allocation. This group has 150 members, 65 of whom receive interim relief quotas, with an additional 6 beneficiaries. This interim relief group was started by four boat owners who all receive WCRL quotas. These quota holders do not additionally receive interim relief, but help to administer it. One of the four who initiated this interim relief group stated that: “We started the interim relief group for the fishermen. All the fishermen now get something. They can live” (Fisher G, personal interview,

2014). The head of this interim relief forum who does most of the administration is one of these WCRL quota holders. The interim relief allocation is in this person's name. She liaises with DAFF and the factory that the WCRL is sold to. She stated: "The fishers get paid based on my feedback. I write down the catch of the fishers every day and fax it to the factory. They then get paid based on my information. I don't get paid anything at all" (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014). According to this coordinator of interim relief she has been told by DAFF, "As the head of interim relief, I will become the representative of the small-scale fisheries policy. There is also an SMME that is trying to run it" (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014).

The leaders of this group felt strongly that the small-scale policy allocation "mustn't go to the fishers alone, it must go to wives, children, daughters-in-law" (Fisher G, personal interview, 2014).

Interestingly, the interim relief forum is stating that only fishers will be part of its group (in contravention of the new small scale policy), while the other group is gathering people who have been omitted from interim relief allocations and who also form part of the value chain (including women).

The organisers of this group, the four WCRL quota holders, are all at risk of losing their allocations in 2015, when their ten-year rights allocations end. There is a belief that near-shore commercial quotas will not be renewed and all current allocations would be put in the basket (Fisher G, personal interview, 2014). In this scenario, all fishers within Kalk Bay would have to fish from the allocation given into the basket.

The other group, referred to by the interim relief forum organiser, claiming to be the representatives of the small-scale policy is a group that has been formed and is headed by a family. The family has a substantial WCRL allocation currently and owns an SMME (Small, Medium and Micro-sized Enterprise). They, like the other small commercial quota holders, are unsure if they are going to keep this allocation with the new allocation process. One of the leaders of this second group stated that he has been contacted by a representative of DAFF to set up a "communications fishing forum", with the aim of this forum being to "have community members registered under the communications forum as to identify the size of the communities and to highlight issues affecting present contemporary and future issues of the communities as well as education". He went on to state: "The main thing is free education so what this forum's main objective is to identify what sort of education is required; specifically I see this forum helping to prepare the community for cooperatives being established next year. So, by the end of this month communications forums need to be established with signed constitutions. Engagement will happen within the next few months to identify skills

development and help with structuring of cooperatives from small scales sector and all this type of thing. So for the first time, (there are) proper channels of communication directly to the communities, which is something our community has been crying out for. Because most of the people managing rights, they keep information from the members for obvious reasons. They have their own agendas they want to push. If you educate the broader community you eliminate the possibility of corruption, you eliminate it or you reduce it slightly. So the communications forum for me is something that is going to revolutionise communities, because it will spark lots of debate and disagreements because there are lots of people who can lead communities but are just not given the platform and the opportunity to do that. So the communications forum is vital for preparing us for the next I would say we have 12 months to prepare for the small scales sector that will probably be implemented in the last quarter of next year. Because at the same time, near shore interim relief with the ski boats and the ring nets, that will end. Off shore commercial, that is the sector that we are in, that will also end. So, no one will have rights to West Coast Rock Lobster until they reapply and that application process is going to be the most important in our history in terms of trying to reverse the pressures on historical communities as well as plan a more sustainable way forward for everyone. And then also with quotas and policies, trying to identify who the paper quota holders are. Very big issue”.

This is a challenging situation, as the NGO activist made it clear that there will only be one basket allocation given to each community. If there are different cooperatives that have formed legal entities, the basket will be divided amongst them (NGO Activist, personal interview, 2014).

One interviewee who works at the harbour as a fish cleaner and seller spoke with great hope for the new policy. Under the ITQ system of allocations she and her husband have been disappointed by three separate groups of people who have claimed to be assisting them to get quota allocations, along with the appropriate financial compensation. As they are illiterate they were never fully aware of what they were signing. After giving all their details, including identity documents, these different parties are never seen again. The last group gave a token amount of money and have not given anywhere near the amount promised. It is assumed that the details and historical association to the sea were used to apply for a quota (Fisher J, personal interview, 2014). One of the reasons for her optimism is that the group that she has joined in Kalk Bay claiming to represent small-scale fishers has apparently aligned themselves with the ANC ruling party and is representing her in the struggle against the latest group that have not given her the money promised (Fisher J, personal interview, 2014). She expressed her hopefulness that her inclusion in this small-scale group would benefit her and her family in the following way: “Just because we are not well educated so they mess us around

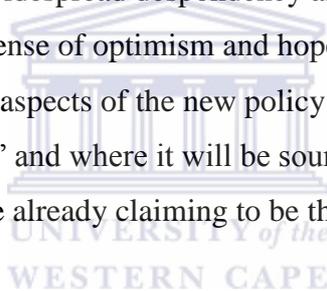
with our money. Our representative is going to sort it out though, I can't get someone better than that. I was always looking for someone to help us where that is concerned. He goes through a lot of things to do this for us. That is good, he is there for the community. He is from the community as well". She went on to add: "So, if he gets on to this and the ANC gets onto this then they will lose their business. We don't want people to lose their business, all we want is our money. We just want them to do what they said they will do" (Fisher J, personal interview, 2014). This interviewee also expressed great hope that when the new small-scale policy is implemented she will be able to establish her own business in the fishing sector and not have to work for a boss (Fisher J, personal interview, 2014).

