

Perceptions of History and Policy in the Cape Agulhas Area: could History influence Policy on Small-Scale Fishing?

By

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements to the MPhil (Coursework) degree in Land and Agrarian Studies at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis *Perceptions of History and Policy in the Cape Agulhas Area: could History influence Policy on Small-Scale Fishing?* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by complete references.

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Signed: _____



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ABSTRACT

The principle aim of this study was to gain insights into the perceptions of the people living in the Cape Agulhas Area of South Africa on the issues of small-scale fishing and the historical claims to fishing rights of the communities living in the fishing villages of Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans. A further aim was to identify the gap between knowledge and the implementation of fishing rights policies by analysing existing policies on small-scale fishing and thereby identifying possible lessons and guidelines for policy formulation. Key focus areas were the historical recollections of people, their knowledge of past, current and proposed fishing legislation and their opinions, recommendations and guidelines regarding new and proposed policies. A qualitative framework was used for this study, using key informants and the taking of life histories. The two fishing communities served as case studies and life histories were documented using semi-structured interviews. The study drew on previous research in historical practices and indigenous knowledge systems and special attention was given to scientific and archaeological research. The policy processes from 1994 to the present were described and themes were identified in the literature and the life histories. The study found that many of the methods used in earlier years is still used today, passed over from generation to generation. There is a concern that the indigenous knowledge is not being recognised by scientific research, that determines how fishing rights are allocated. Most fishers are dissatisfied with the policy making processes and recommended that their input and knowledge be acknowledged during policy formulation, especially towards a new small-scale fishing policy.

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OVERBERG MAP



This map indicates the Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans areas and the larger Overberg area of the Western Cape



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CHAPTER 1



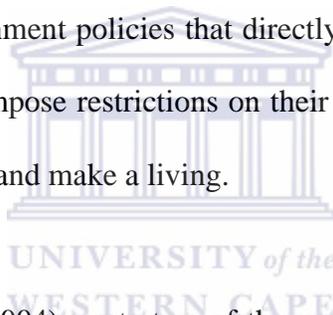
Fishing boats at Struisbaai Harbour

INTRODUCTION

For generations, the coastal communities of the Cape Agulhas region have made a living from the sea. Deacon & Deacon (1999) mention shell middens that are found along the South African coastline as evidence of the long-term exploitation of shell fish on the South African Coast that date back 10 000 – 12 000 years. They cite archaeologists who contend, from evidence found at Klasies River and Hoedjiespunt that these practices could date back to the last Interglacial period of about 120 000 years ago. Some of the Stone Age middens also contained evidence of various types of fish species. Deacon and Deacon (1999) mention fishing activity in the South Cape through tidal fish traps that they estimate to date back to pre-colonial times and no more than 2000 years ago. They mention third generation trap users that were interviewed for their study. Some of these trap users are still alive today and live in Arniston and Struisbaai. These fishermen used to live on the coast from Cape Infanta to Cape Agulhas, but due to historical circumstances, now occupy the two coastal towns of Struisbaai and Arniston. One can still find remnants of these traps on the Southern Coastline at Stilbaai, Skipskop and Arniston and Struisbaai.

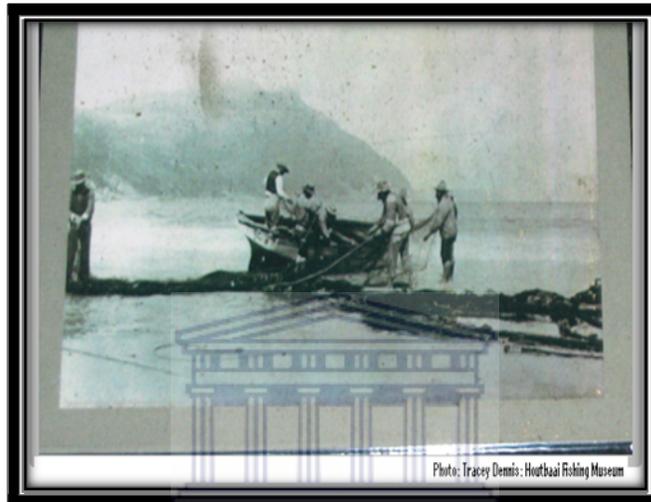
Small-scale fishing forms an essential part of the livelihoods of these coastal communities. The Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 provides policies that guide fishing in South Africa and has been subject to much controversy. It seems as if the type of fishing activity that is practised in these areas are not provided for in the Act, and this has left many of the fishermen without permits to deriving a living from fishing. Since the judgement by Judge Nathan Erasmus in 2007 there have been plans towards developing a new policy that provides for small-scale fishing.

These fishing communities form some of the poorest communities in South Africa. Small-scale fishing communities today face more and more difficulties, from changing weather patterns to changes in government and government policies that directly affect their livelihoods. They are subjected to new policies which impose restrictions on their fishing rights, and subsequently on their ability to generate an income and make a living.



Burrows (1988) and Eckermans (2004) wrote two of the very few books focussing on this area and both only seem to reflect the lifestyles of the white people of the area. There is very little research on the history of the area that does not still reflect the old Apartheid bias towards white people's history and this study attempts to change this bias. A pilot study carried out in 2008 which was based on the historical recollections of people who used to live in the Skipskop area (adjacent to Waenhuiskrans), identified the need for historical research and in particular the writing down of the oral histories of these communities. It found that while some information was recorded by researchers like Burrows and Eckermans, it only reflected a partial view of a certain component of the community. This research study is therefore a response to this 2008 pilot study. The purpose of this study was firstly to capture a part of the history of the Struisbaai

and Waenhuiskrans communities. Furthermore, it aimed to provide a critical analysis of policies that guide small-scale fishing and to investigate whether past practices could provide practical guidelines to policy formulation.



Old Hout Bay Fishermen using a purse net

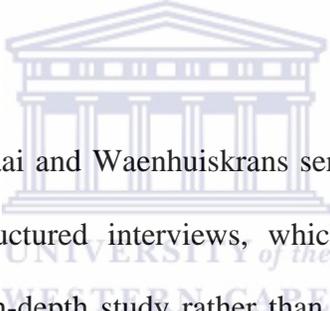
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this section is to focus on the methodological approach that was used for this research study. The thesis has two main sections, one focussing on desktop information and literature on policy related to small-scale fishing practices; while the other section uses the areas of Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans as case studies. The area was chosen because the primary means of income for the majority of the people in these two fishing villages is small-scale fishing. A qualitative framework was used for an in-depth study of the communities of Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans. For Terre Blanche and Durheim (2002), qualitative research allows researchers to conduct in-depth studies of issues and to reach greater and more detailed

understanding of the categories of information as they emerge from the data. Thus such studies allow researchers to focus on meaning and not to generalise.

This study aimed at uncovering the perceptions of the people living in the Cape Agulhas area particularly on the issues of small-scale fishing and the historical claims to fishing rights of the communities living in Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans. A further aim was to identify possible interventions for policy formulation of fishing rights policies by analysing policies on small-scale fishing and thus identifying possible lessons for, and guidelines on, policy formulation.

Case Studies



Two fishing communities, Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans served as case studies. Life histories were documented using semi-structured interviews, which is in line with the qualitative approach, where the focus is on in-depth study rather than quantity. The life histories of the households of 20 fishermen from the Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans area were documented. At least half of them were older fishermen that could recall earlier lifestyles. Others were younger and provided a broader view of how the communities experienced these policies as well as providing collective perceptions on how the younger generation considered their history. The histories focused on traditional fishing practices, the conditions under which these were practiced, how these practices evolved and whether it could still be relevant today. The household histories were documented with attention given to the division of labour, other land-based livelihood activities, literacy levels, trade and recording of information, as well as how activities were managed. Knowledge of current and planned policies was investigated.

Struisbaai

Twelve households in Struisbaai were interviewed for the study, of which four were women the oldest respondent was Andrew Jantjies, 82 years old, and the youngest, Stuart du Plessis, 31 years old, they live in the same house. The interviews took place between 27 May 2009 and 5 June 2009.

Waenhuiskrans

Seven households in Waenhuiskrans were interviewed and one in Bredasdorp. The couple in Bredasdorp both grew up in Waenhuiskrans and lived there for a number of years. Eight respondents were women. The oldest respondent was Dorie Felix, 86 years old, and the youngest Hein Felix, 40 years, her grandson. The Waenhuiskrans interviews took place between 27 May 2009 and 4 June 2009.

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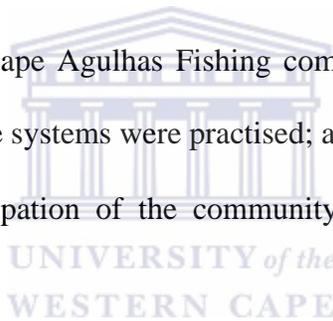
Research Objectives and Key Questions

This study aimed at obtaining the perceptions of the people living in the Cape Agulhas area with particular attention to small-scale fishing and the historical claim to fishing rights in the communities living in Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans. A further aim was to identify the gap between knowledge and the formulation of fishing rights policies by analysing policies on small-scale fishing and thus identifying possible interventions for policy formulation. Key questions guiding my research were:

- What recollections do people have, particularly on either formal or informal allocations of access to fishing grounds as well as on practices and knowledge systems?
- To what extent do people know about the small-scale policy and how were they involved in the process?
- To what extent have the historical and traditional practices of the Cape Agulhas communities informed the draft small-scale policy?

Central themes were identified in the literature and the life histories, which formed the basis for the analysis of this study. The analysis had two central themes:

- The oral histories of the Cape Agulhas Fishing communities, which gave insights into what indigenous knowledge systems were practised; and
- The awareness and participation of the community in the draft small-scale fisheries policy process.



Participants in the study

The two fishing communities that serve as case studies were chosen because they are in close proximity to each other, share similar experiences and in both communities the primary source of income is small-scale fishing activities. Life histories of families and individuals were documented using semi-structured interviews. The life histories of 20 fisher households from the Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans communities were documented. From these households, 37 individuals were interviewed of whom 14 were younger than sixty while the rest were older, mainly retired fisherfolk who could recall earlier lifestyles. However, some of these individuals

were still involved in fishing. Twelve of the individuals interviewed were women. The younger fishermen had broader views of how the communities experienced fishing policies and their perceptions of their history were also recorded. The life histories focused on traditional fishing practices, the conditions in which these were practised, how these practices evolved and whether it could still be relevant today. The household histories were documented with attention given to the division of labour, the role of women, other land-based livelihood activities, literacy levels, trade and recording of information, as well as how activities were managed. Knowledge of current and planned policies was also investigated.

The literature review covered the following areas: academic literature on historical practices and indigenous knowledge systems, with specific attention to scientific and archaeological research and how these related to the oral histories of my research population; a review of small-scale fishing policies contextualized against the background of the above-mentioned histories. The policy processes from 1994 to the present were described and relevant international literature was also reviewed and a review of international case studies that could have relevance to the research e.g. case studies done in Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

Local sources like the Bredasdorp Public Library, the Bredasdorp Lighthouse Museum and the Cape Agulhas Lighthouse Museum were consulted to gain background information on the area of research. The Hout Bay Fishing Museum and the Cape Town Museum were visited as well.

Methods of data collection

Huysamen (1993) mentions several methods of data collection that are useful when doing Social Science research. Some of these methods were used in this research study and are discussed in the following section, as well as the procedure that was followed.

Field interviews

Most of the information collected was by means of semi-structured interviews. The interviews were recorded and remain in the possession of the researcher. This method contributes to the reliability and validity of the information gathered. The information gained from the interviews was compared to verify claims made by different respondents. The interviews were structured in accordance with the key themes and concepts. The participants were all visited at their homes, except for one key informant, who was visited at his office at The Masifundise Development Trust in Cape Town. With the exception of the interview with the informant from the Masifundise Project, all the interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, since this was the home language of all the other informants.

People were comfortable in sharing their stories and were not intimidated by the recording of the interviews. This was possibly because they hardly noticed the tiny recording device. Another reason people were comfortable during the interviews is that most of the people knew me personally, since I grew up and still live in the area. People were eager to share their stories. They welcomed the fact that research was being done and that they were being consulted in the process.

Narrative Records

The recordings of the interviews remained in my possession and were used to verify the information shared by the participants. Field notes were also taken in order to add structure to the thematic analysis.

Procedures

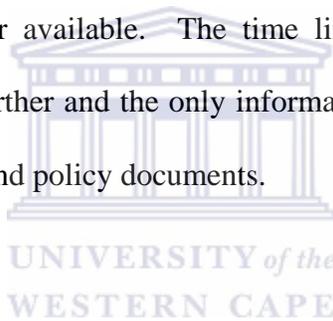
As a resident of Struisbaai who has lived in the Cape Agulhas area for most of my life, it was not difficult for me to find participants for this study. After approaching one or two people in Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans, a chain reaction started and one person just recommended the next person I could speak to. People were willing to participate and sometimes grateful that someone actually took the time to listen to their stories and concerns. I approached people and made appointments for interviews, sometimes individually and sometimes in groups. Most of the interviews were conducted in people's homes and in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted. An interview guide identified the areas and topics needed to be covered during the interviews. The interviews started with introductions to the study and the sharing of biographical information, which set the pace and flow for the rest of the interview. The participants were informed that the interviews would be recorded once they signed the necessary consent forms.

Key Informants

Local experts like Dr Con Kruger , curator of the Cape Agulhas Lighthouse , Jeanette Grobbelaar from the Bredasdorp Museum and Naseegh Jaffer from the *Masifundise* (meaning 'we teach other' in Xhosa) Development Project in the fishing community were used as key informants to investigate the influence of policy and history on these communities. Central

themes and concepts were identified in the literature and the life histories, and these formed the basis for the analysis of the findings of this study.

The types of key informants needed for the study were guided by the literature and individuals were identified by community members. Appointments were also made and the same interviewing process with different interview guides, (depending on the informant), were followed. The key informants included a local historian and museum curator, a retired anthropologist who had been living in the area for years and an informant from the Masifundise Development Trust, an organisation working with fishing communities. Officials from MCM were contacted for an interview, and I even visited their offices in an attempt to make an appointment, but they were never available. The time limitations to this research made it impossible to pursue the matter further and the only information available from the Department was thus taken from publications and policy documents.

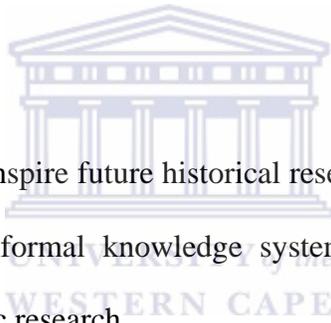


Ethics

After the participants were informed about the goal and purpose of the research, they provided informed consent (Neuman, 2000). Consent forms were signed by both the individual participants and the researcher and the participants were informed that they could withdraw at any time. Due to the controversy that sometimes accompanies the allocation of fishing rights, participants were given the option to remain anonymous and were reassured that the information obtained would not reveal their identities. However, none of the participants indicated that they wanted to remain anonymous.

The introductory chapter to this thesis includes the key rationale and objectives of the research, the methodological approach used during the research process, as well as the key themes in the

conceptual framework. The second chapter provides an overview of the limited previous research in this field, as well as a review of the existing and proposed fishing policies in South Africa. Chapter Three concentrates on the historical background to the study and discusses the results of the oral accounts of the respondents with regards to their recollections on fishing methods and indigenous knowledge. Chapter Four provides both an assessment of the current MLRA policy and the formulation of a new small-scale fishing policy. In this chapter, some of the limitations of current policy are identified together with new policy formulation, as proposed by the respondents. Chapter Five concludes the thesis with a discussion on the central themes, recommendations on policy formulation and the influence of history on traditional practices as suggested by this research.



It is hoped that this research may inspire future historical research in this area, and that the study will provide confirmation that informal knowledge systems in communities could make a significant contribution to academic research.

CHAPTER 2



The Cape Agulhas Lighthouse

LITERATURE REVIEW

As previously mentioned, very little historical research is available on the history of the people of the Overberg, and even less on the history of the Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans communities. The Bredasdorp Shipwreck and Agulhas Lighthouse Museum host a variety of artefacts and information on colonial history in this area, as well as detailed accounts of shipwrecks that occurred on this coastline. They do not however have any information on the development of the fishing communities or the history of non-white people in this area. I was referred to the Hout Bay Fishing Museum, where some interesting photographs of early fishing methods could be found. The Bredasdorp library had some tourist books on the area as well as the Eckermans (2004) and Burrows (1988) books, which, as already mentioned, are two of the limited number of books written on the history of the people of the area. Dr Con Kruger in Struisbaai has an Africana museum at his house and he had some interesting information on the development of fishing policy in South Africa during the colonial period, as well as some information about early fishing communities and methods. Information on current policy and the development of policy, as well as other relevant articles and journals, were found through internet searches, the

University Library electronic journal section and the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at UWC.