One of the main concerns highlighted was what the size of the basket would be, what it would contain and where the allocation for the basket was coming from. All those interviewed, including the DAFF senior official and the activists that have been involved in the drafting of the new policy, acknowledged that no one knows what the size of the basket is going to be or what it is going to contain. A few interviewees mentioned that the new small-scale policy will only work if allocations are taken from large-scale commercial and were very hopeful that this would happen (Fisher B, Fisher C, Fisher G, NGO Activist, personal interviews, 2014).

It appears that Kalk Bay has not been included in the processes regarding the new "Policy for the small scale fisheries sector in South Africa", although it has been heralded as an inclusive, community driven policy. One activist attributed this to the fact that the ITQ system was supported by the elite in the Kalk Bay community, which politically placed them in a different position to most other fishing communities. To support the quota system was seen as supporting the ANC government who had adjusted their policy direction and had, in fact, been supported in their election campaign by large fishing companies (Fisher A, 2014). However, this observation was made by a fishing activist who is not part of the Kalk Bay community. All the respondents interviewed from Kalk Bay, including those that were quota holders, stated that they opposed the ITQ system primarily because the ITQ system was limiting and not viable (Fisher B, Fisher C, Fisher D, Fisher F, Fisher G, personal interviews, 2014). Another activist whose organisation has been partly responsible for the mobilisation and organisation of fishing communities also acknowledged that being in a metro area they had not worked with them as their focus was on the West Coast and the organisation meant to be engaging fishing communities in the metro had disbanded (Personal interview, 2014).

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the field research with the Kalk Bay fishing community. Through in-depth interviews and a survey of households it became clear that the fishing community of Kalk Bay still relies on fish as a food source and for livelihoods. Evidence shows that fish to eat and fish for cash continue to be the preferred options for the fishing community. However, both these options have become increasingly difficult to access. Implications of recent fisheries policies, such as the omission of small-scale fishers from the MLRA (DAFF, 1998) and the subsequent inability to access marine resources through quota allocations have had a devastating effect on the fishers of Kalk Bay. Fishers have diversified into a number of livelihood strategies, some of which involve different means of accessing marine resources. Other livelihood strategies are not related to fishing, such as accessing government grants and reliance on family members for work outside of the community. The fishing community disclosed what they felt have been other challenges facing the access to livelihoods, such as corruption within community quotas and the lack of availability of fish. This research found that despite the widespread despondency and frustration of fishers in the Kalk Bay community there is generally a sense of optimism and hope about the new policy for small-scale fisheries. There are, however, certain aspects of the new policy that the community is wary about, namely the size of the “basket of fish” and where it will be sourced from, as well as the two different groups within the community who are already claiming to be the DAFF-appointed small-scale representatives.



7. CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

7.1. Introduction

Internationally, the rights to food and livelihoods are recognised as fundamental human rights (UN, 2014). The South African government has committed itself to the right to food and food security for all the citizens of this country. This commitment is entrenched at the highest level in the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996). South Africa has been commended internationally for its commitment to supporting the right to food for its citizens through the constitutional inclusion (Smout, 2011). The implication of this is not primarily that the government will provide food for its citizens, but rather that it will prioritise providing access to food sources and livelihoods so that people can access their own food, either directly or through financial means through access to livelihood sources. The right to food increasingly has an emphasis on the right to adequate as well as nutritionally appropriate food (UN, 2012).

Policy development should, therefore, support access rights to food security and livelihoods for the citizens of the country. This research set out to establish what the contribution of recent fisheries policies has been to the food security and livelihoods of the fishing community of Kalk Bay. The question was examined through a series of in-depth interviews with key informants who have knowledge and experience in the fishing industry and Kalk Bay fishing in particular. A survey conducted at the Kalk Bay “fisherman’s flats” added many insights to the question and yielded interesting responses from the households represented.

This research has found that despite the inclusion of the right to food and livelihoods at the highest level in South Africa, such as in such instruments as the Constitution, that policies developed and implemented in the fisheries sector since the democracy of South Africa have not supported the rights of small-scale fishers, using Kalk Bay, in the Western Cape Province of South Africa, as a case study. That is to say, until the new “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa”. The development of this policy itself has only occurred as a result of legal action taken against the South African government by small-scale fishers and has yet to be implemented ten years later. This has, and continues to deny small-scale fishers the ability to access an extremely nutritious food source, as well as their traditional livelihoods. This chapter specifically reflects on the effect of the ITQ policy’s impact on the livelihoods and food security of the fishing community of Kalk Bay. The chapter then looks forward to how the new “Policy for the small-scale fisheries in South Africa” will attempt to rectify the current challenges within the small-scale sector and incorporate feedback from

the Kalk Bay fishing community regarding potential obstacles that have already been identified with regard to its implementation.