This chapter presents the available literature relevant to this research study and focuses on contextualising small-scale fishing within broader parameters, considers policy issues around small-scale fishing at international and national level, indigenous knowledge systems, archaeological studies and historical literature.

Global overview

Bene (2004) discusses the importance of small-scale fishing at a micro-economic level and its particular impact on livelihoods that are primarily dependant on it as a source of income. He goes on to argue that very little has been done to allow small-scale fishing institutions to play or have a positive impact on rural communities by strengthening or empowering rural communities and promoting gender equity. Cochrane (2004), cited in Bene (2004), states "... conservation of the world's oceans can only be achieved if larger problems of poverty, hunger and underdevelopment are adequately addressed". Bene argues that a key policy issue would be to identify economic and socio-institutional conditions to promote poverty reduction, instead of poverty prevention.

Capricho (1997) describes the changes in the fishing policies in the Philippines which started in 1975. These changes were characterized by a continuous process of people's participation in policy issues. Capricho mentions the Republic Act 7160 of 1991, which recognises the role of people's organisations and NGO's participation in the development process by having membership in development councils and local government units. He also mentions the

introduction of the Social Reform Agenda (SRA), which gives momentum to the government's development goals and the institutionalisation of local fishing communities and other resource users in community based planning and policy implementation through Executive Order 240. Capricho further argues that these policy directives give fishing communities broader parameters for participation in social reform.

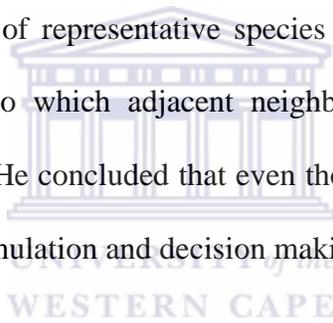
Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Domfeh (2007) defines Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) as intricate systems of community knowledge acquired over generations as they interact with the environment, which include technological, economic, philosophical, learning and governance systems. He argues that the recognition of these systems is crucial for the economic and cultural empowerment of indigenous people. He further contends that fishermen have vast Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and stresses the importance of merging TEK and modern science. He observes that the incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge Systems in government policies is lacking across the world and that including it in policy formulation can assist in creating sustainable rural livelihoods. He further notes that the South African IKS policy of 2004 can serve as a useful example of an institutional framework.

Ndambi carried out a study in 2006 in Akonolinga, Cameroon, where 75% of the research population participate in fishing practices (Ndambi *et al.*, European IFSA Symposium, 2008). This study stressed the importance of using indigenous knowledge in finding sustainable ways of managing natural resources. Ndambi and his fellow researchers found that local practices are primarily conditioned by economic and cultural factors and argued that in order to design sustainable management systems, it is important to boost the local economy, since the local

population are the prime users of the ecosystem and give more attention to culture and tradition. Scoones (1998) also contends that sustainable livelihood analysis does not pay enough attention to locally based indigenous knowledge.

A paper written by Garcia-Quijano, published in *Indigenous People's Issues Today* (2007), records how he used Local Ecological Knowledge (LEK) to inform scientific research. Garcia-Quijano used ethnographic methods to get data from small-scale fishermen in Puerto Rico, and used their knowledge and experience of tropical coastal species and habitat to gain fresh knowledge on “appropriate indicator species for fish for understanding the health of the coral reef ecosystem, the identification of representative species assemblages for different types of underwater habitats, the degree to which adjacent neighbourhoods share fish and shellfish species and habitat connectivity.” He concluded that even though LEK may not seem empirical, it can be used to inform policy formulation and decision making.



South African fishing policies

Most research done on the impact of fishing policy on communities was done on the Cape South and West Coast region. The area in between, Cape Agulhas, which only has small scale fishing activity, has not been subject to much research as yet. Isaacs (2005) describes in detail the development of post '94 policy reforms and the process of developing a more enabling environment for small-scale fishermen. She explains four phases of policy development starting with the Quota Board in 1994-1998, the Marine Living Resources Act (MLRA) from 1998-2000, the MLRA with subsistence permits from 2000-2001 and the medium term rights allocation from 2002-2006. She identifies key challenges to small-scale fishing communities like a lack of

organisation, access to credit, skills and access to information. She argues that the MLRA does not succeed in providing for the needs and livelihoods of small-scale fishing communities. Van Sittert (2002) ascribed the problems in fisheries reform to too much emphasis on racial reforms, instead of addressing class differences. He compares the current reform processes as similar to the Apartheid reforms in 1940 – 1946 and noted that the inequalities in fisheries are because of capitalism, but was exaggerated by institutionalised racism during the Apartheid era.

Joubert *et al.* (2008) discuss the allocations of fishing rights to previously disadvantaged individuals after 1994. They mention that fishing communities are often places of poverty and that many expected their conditions to change and their rights to be formalised after 1994. In most cases this did not happen and together with the decline in natural resources, over-fishing, and environmental factors, led to poaching and worsening relations between the fishing communities and the Marine and Coastal Management (MCM). According to Joubert *et al.* (ibid.) fishermen were then defined according to three categories - full commercial, limited commercial and subsistence. In the light of the South African macro-economic context, the focus was put on participation in the mainstream economy.

Sunde and Pedersen (2007) reveal the limitations of defining fishermen in small-scale commercial and subsistence fishing policies in South Africa. They refer to the High Court Order by Judge Nathan Erasmus in 2007, which stated that a new policy and legislative process should be prepared that would include all traditional fishermen in South Africa. Many fishermen were excluded in the definitions of the existing policy at the time. Sunde and Pedersen (ibid.) argue that the use of the term “small-scale” fishermen is more inclusive and focused on traditional

social relations and livelihoods. They recommend that in the development of a new policy the term “small-scale” fisheries be adopted, since it is broad enough to include fishermen across the continuum. It also provides for various and overlapping livelihood strategies and does not marginalise and limit fishermen in terms of their rights to their livelihoods.

Isaacs and Hara (2007) give an overview of the development of fishing policies within a transforming South Africa. According to them, the development of the GEAR policy placed an emphasis on the development of entrepreneurs and had a strong focus on creating new businesses. They mention that transformation in the fishing industry was developed in such a manner that it should not have an adverse affect on the industry. They argue that the development of a fishing policy should not only focus on economic growth, but should have parallel social and economic reforms. A strong emphasis should be put on government support and interventions and broader participation of previously disadvantaged groups and individuals should be encouraged.

Pedersen *et al.* (2008) stress the importance of considering fishermen’ knowledge of their livelihood when developing policy inputs for the new small-scale fisheries policy. They reveal that traditional fishermen in the Western Cape had identified shortcomings in scientific surveys, which resulted in the wrong conclusions about stock sizes and the migration of species in certain regions.

Pedersen and Sunde (2007) contend that the development and management of a new small-scale fishing policy should be based on a participatory approach. This approach, according to them, is

important in building compliance, the empowerment of women, contributing to poverty alleviation, is cost effectiveness and contributes to the building of a democratic nation. They argue that fishermen should participate in all aspects of policy development and resource management. Key focus areas in achieving this goal would be to improve levels of organisation and management capacity and for the MCM to build their internal institutional capacity.

History of fishing in South Africa, South Cape, Overberg and Cape Agulhas

Thompson and Wardlaw (1913) provide interesting insights into fisheries during the colonial period. They firstly provide a historical digest, which shows that in 610BC, the Phoenicians, sent out by the Egyptian King Necôs, were the first people to circumnavigate the African continent. After them came an Indian junk that sailed around Cape Diab, now known as Cape Point, in 1420. This was followed by the Portuguese - Diaz in 1487 and Da Gama in 1498. The Dutch under Van Riebeeck arrived in 1652. Thompson and Wardlaw contend that fishing can be seen as the first industry of the Cape. As early as 9 April 1652 (three days after Van Riebeeck's arrival), the Commander's first *Placaat* or Edict contained a provision stating: "...no fishing, therefore, and no thawing of nets shall be allowed except by consent of the Commander after having consulted with the Council".

Thompson and Wardlaw present interesting insights into Van Riebeeck's journals, which gave accounts of how the fishing industry developed in the Cape and what methods were used. They also reveal how Van Riebeeck's journals recorded the fishing methods of the indigenous community of Table Bay described as the "*Strandloopers*", and how legislation regarding the

industry developed. The next few paragraphs will describe Thompson and Wardlaw's account of Van Riebeeck's journals and what it described.