7.2. The ITQ policy's impact on the livelihoods of the Kalk Bay fishing community

Despite research by the FAO clearly demonstrating that ninety percent of those employed in fishing worldwide are in small-scale fishing and that small-scale fishing engages twelve times the amount of people in livelihoods than commercial fishing for the same amount of fish (FAO, 2012) the South African government has largely denied small-scale fishers in Kalk Bay access rights, thereby limiting access to livelihoods. This research clearly demonstrates that the implications of ITQ rights allocations and policy implementation have been detrimental to both food security and livelihoods for small-scale fishers.

For generations the members of the Kalk Bay fishing community have sought to make a livelihood for themselves and their families from the marine resources accessed through the Kalk Bay harbour. Since the omission of small-scale fishers from the original MLRA of 1998, the government has had to be legally challenged to include these fishers. Even since the legal instruction for the inclusion of small-scale fishers ten years ago, the majority of fishers have yet to benefit. Twelve WCRL quota allocations were made to members of the Kalk Bay fishing community (not all fishers) and no linefish allocations (Fisher G, personal interview, 2014). An interim relief allocation of eight tons of WCRL was given to Kalk Bay fishers, who each receive 138 kg of WCRL per year, which is reduced by 17-20 percent each year (Fisher C, personal interview, 2014). Along with many fishers in Kalk Bay who reported that the quota allocations are not possible to live on, the NGO activist stated: "They get given an unviable quota. You just can't make a living from it. And the interim relief even less! Interim relief is only meant to provide half a slice of bread to put on the table, it is not meant to provide income. But that is where it goes wrong, if you look at the general policy it is a general commercial rights fishing allocation policy so they are regarded as commercial, whether it is small scale commercial or not. The whole notion of small-scale commercial was only there for the medium term allocation" (NGO activist, personal interview, 2014).

Livelihoods were examined through the definition of a sustainable livelihood proposed in this paper: "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term"(Chambers & Conway, 1992, pp 7-8). It is evident

that the MLRA (DAFF, 1998) fishing policy implemented in South Africa since democracy in 1994 has not contributed towards ensuring sustainable livelihoods for the fishers of Kalk Bay. The withdrawal of their assets, particularly in the form of access rights and access to resources, has resulted in a reduction in the activities necessary for a means of living. This outcome of the fishing policies applied to all fishers in Kalk Bay, from those perceived to be affluent to crew members. The only sector clearly benefitting from quota allocations is the large scale industrial players. For example, the large-scale commercial fishing company, Sekunjalo, who has allocations for South and West Coast Rock Lobster, as well as abalone, made an operating profit of R51 million in 2014 (Hasenfuss, 2014).

The largest single issue affecting fishers in the Kalk Bay area in terms of their food security and livelihoods has been the outworking of policies implemented in the fisheries sector. Of the policy factors, the introduction of the ITQ licence, awarded to an individual to grant rights to catch a single species was singled out as being particularly detrimental. Many fishers reported that this really destroyed fishing as a livelihood for themselves and their families and communities as small-scale fishers they were either not granted licences or were not able to live sustainably on the allocation if granted. This supports the proposal of the Special Rapporteur who suggests that small-scale fisheries provide an important source of livelihoods and food security in developing countries, and this is in tension with exclusive access and rights (De Schutter, 2012). According to the World Wildlife Foundation (2011), this single species approach in South Africa has failed to protect either fish stocks or livelihoods and food security of fishing communities.

The challenge with the single species allocation was supported by the NGO Activist, as expressed in the tension between receiving a WCRL quota and fishing for snoek in the following way: “Now it simply is that if you have a crayfish permit, no matter how small it may be, you are not allowed to catch snoek, where that fish is the mainstay. You earn more from snoek than from crayfish. It puts food on the table. It shares food with the neighbourhood. It makes money for yourself and for others who clean and ‘vlek’ (scale) and process, so there is a whole lot of money in there. But the policy just simply does not provide for this” (NGO Activist, personal interview, 2014). This is a particularly challenging situation as the fishing season for WCRL is mainly in the summer months and the season for snoek is predominantly in the winter months (Isaacs, 2013). If fishers had been allowed more than one species they would have been able to fish across seasons, as mentioned by a number of respondents. Key to the new “Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa” is that the approach is that it is multi-species in its approach and will provide communities formed legally into

cooperatives with a basket of rights, which can then be shared and fished as the community as a collective deems it appropriate.

Through the MLRA, post-Apartheid fisheries reform used ITQs to allow new entrants into the fishing sector. It did, however, reduce the number of *bona fide* fishers that could continue to pursue their original livelihoods (Isaacs, 2013). It is argued that the ITQ was also introduced partially as an attempt to protect marine resources by limiting the amount of fish caught. Some suggested that ITQs in fact increased the threat to marine resources, as they increased poaching and brought in an antagonistic attitude towards authorities even from those with quota allocations, resulting in overfishing as an act of rebellion and defiance (Fisher A, Personal interview, 2014).

We examine the aspect of livelihoods introduced on page thirty-five of this paper that proposes that: “Livelihoods are not only concerned with material well-being, but can also include aspects of well-being that are non-material. Assets are not only useful as resources in providing an income, but also give the capability to be and to act. Assets need to be viewed as not only providing tools for poverty reduction or alleviation, but they also provide the basis of the ability of the agent to act, challenge or bring change” (Bebbington, 1999 cited by De Haan & Zoomers, 2005). This statement proposes that livelihoods go beyond access to finances or means of accessing finances, but provide a certain freedom for individuals to act. According to Wallman (1984), a livelihood goes way beyond material provision to issues of personal significance, ownership, group identity and status”. When these aspects of livelihoods are introduced, we can see that fisheries policies introduced since 1994 have further impacted Kalk Bay fishers and communities’ livelihoods. The removal of access rights has reduced the capability to be and to act and has diminished all of these aspects of a livelihood. The sense of personal significance, ownership, group identity and status are aspects that have clearly been lost. The fishers, despite their limited education, had pride in their work and this has been taken away. Fishers mentioned that they were happy to go out and work and that is all that they want to do. Some mentioned how proud they were that their father had taught them how to fish and it enabled them to provide for their families. They acknowledged that they were never rich, and had to be careful with the money they earned, but they had an honest income and were able to provide “something for the pan”.

7.3. The ITQ policy’s impact on fish consumption in the Kalk Bay fishing community

The research has found that although the Kalk Bay fishing community still chooses to eat fish as the preferred and primary source of protein, it is not as easy to do as it was in the past. Although many in the Kalk Bay fishing community spoke fondly of eating fish, it was not as easily accessible as it once

was. Snoek, which was described by the majority as the preferred fish for consumption, was traditionally caught by fishers with a handline (Isaacs, 2013). The survey conducted showed that one snoek was able to provide meals for a family for four days, and was prepared in a number of creative and traditional ways. However, as there were no handline allocations made to the Kalk Bay fishing community (Fisher G, personal interview, 2014), it was no longer possible to access this food source that had been so heavily relied on for direct food consumption.

The research revealed that when permitted, this particular fish, as well as other fish that were caught in the area, was kept by fishers after a day of fishing, once the boat owner had taken their share. Fishers were permitted a certain allocation, which was usually used “for the pan”. This fish provided direct food and nutrition security for the households of fishers, as a food source rich in macro-nutrients (protein) and micronutrients (omega oils, vitamins). Not only did fishers and their families benefit from this excellent food source, but also the poor and those in need, such as widows who received fish free of charge from fishers within the community (Survey, 2014). The ITQ system of licence allocation has had a direct impact on this source of food security for the Kalk Bay fishing community, as legally very few line fish are able to be caught and, therefore, eaten and shared in the community. The WCRL allocations are almost exclusively caught for the export market and, therefore, do not contribute directly to fish consumption in the Kalk Bay fishing community (Fisher I, personal interview, 2015). Due to the policy directed ITQ allocations, a fishing community with the necessary fishing equipment, skill and experience in fishing is not able to access a food source that is on their doorsteps and has traditionally provided nutritionally optimal meals.

While almost every household surveyed reported still eating fish two or three times a week and many reported receiving this for nothing or almost nothing from friends or family who were fishers, this is in contradiction with the reports that most do not have access rights and that there are not many fish when they can go out to sea in favourable weather conditions. The heavy reported reliance on fish could then perhaps be anecdotal and idealistic, indicating their desire for their lives to return to how they were when they were able to access the sea resources for livelihoods and food security.

Another reason is that many report that even for those who have licences to fish, the availability of marine resources has dwindled. These factors have made making a livelihood in the same way as in the past very difficult, even for quota holders in the Kalk Bay area.

When assessing how recent government policies have affected the livelihoods and food security of the fishing community of Kalk Bay, it is apparent that policies have had a negative effect. Many fishers who used to go out to sea regularly, either with their own boats or as crew on others' boats are

now not able to. Quota holders catch their annual allocation in a short space of time, and cannot go out to fish for the rest of the year, so they are not able to catch fish either to eat or to sell. Interim relief quota holders have even smaller allocations and these are often difficult to catch by the interim relief quota holder who sometimes has to pay someone else to catch the small amount allowed. As a result, there are many experienced fishers who are willing to work who are not able to. While they are not fishing, their boats and equipment still have to be maintained, at a cost to themselves.

Despite being in the metro, Kalk Bay is a fishing community that has been left out. Community elite have taken part in different agendas of politicians prior to democracy and supported the ITQ process for political as well as personal reasons, where fishing communities in other areas have stood against it (Fisher A, personal interview, 2014). Kalk Bay finds itself in a unique and somewhat isolated position on the eve of the implementation of the new “Policy for the small scale fisheries sector in South Africa”. Even through the development process of this policy Kalk Bay has not been optimally included, also because of different alliances and systems that Kalk Bay has not been part of (Fisher A, personal interview, 2014).