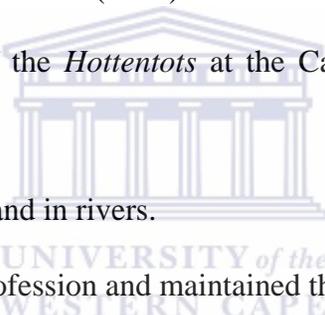
The journals in the beginning of 1653 indicated that besides fish, penguins and duikers were salted and eaten as well. The first indications of fishing as an industry was in 1655 when dried and salted harders were found to be nutritious and were used on ships as provisions for sailors. In 1657 "*freemen*" were allowed to fish with hooks, but not to sell their catches, since that would distract them from agriculture. This however did not prevent them from drying and selling fish to passing ships, but in May 1658, this practice was prohibited. They could only sell their surplus fish to the Dutch East Indian Company. In 1708 the demand for fish had escalated so much that slaves were allowed to fish on Sundays and to sell their catches. By 1722 restraints were introduced to Table Bay fishermen because of the salvaging of shipwrecks. Fishermen could get the death penalty for salvaging wrecks and by the end of Dutch rule, the industry was practically non-existent.

With the start of British rule, the export of dried and salted fish shrank, and freed Malay slaves caught great quantities of fish and sold it for low prices to slaves within an 80km radius of Table Bay. By 1795 all restrictions to fishing were lifted by proclamation and by 1830 the statistical register indicated 40 boats and 200 men exclusively engaged in fishing and 2 boats and 12 men in whaling. Act 29 Of 1890 prohibited the use of the "purse net" which was first used by an American schooner *Alice*. The use of these nets captured many of the smaller and immature fish, which drove away the bigger fish and had grave implications for the fishing industry. By 1893 the Fish Protection Act No. 15 was adopted. The Act provided for the proclamation of closed

seasons, size of catches, the protection of sea birds and seals and the prohibition of the purse net. Prior to the proclamation of the Act, its prohibitions were first tested in the Cape Agulhas area. Recorded commercial fishing on the Agulhas Bank dates back to 1842 with 18 10-15 ton vessels from Cape Town.

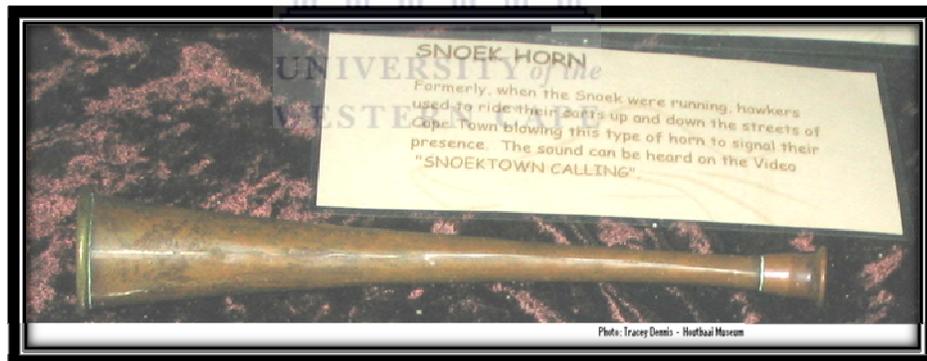
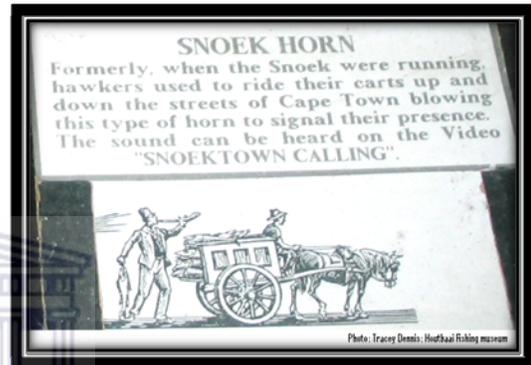
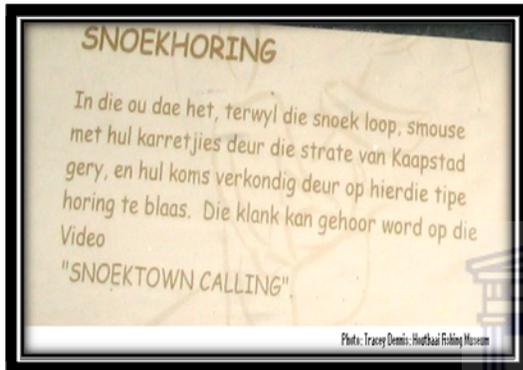
Pre-colonial fishing practices

Thompson and Wardlaw (1913) describe how Van Riebeeck's journals refer to the *Strandloopers* who were experts at using hand-lines and spear-fishing. Van Riebeeck also mentions a "troop of *Caapmans*" that brought 10 oxen laden with "*steenbrassemes*" killed with assegais in False Bay and exchanged it for tobacco. Peter Kolbe (1705) cited in Thompson and Wardlaw (1913), made a study of the fishing practices of the *Hottentots* at the Cape. Kolbe came to the following conclusions:

- 
- They fished both in the sea and in rivers.
 - Many were fishermen by profession and maintained their families in that manner.
 - Fish were caught by angle, net, spear or pointed rod, and by groping or tickling.
 - They were expert anglers and knew the best bait for most fish.
 - The hooks were crooked bits of their own iron, but they later used the European hooks.
 - They were more dexterous at casting and drawing nets than Europeans.
 - The spear or rod was only used in rivers and creeks.
 - They were experts at groping or tickling which was done in brooks on top of rocks in the sea, near the shore. When the tide receded, several types of smaller fish remained behind in holes and natural basins. This was where rockfish was taken. The fish without scales were not eaten by the *Hottentots*, but sold to the Europeans who liked it. Quick markets were always found for the fish and these were never brought to the Cape.

- Lines of guts or the sinews of animals were often laid in the sea with European hooks and mussels for bait. If fish were spotted, they would whistle to the fish to lure them to the bait. If the noise of the sea was too loud, they would roar and shout and this brought many fish to the bait.

The Malay Fishermen



The Snoek Horn was used by hawkers to signal their arrival. It was first used in the Cape Colony by Malay Fishermen.

Thompson and Wardlaw (1913) write that although fishing was practised by some Dutch settlers, many Chinese, Mozambican and Malay slaves that earned their freedom took to fishing to earn a living. They note that the Malays, who looked down with contempt on the *Hottentots*, were expert fishermen that used 18 – 20 ft bamboo rods of “*Vaderlandshe*” bamboo and fished as a

means of livelihood as well as a pastime. They fished on the coast from Sea Point to Kommetjie and were at the head of the inshore fishing operations. They had the monopoly on the catching and selling of fish until 1873-1883, as did the Malays in Algoa Bay. By 1910 the industry was dominated by various groups. In the Bredasdorp, George, Riversdale and Knysna areas, mostly *Coloured* men were involved in fishing. Hermanus and East London had mostly white fishermen, while Somerset West and Strand had mostly Malay fishermen.

Archaeological evidence

Wong (2005) uses an archaeological timeline to show that fishing in Africa was practised as far as 140 000 years ago. She mentions important archaeological findings made by Henshilwood, a Norwegian archaeologist, at the Blombos cave in Stilbaai. These findings consisted of the bones of various species of deep sea fish, the oldest possibly more than 30 000 years old. This showed that the ancient Blombos people had equipment to harvest sea creatures of about 80 pounds.



The caves at De Kelders in Gansbaai, as explained by the Gansbaai Tourism Bureau (2008) has archaeological evidence of modern humans staying there as far back as 80 000 years ago. The Klipgat and Bijnekrans caves in Gansbaai have evidence of a “thriving” Khoikhoi community about 2 000 years ago. The Cape Agulhas area lies between the Stilbaai and Gansbaai areas.

Parkington (2006) has done archaeological research along the coastline of South Africa. His book *Shorelines, Strandlopers and Shell Middens* provides a detailed account of research on shell middens. He mentions that South Africa has the longest, best preserved and most interesting records of shell middens in the world. His research on caves and shell middens stretched from Cape Deseada on the West Coast to Cape St Francis on the East Coast. He

provides evidence of human activity and the consumption of shell fish and other animals dating back to 40 000 years ago, but he does not mention any fishing activity, besides the existence of the fish traps that are found along the coast. He notes that the age and development of these traps are difficult to determine and is subject to further research. Some of these traps, especially in the Still Bay area, were still very well maintained. Some of the older fishermen in the Cape Agulhas area remember how these traps were built and maintained (Pilot Study, 2008).

Deacon and Deacon (1999) could not find any evidence that fishing was practised on the South African coastline during the Middle Stone Age. They believe that the reason for this might have been the lack of the necessary technology. They trace the use of fishing lines, sinkers crafted from stone and hooks made from the thorns of trees back to the Late Stone Age. They also mention the use of fish traps on the Southern Cape coast and estimate that these originated in pre-colonial times. By studying the contents of the shell middens in the close vicinity of the traps, it could even be dated back to about two thousand years ago.