7.4. The new “Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa”

The new “Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa” is rights based in its approach, with a focus on gender equality, food security, poverty alleviation and local economic development (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, 2014). This policy then aligns with the right to food that is subscribed to by the South African government. Within the new policy the important contribution of small-scale to livelihoods and food security is recognised (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, 2014). The aims of the new “Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa” are to provide access to livelihoods for small-scale fishing communities through the different activities related to fishing and marine resources, value adding beneficiation and to do this through a community based co-management system. Communities will need to organise themselves to prepare for this “governance approach in which Government and a small-scale fishing community share the responsibility and authority for the management of a marine resource by that community.” (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, Too Big to Ignore, p.3). This will be achieved through a co-management approach, which is one of the principles of the new small-scale fisheries policy.

One of the underlying ideals is that communities will work together for the good of all in the community and use strengths and resources effectively in a cooperative manner. Some suggest that in

areas such as the West Coast communities are already forming cohesive units that are organising how they will work together and implement the new policy.

7.4.1. Challenges of the new “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa” within the Kalk Bay community

In Kalk Bay different groups are already forming, that appear to have different agendas and interpretations of the policy. Although this is allowed under the policy, it will divide the size of the basket allocation. Nobody knows yet the size of the basket allocation. However, there is not much promise of a bigger allocation than currently exists with small-scale and interim relief allocations. This, together with forecasts from DAFF that there are going to be twice the number of beneficiaries under the new system, could result in disappointment for already disempowered fishers and communities.

7.4.1.1. Awareness-raising and capacity development regarding the new “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa”

The first issue that has been highlighted through the research with the Kalk Bay fishing community is that there appears to be a lack of awareness and capacity building within the community regarding the new small-scale fisheries policy. During the phase of community consultation to receive input for the formation of the new policy Kalk Bay appears to have been largely omitted and limited in its submissions. Now that the policy is due to be implemented there still does not appear a process that clearly includes Kalk Bay. There does not yet appear to be any clear communication with the community from either DAFF or the NGO tasked with building awareness and capacity within communities on how implementation is to take place. The reasons for this range from historical political affiliations, to the NGO previously responsible for the geographical area no longer being in existence (NGO Activist, personal interview, 2014). This is in direct contradiction to the following recommendation from Stewart, et al. (2010, p.250) who state: “(In South African small-scale fishing) we have thus a juxtaposition of overexploitation of marine resources, poverty, and a lack of skills and community cohesion. In this context, it is imperative to accompany new policies with adequate support to communities and previously disadvantaged individuals so that they can acquire the skills needed to participate in the economy and deal with or respond to changes in management approach, including the allocation process”.

This lack of clear lines of communication with DAFF could also be responsible for the current opposing claims by the two different parties (the interim relief forum and the SMME led group) that they have been told by DAFF officials that they are the small-scale representatives. It appears each group has a relationship with a different official at DAFF who are giving conflicting information.

Historically in Kalk Bay, community quotas have been taken over by more powerful members of the community who are, in some cases, still benefiting from them. There is the danger, despite assertions from DAFF (Senior official, personal interview 2014) that this could happen again in Kalk Bay.

7.4.1.2. Size and content of the basket allocation

A key concern that was raised by members of the Kalk Bay community was what the content and size of the basket allocation for the Kalk Bay community is going to be. One of the key elements of the “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa” is that small-scale fishers who are relying on marine resources for their livelihoods should be given preferential access to the near shore (Masifundise Development Trust, PLAAS, *Too Big to Ignore*, 2014). It became evident in the interview with the senior official from DAFF that the allocation for the basket was very unlikely to be taken from the large-scale commercial sector, but would rather come from the current interim relief allocations, as well as the small-scale fishers that had managed to receive quotas. According to him, big industrial fishing quotas would remain untouched. The WCRL allocations would be ending in 2015 and government would redistribute them (Personal Interview, 2014). This was at odds with the information given by the fishing NGO activist, who stated that, “the allocation for the basket must come from big industry, it is inevitable” (Personal interview, 2014). This activist was talking in particular about the linefishing allocation, which, he believed, should all go into the small-scale basket as it is unviable for large business to be attempting to make a profit solely from it. He argued that if linefish was put into the baskets, it could be fished by fishers when available and to supplement other species, in the same way that they fished in the past. This would then include the commercial, recreational and current subsistence components of this fishery. The current value of these combined elements of the linefishery is more than R2.2 billion and would make a significant contribution to small-scale fishers (DAFF, 2012b).

The senior official at DAFF acknowledged that the department was aware that the allocation for small-scale fishers should be larger than it currently is for interim relief allocations. The reason given for this, though, was not so that each fisher/community could get more, but because it was estimated that the number of people that might benefit through the new small scale policy might be double

those that are currently benefiting from interim relief quotas (Senior DAFF Official, personal interview, 2014).