The purpose of this chapter was to give the reader an overview of previous research and literature guiding this research study. Very little research is available on the history of the people in the Cape Agulhas area and it is hoped that through continuous research, this situation may be reversed. The chapter also gave an overview of the current debates and critiques of the policy guiding fishing and South Africa. Some of the literature surrounding the major themes guiding this research was explored, as well as some archaeological information on the area. The following chapter focuses on the historical component of the study.

CHAPTER 3



An old Anglican Church in Struisbaai that was dispossessed during the Apartheid years

HISTORICAL SECTION

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historical Background

“Ou Michiel van Breda van Zoetendalsvallei, toe hy begin het met die merino boerdery hier by Zoetendalsvallei. Die mense van Parke wil dit in my mond lê om te sê, dat hy het van die Khoi gebruik as skaapwagters. Hy sou dit nooit gedoen het nie. Ek het dit opgelet uit sy dagboek uit, die name, hy’t van sy slawe uit die Kaap uit gebring en hulle in beheer van sy troppe gesit”

(Old Michiel van Breda from Zoetendalsvallei, when he started the merino farming here. People from Parks want to lay it in my mouth that he used Khoi people as shepherds. He never would have done that. I noticed by the names in his diaries that he brought his slaves from Cape Town and put them in charge of his flocks). (Jeanette Grobbelaar, Struisbaai 2009).

The first written records of settlement in the Cape Agulhas area were produced during the Colonial period. Jeanette Grobbelaar (interview, 2009) explained to me that the whole area from Brandfontein to Infanta, which includes Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans, was part of the farm

Zoetendalsvlei, owned by Michiel van Breda, the first Mayor of Cape Town from 1814 to 1844. He was a merino sheep farmer and his workers were deployed all along the coastline to shepherd the flocks. Grobbelaar argued that when the merino farming business had just started, van Breda used his experienced labourers to shepherd these sheep, since it was costly to import them and he would not trust indigenous locals, if there were any, to look after his flocks. These workers came from the Cape and while they were working as shepherds, they started to do fishing as a leisure activity, later settling in the areas of Struisbaai, Waenhuiskrans, Skipskop and Ryspunt.

Another factor that contributed to settlement around the Cape Agulhas coastline was the influence of currents. The area has the highest concentration of shipwrecks not close to a harbour area. Many of the castaways later settled in the area and many of the old families in the area are the offspring of these castaways. The currents also play a great role when it comes to fishing. The area, since it is at the southernmost point of Africa, has the warm Mozambique current (also known as the warm Agulhas Current), on the East and the cold Benguela current on the West. The Shipwreck Museum in Bredasdorp and the Cape Agulhas Lighthouse Museum has records of most shipwrecks in the area. This chapter will focus on the history of the people on the Cape Agulhas coastline, as described in the oral histories of the participants, as well as the historical information that was made available by the key informants, which is discussed in the following section.

Recollections

“Anyway, mense was vry. Vrye waters, hulle het nie belasting betaal niks nie. Hout vry, klippe vry, hulle het net gebou.”

(Anyway, people were free; free waters, no taxes. Wood free, stones free, they just built). (Pieter Lourens, Bredasdorp 2009).

Origins of the community

One third of home owners in the Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans areas are pensioners and a municipal social support effort indicated approximately 317 fishers in 2008. According to the Cape Agulhas Municipality’s draft socio-economic survey (2009), 55.3% of home owners have a monthly average income of between R100 and R2 500. The majority of the people in the area have their livelihoods in some way or other connected to what the sea can provide. Respondents talked about the struggles of the community to create a decent living that many young people now resort to the poaching of abalone as a means of income.

The participants in this study were born and bred in the area, and most of the older participants were older than 70 years, the oldest being 86 at the time of the interview. They were all born either in Waenhuiskrans, Struisbaai, Skipskop or on surrounding farms. All of them had some connection with seasonal farming activities in earlier years and all of them had parents, spouses and other relatives who were fishermen, or used to be fishermen themselves. All of them had experiences of forced removals through Apartheid legislation, especially those who used to live

at Skipskop, where the whole community was affected by relocation and forced removals during the 1970's and early 1980's.



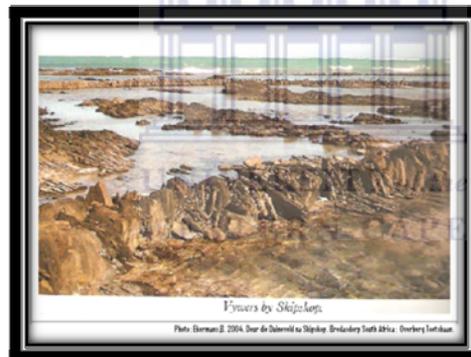
Skipskop fishing boat

Forced Removals at Skipskop

Several of the fishermen interviewed during this research originated from Skipskop. They recalled that their parents and older relatives were connected to fishing and or farm work in that area. The community of Skipskop fell victim to forced relocation after the area was allocated to the then Armscor (now DENEL), for a weapons testing site in 1983. The primary source of income in this community was fishing and some moved out before the official announcement was made, since many of the white boat owners have already moved away and there were fewer income opportunities. When the official announcement was made, most fisher families from Skipskop were relocated to Struisbaai and a few live in Waenhuiskrans.

Ex Skipskop residents remember the hardship and feelings of isolation and desolation that came with being relocated. They all still talk about how abundant the fish were there and how they had access to other marine resources like oysters, alikreukel and abalone a plenty. The land now

still belongs to DENEL and the coastline surrounding Skipskop was declared a marine protected area and what used to be traditional fishing areas, is now forbidden to the fishing community. Fish trapping was practiced in Skipskop and many fishermen had their own traps. Many of the relocated fishermen remember how their parents and grandparents built and maintained these traps. The people who used to live there still had a longing for Skipskop, and thought back to those days with nostalgia and the sadness of having to move. Those who moved to Struisbaai recalled feeling isolated from their new community and for years they were still considered as outsiders by the rest of the Struisbaai community. That had however changed and they were now fully integrated into the community. They feel that poverty and common struggles has drawn them closer.



Fish Traps at Skipskop

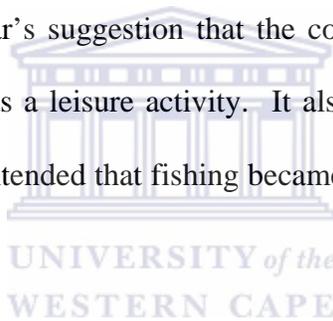
Struisbaai

Toe ek maar my verstand kry, was Struisbaai se mense daar” (Alec Ahrendse, Struisbaai 2009).

(The people of Struisbaai have been there ever since I can remember).

Struisbaai is known for the longest, 14km, uninterrupted white sand beach in the Southern Hemisphere. It is situated approximately 10 km away from the southernmost tip of Africa and has a population of about 2 052 people, 1 588 households.

The elders of Struisbaai could not really recall where the fishing community came from. They just remembered always being there and some recalled that their parents were either farm workers from surrounding areas like Elim, or fishermen. Elim is a Moravian Mission station, about 30 km. from Struisbaai, where many freed slaves settled in the 1800's. The main farm Zoetendalsvlei, which belonged to Van Breda, is approximately 10-15 km. from Struisbaai. This seems to correlate with Grobbelaar's suggestion that the community started from farmers and farm workers that started to fish as a leisure activity. It also corresponds with Thompson and Wardlaw's (1913) study which contended that fishing became a way of earning a living for freed slaves in the Cape Colony.



The elders also mentioned that some of them had European roots. The families Hammer, Thompson, Gabriels, Stanley, Farao and Arends were some of the first fisher families to live in Struisbaai. Oom Andrew (80) said that his great grandfather was a German from a shipwreck and that his grandmother was from Elim. He mentioned that the surname Hammer came about because their ancestor originated from Hamburg. When asked about the African side of their ancestry, they did not know. None denied their African side - they simply could not recall this unrecorded part of their history. When probed about the presence of Khoi or San people, most of them denied ever hearing stories from their ancestors about indigenous people on the coastline. Oom Andrew however mentioned seeing indigenous pottery and bones, but that the site had been

covered by the sand of the dunes as time went by. There was also a rumour of Khoisan graves in Struisbaai, but no other mention of this was made by other respondents.