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discussion on the key findings of the field research in the fishing community of Kalk Bay in the Cape metro, Western Cape. The chapter highlighted the impact of recent fisheries policies on livelihoods and food security in the Kalk Bay fishing community. The policy of ITQ allocations was focused on, as this was highlighted by the community as being a particularly destructive policy that had a negative effect on both livelihoods and food security. The chapter then reviewed the new “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa” in light of the shortfalls with policies to date and highlighted that this policy intends to address and rectify the negative impact of past policies. In conclusion, this chapter reflected on some challenges with the new policy that the community has already identified, prior to its implementation.



CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the mini-thesis by highlighting the salient points of the paper and summarises how policies that have been introduced in the fisheries sector have not aligned with the international commitment to the right to food that the South African government has made. This right to food has to include a commitment to ensuring sustainable livelihoods. This chapter reviews how this paper has demonstrated that for the small-scale fishers of the Kalk Bay area this commitment has not been evident. The chapter then gives recommendations as to how issues that have been highlighted regarding challenges with the new small-scale policy can be addressed.

8.2. Concluding remarks and recommendations

The policies introduced by the South African government since 1994 have clearly failed small-scale fishers. This is not a new finding and has resulted in a class action by small-scale fishers to protect their livelihoods. This legal battle was won ten years ago, but little has changed for fishers since that time. As an “interim” measure, that was to last for a period of approximately one year until the new policy was drafted, unviable interim relief quotas were introduced. It has now been ten years of unliveable quotas and interim relief quotas for small-scale fishers that get drastically reduced on a yearly basis.

The fishing community of Kalk Bay still largely wants to pursue fishing as a livelihood and a means to food security. This is what many are skilled and experienced to do, but have been frustrated in this aim by not receiving access rights to what has been their source of livelihood and food security for generations. The new “Policy for the small-scale fisheries sector in South Africa” (DAFF, 2012a) has been instituted and now awaits implementation. This policy is human rights based in its approach and supports the right to food that the South African government subscribes to. A key concern with this policy is whether anything is going to significantly change for fishers in a community such as Kalk Bay or whether it is going to be another frustrating process that further disenfranchises and keeps them from accessing their desired livelihood.

Vital in viewing how this question will be answered will be how much access *bona fide* fishers will actually have to marine resources. The new policy moves away from single species allocation, which is hopeful as it has been highlighted by the community as problematic.

Although the new policy and those that support it highlight that actual fishing is a smaller part of the policy and the support services around fishing play an important role (such as fish cleaning and

marketing), these services can also only operate optimally if there are fish to clean and market. The recommendation is given that the total near-shore allocation of linefish be allocated to the small-scale community entities, together with other allocations such as all the interim relief and small commercial quotas. This will allow the small-scale fishers to fish across seasons and access whichever fish are available. This includes snoek, which has been highlighted as extremely valuable in the community for both food security and livelihoods. It is also recommended that small pelagic fish, such as sardines and anchovies, are part of the basket available for the community to fish. Fishers in Kalk Bay have been denied this excellent source of nutrition and food security and livelihoods. The small pelagic fish levels are optimal in South Africa (DAFF, 2012b) so they should be made available to small-scale fishing communities to increase the size of the baskets.

Another issue that needs to urgently be addressed is which entity is responsible for the awareness raising and capacity building within the Kalk Bay fishing community. DAFF has to designate departmental representatives for the area who inform the fishing community of necessary updates. The suggestion is that DAFF fisheries extension officers are appointed for Kalk Bay. These officers must service the Kalk Bay fishing community, including raising awareness and sharing information about the small-scale fisheries policy. If there is already a fisheries extension officer for Kalk Bay, who that person is needs to become clearer to the community. If the awareness building process is partly in the hands of another party, such as an NGO, then Kalk Bay has to be included and this also has to be made clear.

The lack of official communication with the Kalk Bay fishing community could also be a reason for the divisions persisting in the community, along with historical factors. An important factor is how communities such as Kalk Bay will organise themselves. Already two opposing factions threaten to divide the basket that will be allocated to Kalk Bay. History has demonstrated that previous community allocations have been problematic and largely taken over by an elite few who continue to benefit. Although DAFF promises that stringent systems are in place for monitoring and evaluation, the NGO that has been responsible for educating and monitoring small scale fishing community acknowledges that Kalk Bay has largely been omitted from the processes leading up to implementation and unless the above measures are put in place, issues could continue to negatively affect the livelihoods and food security.

If the basket allocation for Kalk Bay will be divided between more than one legal entity, it appears as if it could be a very challenging situation. As currently nobody knows what the basket will consist of,

and the department is saying it will only be the already unviable interim relief and small quotas that are going to be allocated, this could make the number accessible by fishers even fewer than it is now.