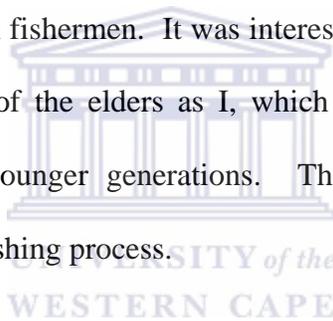
Waenhuiskrans

Waenhuiskrans is also known as Arniston or Kassiesbaai. Waenhuiskrans has a population of 1373 people, 458 household and people in the community say that the village has been listed as one of Time magazine's top ten best hideaways. The name Arniston comes from that of the ship that ran aground and sank here on 30 May 1815. Kassiesbaai is the name of the area where the traditional fishermen's cottages are and is so named because according to popular tradition, the first houses here were built from wooden boxes (*kassies*) that were washed ashore from shipwrecks. The first written reference to the name Wagenhuiskranz and is in the Van Breda diaries at Zoetendalsvlei on 24 September 1860 (Spamer, 1993). The diaries mention that a farm house was rented in Wagenhuiskranz to catch fish. The name refers to the cave that is as big as a wagon house (*waenhuis*) used to be. For the purpose of this study, the name Waenhuiskrans has been used, simply because this is the name I was told was the "proper" name as I was growing up (even though the name Arniston was used as often). These different names confirm Grobbelaar's views on the farming and shipwreck origins of these coastal communities.

Spamer's (1993) notes mention a Van Breda diary entry of 23 February 1868 where shells were bought from James Murtz from Wagenhuiskranz. During the interviews, the Waenhuiskrans participants mentioned that the Murtz, Newman and Dyers families were some of the first families that lived there. Samuel Marthinus mentioned that his family were darker in

complexion and that they were probably of Mozambican (“*Masbiekers*”) descent. They were frowned upon by the other families who were more fair-skinned and of European descent. There were a few people in the community who attached great value to their Khoi ancestry like Piet Swart, but the majority of people interviewed denied that any Khoi had lived in the area. Most of the elders interviewed shrugged off Piet’s stories as nonsense and they questioned his knowledge of the past, since he was much younger than them. Many, on the other hand, knew where the European side of their families came from.

Today, most of these families still stay in Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans and many of the sons became third and fourth generation fishermen. It was interesting to note that the younger people were as interested in the stories of the elders as I, which simply stresses the importance of recording this oral history for younger generations. The next section will focus on my respondents’ recollections of the fishing process.



First fishing

“Ek word nou 79 en ek is nog van die enigste ou mense wat met die roeibote kon see toe gaan”.

(I’m turning 79 and am one of the only old people that could still go to sea with the rowing boats). (Sameul Marthinus, Waenhuiskrans, 2009).



First Fishing boats at Hout Bay

One thing that stood out in both communities was that they could fish where and when they wanted to, without restrictions on size or seasons. Most of the elders could remember the days before machines, where they used sail boats with oars. The distance they went out with these boats differed from person to person (like many fishermen's tales). The point that they all made though, was that it was not necessary to go too far out to sea, because the fish was close to shore. Those days the catching of yellow tail was taboo, since it had no scales, even though there were plenty. The fish caught were cob, galjoen, red roman, mackerel, harders and Cape salmon. The angling of *dassies* in the rocky areas during thunder storms could be a skill lost to the younger generation. Oom Andrew mentioned that in the olden days fishermen would go out during such storms to catch *dassies*, since the weather conditions drove the fish to the rocky shores. Some of the younger fishermen had heard of the practice, but had not tried it.

The traditional fishing territory for the communities of Skipskop and Waenhuiskrans used to be the now forbidden Denel area where weapons are tested. The use of "*chukkies*" (small fishing boats) started after World War II and was operated in a similar fashion as today. The

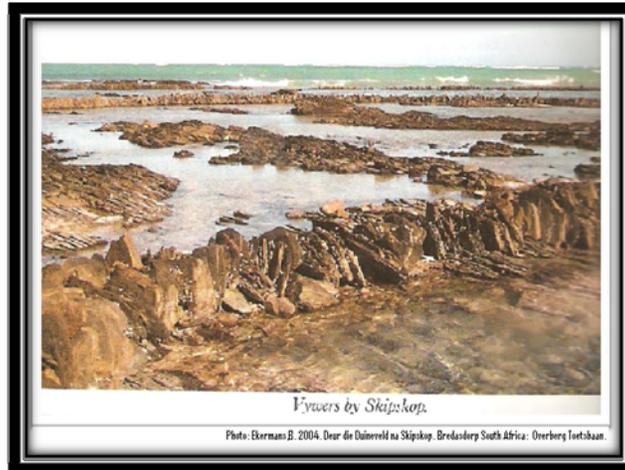
participants mentioned that only when it became popular to freeze fish to take to markets further away, was it found that yellow tail froze well, which increased its popularity as a catch with the fishermen.

The fishermen at the time had knowledge of the currents and when and where to catch certain species. They knew when certain species were breeding and where those breeding areas were. They determined their direction by identifying beacons on land and knew how to sail through difficult territories. When asked how they knew these things, they just mentioned that it was something that had been passed on from generation to generation. The younger fishermen today still consult the older generation for advice on fishing grounds. If they find an area after following the advice, it is now captured on GPS. The older fishermen had no such equipment and used their indigenous knowledge and instincts. Some of these skills have been passed on to newer generations and some were made redundant by modern technology like the GPS. However, the learning that takes place through the informal passing on from generation to generation can never be replaced by any kind of technology. The following section will look at the different fishing methods used by this fishing community.

Fish traps

“Dit was eers die kraale dan die net. Die oumense het maar self met die vyfers begin, die kraale.”

(First it was the kraals, then the net. The old people started with the traps, the kraals). (Andrew Jantjies, Struisbaai 2009).



Fish traps at Skipskop

Most of the elders remember that the traps were always there, that their ancestors built them and that the building and maintenance of the traps were passed on from generation to generation. Oom Andrew Jantjies related that the first fishing here was done by using these traps and that the nets came later, apparently with the Europeans. Oom Andrew remembered that his father had a trap and that some of them were still visible in Struisbaai. It cannot be used any longer because of laws guiding fishing, but there are still some younger fishermen that have learnt the skill of building and maintaining these traps, or kraals, from their elders. Oom Anton Joorst from Struisbaai mentioned that conservation officials in the Agulhas parks area have built traps with the assistance of some of the older fishermen and are currently maintaining them.

Nets



The net needle and method of weaving nets

Oom Andrew was of the opinion that it could have been the Germans that brought the skill of net making and fishing to the area. He mentioned that net making was a special skill and craft. The rope and needle could be bought, and he also remembered a German who lived in Struisbaai who used an imported machine to make the rope that was used for the nets. He could explain in detail how a net was made.

Line fishing



Fishermen at Struisbaai Harbour with the catch of the day

Oom Andrew, like most of the other older participants, mentioned that line fishing had been there ever since he could remember, but that the boats that were used had sails and oars. The distance the fishermen rowed differed, (like fishermen's tales) and all mentioned that the skill of sailing these boats was acquired through experience. Oom Andrew reckoned that it was a skill acquired from the Colonists and their sail boats. He told me that the sail boats in Struisbaai could even go as far as the 12 mile bank because the fishermen of that time had knowledge of weather patterns and especially the wind patterns, which they could use to their benefit. Fishermen could look at the skies during the day and at night to determine how the weather would be the next day. He observed that this could be a skill that might have been lost by the younger generation.

Harders

Harders were caught with a small net which the locals call a foot net during winter months, and at times were the only source of income and food for the people in difficult times. Catching harders involved the acquisition of a particular range of skills. Firstly the nets needed to be made

and maintained. Some of the older fishermen like Oom Alec Ahrends from Struisbaai still knew how to mend a net with the special needle that was used for this purpose. The last person in the Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans area to have a harder permit was Hendrik (Trompie) Bantom. He mentioned that he learnt that particular skill from the elders. Another particular skill with harder fishing is to be able to spot the school of fish in the water. This job was usually done by the older men like Oom Anton Joorst who used to do it with his mate Trompie. Spotting the harders was different in various wind and weather conditions and was usually done from a hill or elevated area on the shore. The next thing to do was to move the net from the shore, around the school and then pull the school out of the water. In Struisbaai fishermen used to do it with a little row boat called a *bakkie* and in Waenhuiskrans the men walked through the water to do it. The whole process usually involved quite a number of people and in the end the catch would be divided or sold. In earlier years, before people had refrigeration, the harders would be dried and became popular as *bokkoms*. The whole practice around the catching of harders is a particular example of how indigenous knowledge and practices are carried over from generation to generation. The method has not changed over the years and the practice and knowledge of the skill may be lost as a result of the prohibition of harder fishing in this area.