This leads to an overarching issue regarding the implementation of the small scale policy. The size and allocation into the basket is vital as to whether fishing communities and individuals within them will be able to access livelihoods through the sea. As the size of the basket is unclear and the department does not appear to be willing to remove allocations from big business, the question remains whether this policy is going to be different to the original MLRA where small fishers were disregarded in favour of industrial companies. It is unclear whether a collective community system will function against a broader framework where a powerful industry continues to operate within a quota allocation system.

Many have suggested that disproportionately large quotas were given to the industrial off-shore sector for political gain and due to the large financial resources they had. This resulted in small-scale fishers who have been most disenfranchised and a further loss of power, with some even turning to poaching as a result of not being legally allowed to continue their traditional livelihoods. The total estimated catch of poachers is also deducted from the TAC, which is already reduced by seventeen to twenty percent each year. This severely impacts on the already unviable quota allocations of small-scale fishers. Although a lot of work has gone into the shaping of this policy over a long period of time, it remains to be seen whether the end result is truly going to benefit *bona fide* fishers and support their livelihoods and assist towards their food security, despite the Constitution of South Africa guaranteeing this right.

8.3. Conclusion

This chapter has concluded this mini-thesis and highlighted the salient findings and issues concerning how fisheries policies have affected the fishing community of Kalk Bay in Cape Town, Western Cape. The chapter has shown that the new “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa” addresses many of the challenges facing small-scale fishing communities and aligns very clearly with the right to food and livelihoods. The challenge now lies in the implementation, which is yet to take place. Salient issues in the Kalk Bay community are already that no group (NGO or DAFF) seems to be working with the community regarding education about the policy, which is leading to misinformation and power struggles. Two different groups are claiming to be appointed by DAFF as the small-scale policy representatives and asserting that the basket will be in the hands of their community entity. Another issue of concern is that there is a complete lack of clarity regarding what the basket will contain and the size of the basket allocation.

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Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire

Section A: Personal Information:

A1. Age

A2. Gender

1. Male
2. Female

A3. Education level

1. Primary school
2. High school
3. No school

A4. Are you/anyone in your household in any way associated with Kalk Bay harbour?

1. Yes
2. No

A4a. If yes, what is the association?



.....

A4b. If no, have you or anyone in your family/household ever had an association with the harbour?

1. Yes
2. No

A4c. If yes, what was the association?

.....

A5 Are you currently employed?

1. Yes
2. No

A6a. If a person is employed, what kind of work does the person do?

1. Fishing. Specify _____
2. Domestic worker
3. Other skilled work
4. Factory worker in food sector
5. Factory worker in non-food sector
6. Public sector worker. Specify _____

7. Private sector worker. Specify _____
8. Self-employed. Specify _____

A7. What is your weekly income?

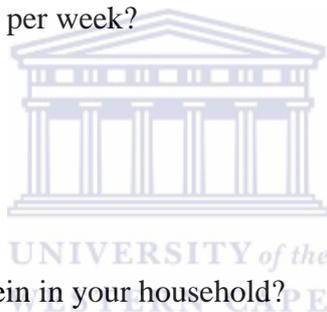
1. R100
2. R200
3. R500
4. R1000
5. Other

A8. Do you receive any form of government grant?

1. Pension
2. Child
3. Disability
4. Other

A9. How much do you spend on food per week?

1. R100
2. R200
3. R300
4. More than R300



A10. What is the main source of protein in your household?

1. Meat (beef, lamb, goat, other)
2. Chicken
3. Fish
4. Legumes and nuts

A11. What is cheapest form of protein in your household?

1. Meat
2. Fish
3. Chicken

Section B - Purchasing Practice:

B1. Where do you obtain your fish?

1. Partner
2. Fish shop
3. Fisherman
4. Buy from harbour
5. Other: where?

B2 What do you pay for the fish?

1. Nothing
2. R20
3. R30
4. R40
5. R50
6. R60

B3. How many do you buy at the time?

1. One
2. Two
3. More than two

B4. Have you purchased fish at any of the following places?

1. Pick 'n Pay
2. Shoprite
3. Woolworths
4. Fish shop. Name _____



B5. How often is fish part of your monthly shopping?

1. Once
2. Twice
3. Three times
4. More than four times per month

B6. What fish species do you eat?

1. Snoek
2. Yellow tail
3. Cape Bream (Hottentot)
4. Mullet (Harders)
5. Hake
6. 'Kreef' (Crayfish)
7. 'Perlemoen' (Abalone)
8. Mussels, limpets, periwinkels
9. Squid
10. Sardines
11. Pilchards
12. Other

Section C: Consumption Practices:

C1. How often do you eat fish?

1. More than once a week
2. Once a week
3. Once every two weeks
4. Once a month
5. Once every 6 months

C2. How many meals do you make of one fish?

1. One
2. Two
3. Three

C3. How do you prepare the fish?

1. Boil
2. Fry
3. Grill
4. Fish cakes
5. Breyani
6. Curry
7. 'Braai'
8. Pickled
9. Other



C4. On what occasion do you prefer to eat fish?

1. Mondays
2. Easter
3. Every week
4. Braai
5. Other

Section D Fishing Practices and Policies:

D1. Does anyone in your household actively fish?

1. Yes
2. No

D2. Does anyone have a fishing permit?

1. Yes
2. No

D2a. If yes, do they fish from Kalk Bay?

1. Yes
2. No

D2b. If not at Kalk Bay where do they fish? Why?

.....

D3. Do you know what a quota is?

1. Yes
2. No

D4. Does anyone in your household/family have a quota?

1. Yes
2. No

D4b. If yes, do they use it themselves?

1. Yes
2. No

D4c. If no, has anyone in your household wanted to get one and not been able to?

1. Yes
2. No

Please explain if necessary

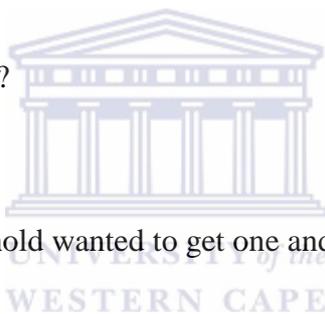
.....

D5. Do you know of the new small-scale fisheries policy?

1. Yes
2. No

D6. Do you know of any of the following fisher organisations in Kalk Bay?

1. Artisanal
2. Cooperative
3. Others (please mention them)



Appendix 2: Information Sheet for Study Participants

DATE: 30/04/2014

Study title: Fish in the life of Kalk Bay – Examining how fisheries policies are affecting the access to fish for the food security of the fishing community of Kalk Bay

Purpose of the study: The study aims to understand how recent fisheries policies have affected the food security and livelihoods of members of the Kalk Bay fishing community in Cape Town, South Africa

Contact details for researcher and supervisor:

Researcher:

Grace Nkomo

Email: gracenkomo149@gmail.com

Contact number: 082 956 4194

Supervisor:

Prof. Moenieba Isaacs

University of the Western Cape

Email: misaacs@plaas.org.za

Contact number 021 959 3721



Appendix 3: Consent form



Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa

Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865

Letter of consent for Individual interviews

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

I agree to take part in this research.

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

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

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

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

Date:.....

Participant Name:.....

Participant Signature:.....

Interviewer Name: Grace Nkomo.....

Interviewer Signature:.....

If you have any questions concerning this research, please call Grace Nkomo on 082 9564194 or my supervisor Prof. Moenieba Isaacs 021 959-3721.

Appendix 4: Table of Interviews

| Interview no. | Reference in mini-thesis | Description of informant | Date | Place |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Fisher A | Fishers rights activist and fisher | 8 August 2014 | Fairways, Cape Town |
| 2. | Fisher B | Young fifth generation boat owner and skipper. Grew up in Kalk Bay. Family owns a Small Medium Micro-Enterprise exporting WCRL and has a WCRL quota. Has initiated one of the groups claiming to be representatives of the “Policy for small-scale fisheries in South Africa” in Kalk Bay. | 18 August 2014 | Lakeside, Cape Town |
| 3. | Fishers C | A couple who live in the Kalk Bay “fisherman’s flats”. The husband has a WCRL quota and the wife is currently the coordinator of the Interim Relief Forum in Kalk Bay. | 31 October 2014 | Kalk Bay, Cape Town |
| 4. | Fisher D | The owner of four boats in the Kalk Bay harbour. He has a WCRL allocation and is one of the beneficiaries of the existing Kalk Bay community quota. | 2 November 2014 | Kalk Bay, Cape Town |
| 5. | Fisher E | A former boat owner and fisher. Currently works as a buyer for a fish company. Has been involved with Kalk Bay for seventy years. | 15 August 2014 | Kalk Bay, Cape Town |



| | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---|-------------------|----------------------|
| 6. | Fisher F | A retired fisher living in the “fisherman’s flats” who fished for many decades. | 23 October 2014 | Kalk Bay, Cape Town |
| 7. | Fisher G | A boat owner living in the “fisherman’s flats”. Currently has a WCRL allocation and was involved with the setting up of the Interim Relief Forum in Kalk Bay. | 23 October 2014 | Kalk Bay, Cape Town |
| 8. | Fisher H | A trek net fisher currently not able to fish due to not having a quota allocation. | 23 October 2014 | Kalk Bay, Cape Town |
| 9. | Fisher I | A fourth generation fisher. Lives in the “fisherman’s flats”. Owns a Small-Medium Micro-Enterprise exporting WCRL and has a WCRL allocation. | 27 August 2014 | Telephonic interview |
| 10. | Fisher J | Works has a fisher cleaner and seller at the Kalk Bay harbour. Has not received an allocation that she is aware of, as she is illiterate. | 14 September 2014 | Kalk Bay, Cape Town |
| 11. | Activist and Director of NGO | An activist in the small-scale fisheries sector and Director of an NGO working in this sector. He has been very involved in the legal action against the government and the drafting of the new small-scale policy, working with fisheries communities. | 26 November 2014 | Mowbray, Cape Town |
| 12. | Senior Official at DAFF | A senior official at the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, who works specifically with issues relating to the small-scale policy. | 28 October 2014 | Cape Town |