Division of labour and the role of women

Since people did not have refrigerators, one method of preserving fish was through salting and drying. When harders were caught and there were no buyers, the only way to preserve the fish was to salt and dry them. This is still a practice today and the dried harders, as was noted above, are popularly called *bokkoms*. While the line fishing today is mostly done by men, the division of labour used to be much more inclusive of women and older people. I was told by my

respondents that the older people and women harvested what was found in the traps, that the older men assisted in net making and that when fish needed to be salted and dried, everyone in the family participated.

In Waenhuiskrans it was said that many of the women were traders who walked to the neighbouring farms and even to Bredasdorp to trade fish for meat. Where this was common in Waenhuiskrans even as recent as 20 years ago, it was not a common occurrence in Struisbaai. The reasons for this difference did not become clear in this research, but one of the reasons could be that there are more farms within walking distance from the Waenhuiskrans area than near Struisbaai. This aspect could be explored in further research. Women in the area also had other means of income. There was a particular berry indigenous to the area (locals called it the *wasbessie*), that was used to make polish. The women picked it around March, boiled out the “wax” and sold it to the makers of the polish in town. This practice stopped when new technological developments found other ways to make polish and the berry wax was no longer in demand. Another form of income for the women then and still today is the picking of the “*suurvy*” (sour fig). This fruit of a popular indigenous succulent plant is mostly eaten, or more commonly used for the making of preserves.

In earlier years, women were much more involved in fishing practices. As recently as 15-20 years ago women were paid to clean and gut fish at the harbours, especially as fishermen used to receive a fifth of the total catch to take home (nowadays, they only receive one fish each). Fishermen were then offered an additional amount (e.g. R1) to their usual payments if they cleaned and gutted their own fish on board the boats. If for example a fisherman caught 500 fish,

it would mean an additional R500 to their immediate wage, whereas the women would work for the whole month not earning much more than that for a whole month's work. This practice brought more money to the household income, and thus involvement of women in the direct fishing industry gradually declined.

Indigenous knowledge

“Die voordele wat die ou skippers gehad het was die land merke wat hulle gemaak het.”

(One of the advantages the old skippers had was the land marks they made). (Theunis Newman, Struisbaai 2009).



Ons het 'n ou skipper gehad, Ou Grote het hull hom gese, hy's nou al 'n paar jaar dood. Hy was so fyn gestel op 'n land merk van die wal af, ek gaan jou iets vertel jy gaan my nie glo nie. Hulle het haaie gevang, en hy breek sy haaigereedskap af daar op 'n plek, sy lood en sy hoek. Die dag daarna gaan hulle weer soontoe en hy gooi daar anker op dieselfde plek en hy vang weer sy eie lood en die hoek met sy lyn. Genuine. Daars 'n Vader bo my kop wat my gaan straf as ek 'n leuen vertel vanaand. So fyn gestel was die walmerke as jy hom reg gehad het. Baie mense met die GPS gaan presies, maar nie so presies nie

(We had an old skipper, Ou Grote we called him and he's been dead a few years now. He was so finely tuned to a land mark from the shore; I am going to tell you something you won't believe. They were catching shark when his hook, line and sinker were broken off. The next day they went back to the same place, threw anchor and he caught his own hook line and sinker again. Genuine. There's a God above me that will punish me if I tell you a lie tonight. The land marks

were so accurate sometimes even the GPS is not so accurate). (Adriaan van der Berg, Struisbaai 2009).



UNIVERSITY of the
Small-scale fishermen
WESTERN CAPE

Fishing folk young and old have an inherent knowledge about what the best seasons are for catching different species. They know that the best season for catching yellowtail is in summer months and in the winter months they catch red roman, mackerel and Cape cob among others. They know exactly where to catch the fish and how to use the currents to their best advantage to catch the fish. They know that during winter the colder temperatures and current bring certain species like the red roman closer to shore, which means that they are caught very close to the shoreline. In Waenhuiskrans that is a problem, because the area in which they traditionally caught the red roman, is now a marine protected area where they are not allowed. This is a threat to their livelihoods, especially during the winter months when income is scarce.

They are aware of the workings of the currents and how the changes in weather patterns have an influence on the currents. These changes can be observed in the methods used and the types of fish caught in particular seasons. The fishermen mentioned that the stronger the current, the more fish they caught. Nowadays they can see the strength of the current from their boats. The strength of the currents can also be observed in the size of the lead used as sinkers. The lead used nowadays is about half the size used in the olden days and this is a definite indication that the strength of the currents is changing. Types of fish for particular seasons are also changing. The yellowtail season traditionally started in October, but the season starts much later, approximately in January. The methods of fishing have subsequently changed. For example, where the yellowtail used to be caught by turning the boat towards the current, following the fish and using a shorter line with lighter lead, the boats, while still following the current, now stop on top the school of fish to catch them. One of the reasons given was that there were now too many boats in the water and it was more practical just to stand still and fish on one spot. A controversial difference of opinion between the local fishermen and the scientific researchers is the possible existence of two different kinds of Cape salmon species. Many of the fishermen believe that the Cape salmon caught during winter is a different species to the one caught during summer months. The older fishermen claimed that the size and shape of the heads of the two species are different, and that what they regard as the winter species of Cape salmon grows to a maximum of about 50 cm. This fish, which they call the “Morrocan”, comes to the area mostly during winter months. The permitted size of Cape salmon is 60 cm and as this winter species falls just short of the allowed size, the fishermen have to throw it back when they catch it. Many of the fishermen argued that when the Cape salmon gets thrown back it dies anyway; and if it

survives, it takes the rest of the school away, so they might just as well stop fishing in that spot. This is another threat to the livelihoods of fishermen especially during winter, since they are no longer allowed to catch what was traditionally their means of income during winter months. Struisbaai fishermen pointed out that they had shared their theory about the two species with scientific researchers almost four years previous to my research. Although the scientists had promised to get back to them on this topic, this had never happened.

On the question of the scarcity of fish, all the fishermen responded that the fish were still there but not taking the bait. Their possible theory on this was that the natural food of the fish (e.g. smaller fish and shellfish) was being harvested by the trawlers of bigger fishing companies and that this caused the line fish to move further away from the shore. Fishermen with the capacity to fish further away from the shore now had to go as far as 45 miles into the open sea to have a decent catch. Most local fishermen did not have that capacity and their chukkies could not go so far out to sea. The fishermen could also recognise climate change in the changing currents and temperature of the water. They reported that the water is now much colder in winter and warmer in summer and the effect can be seen in where and during what season certain species are caught. They also mentioned the movement of crayfish to this area during winter and that yellowtail are being caught on the Western coastline in summer, which is unusual.

Trompie's Story

Hendrik Bantom (Trompie) was born in Skipskop and moved to Struisbaai when he was very young. His father was a fisherman there and moved to Struisbaai when the rumours of the evictions started and before the forced removals in 1983. The opportunities for fishing in Skipskop grew less and less, since the boat owners, (white people), were taking their business elsewhere. Trompie was one of the last people in Struisbaai to own a harder permit in 2004. A week after the 2005 application process closed, MCM declared restrictions on harder fishing in the area from Macassar to Port Elizabeth.



Harder fishermen at work ...

He mentioned that even though the Department knew that they were going to declare the area closed for harder fishing, they still let the fishermen go through a lengthy and expensive application process. They even assisted the fishermen in filling out their application and gave no reason for the restrictions when requested. Trompie did not recall any research being done in Struisbaai to determine whether the harders were endangered. He welcomed researchers to

discuss the harder situation with the fishermen and recommended that by discussing things with locals, they might even learn more about the habitat and breeding patterns of the fish.

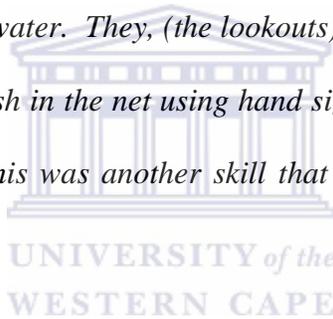
He was not totally against closing the season and recommended that they might consider closing the season during breeding times (summer season). The fishermen knew exactly where the harders went to breed and did not fish there. The harder fishermen understood the importance of preserving the species and would not fish in breeding grounds. Ironically some conservation officials, in their attempt to make conservation areas more accessible to communities, offered Trompie the chance to fish harders in exactly those areas, which the traditional harder fishermen considered breeding areas. Trompie refused.

He described the experience of losing his permit as one of the most difficult in his life so far and it almost drove him to suicide. Just before the closing of the 2005 applications, he had purchased a new net that cost him around R15 000. It took him a long time to save up for that money and now the brand new net was lying in storage in someone else's garage. This had a huge detrimental impact on his livelihood.

He told me that besides not owning a permit, he and others went to the beach everyday to look at the water and look for harders even though it was a hurtful experience. Sometimes the MCM officials at the harbour fetched him to come and see how the harders were swimming past the shoreline. It hurt them so much to think that it was their livelihoods swimming past them and that there was nothing they could do about it. In winter other kinds of fish were scarce and

expensive and harders was a way of feeding the community in winter and difficult times. For R10 a person could buy 12 harders, enough to feed a whole family.

The harder season usually started in May and lasted throughout winter, when weather conditions made it difficult for the fishermen to go to sea with their boats. They caught the harders with what they called commercial nets. They would purchase pieces of nets and then sew them together. The sewing of nets was a skill learnt from previous generations of fishermen and only a few, like Trompie, still knew how to do it. The lookouts would stand on a hill or elevated area and look for the harders. The schools sometimes looked like something shiny or sometimes reddish or black in the water. They, (the lookouts), would then direct the fishermen in the boat where to row to get the fish in the net using hand signs. It is quite a skill being able to see the school in the water and this was another skill that was passed on from generation to generation.



The owner of the boat was responsible for the purchase of the permit, the maintenance of the boat and nets, and after selling the fish, would pay the rest of the fishermen for work done. The fishermen would get rations of harders to take home after every catch, and would get their weekly wage on a Friday.

Trompie did not think that the species was endangered and could not understand the reasons for not allocating permits to people in the Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans area. He believed that they (the harder fishermen) were unable to deplete the harder resources in the area.

This chapter focussed on the historical component of the study featuring many of the oral recollections of the participants. It looked at the origins of the community and at the methods used for fishing then and now. The indigenous knowledge systems and practices were discussed, as well as the role of women. The case study at the end of the chapter serves as an example of how the different elements in this chapter influenced the life of one person and how many of the old methods were passed on and still practiced today. It also introduces the reader to the next chapter that focuses on fishing policy.



CHAPTER 4

TOWARDS A NEW SMALL-SCALE FISHING POLICY



Protesting Fishermen from Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans

The previous chapter concentrated on the historical aspects of this research and this chapter discusses and analyses the influence of the MLRA and its policy on the Cape Agulhas small-scale fishing community. It focuses on the extent of the community's knowledge and information around current policy and the development of a new small-scale policy. It also attempts to determine how involved the community members were in the process, as well as what their opinions are on the recommendations and guidelines to new and proposed policies. The chapter presents an overview of policy developments since 1994 and the movement towards developing a new small-scale fishing policy. In addition, it reveals the limitations that are currently facing small-scale fishermen as well as their experience of the policy making process. The chapter also considers the current role of women in the community, provides an overview of and brief introduction to the ski boat and MPA debate.

Policy background and context

Naseegh Jaffer from the Masifundise Development Trust (interview, June 30, 2009) described the MLRA as the legislation guiding the fishing sector which provides for three kinds of fishing: recreational, subsistence and commercial. MCM developed a set of policies that initially allocated intermediate rights in the transitional period of 2001-2004. However, these intermediate allocation rights were highly problematic and laid the basis for longer term allocation of rights in 2005. The major problem was that most traditional fishermen were left out by the quota system and were not allocated any rights, which created divisions within communities. Everyone applied for the same quotas, but not all could be allocated quotas. This unequal treatment threatened the sense of family and community that existed in traditional fishing communities. The quota system was also a threat to livelihoods, since without a quota fishermen would be without any income. Jaffer argued that the quota system is the incorrect tool to use for near shore fisheries. He defined 'near shore' as "...from the high water mark outwards depending on the nature of the coastline and generally so far outwards as the vessel allows". Being without an income because of the quota system was a transgression of the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights. Jaffer stated that Government made policies that actively denied people the right to their livelihood.

He mentioned that Masifundise, through their work in fishing communities, complained to Government and tried to stop the long-term policy from being implemented, but they were not successful. From 2006, they initiated a series of workshops, meetings and public meetings with fishing communities. They focussed especially on those who did not receive fishing rights and started the debate of trying to find alternative policy recommendations to the quota system that

were fairer and more beneficial to communities. During the meetings and workshops at the coastal communities, the Coastal Links Network was formed with representatives from all fishing communities. Its current membership, consisting of either fishermen or people linked to fishing, stands at more than 2000.

Court case and outcomes

Interim relief was obtained for fishermen who did not receive the minimum rights to fish and sell their catch while a new policy was being developed by MCM. The expiry date of that interim right was ironically on the date of my interview with Jaffer - 30 June 2009. On the question of what would happen now, Jaffer said that the new policy should have been in place by then and since that had not happened they were going back to the Equality Court. He described the Equality Court as unique to South Africa as it can be approached on a regional or High Court level if people feel that they are being discriminated against. The Equality Court was first approached by Masifundise, representing the fishing communities, in 2005 with the following complaints:

- The MLRA did not recognise them, since they were not subsistence fishermen and also not wholly commercial like the bigger fishing companies. They saw themselves as artisanal or small-scale fishermen.
- The new policy that Government had put in place actively discriminated against small-scale fishermen by taking away their livelihood rights and subsequently their human rights to food and jobs.

The Minister and the Department were taken to the Equality Court where they opposed these allegations. Eventually in 2007 the Court ruled in favour of the small-scale fishermen, ordering interim relief for the fishermen and for the joint development of a new policy by MCM and the fishing communities.

The Minister then created a National Task Team in terms of the Court Order to develop a new policy. The members of this Task Team were representatives of community fishermen, Coastal Links, Masifundise and representatives of the fishing communities of all four coastal provinces. The Minister considered this a positive innovation for democracy where Government, together with communities, could develop policies in a participatory process.

Jaffer however cautioned that Government officials did not appear to be willing to incorporate community inputs in the proposed new policy. As a result of this, the draft small-scale policy developed in 2008 was rejected. Community representatives argued that the draft did not contain the contributions of the community and was thus in contravention of the Equality Court order. They indicated their willingness to work with MCM to develop a policy that incorporated all inputs, but at the present time this process has come to a halt, with no further developments taking place. This, according to Jaffer, could be ascribed to the fact that the Ministry had been split into two and officials were waiting for directives to determine which Ministry would be responsible for the further development of the policy. Both the new Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, Minister Tina Jomat, and the Minister of Water and Environmental Affairs, Minister Bulelwa Sonjica, indicated their support for the development of a new small-scale fishing policy. MCM was still waiting at present for official instruction from the Ministry

responsible. The implications for fishermen were dire, since after the expiry of the interim relief period, many fishermen could not earn an income. This by implication meant that they were going back to Court to reclaim their right to earn their livelihoods.

Loss of Community Spirit

Many fishermen remembered how, especially during winter months, the sense of community and sharing was widespread in Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans. The older fishermen could guide many of the younger ones where to find other kinds of seafood like alikreukel, abalone, mussels, oysters and even crayfish for subsistence. These resources were then shared, like the harders, in difficult times. Many recalled that they were poor, but always had food to eat. In recent times, especially post '94 after the introduction of the MLRA, fishermen, especially the younger generation, had become much more individualistic and were only looking out for their own interests. Many people felt that the old sense of community had been lost due to failed policies that were intended to improve the livelihoods of fishermen.

Consultation in the policy formulation process

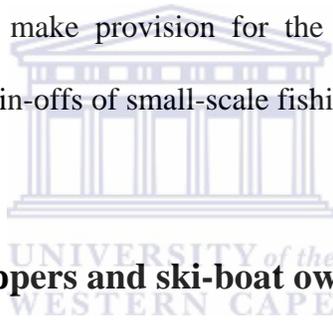
Many of the fishermen were aware that there were developments around new policy formulation to accommodate small-scale fishermen. Interestingly, I found that that level of awareness was higher in the Struisbaai area than in the Waenhuiskrans area. The reasons for this could not be ascertained during my period of research, but could be explored in further studies. The fishermen however did not know the current status of development around the policy process and how they would be incorporated into new policy processes. When the first draft policy came out in 2007, most fishermen knew about it, but with the second draft in 2008, many fishermen began

to question how they would be incorporated into the new policy process, since they were not being consulted on the matter. The feeling was that scientists and MCM were driving the process, without consulting the communities involved. The fishermen also felt that the development of restrictions was based more on scientific fears of the extinction of species, rather than on both scientific and social research and finding means of involving communities in using, as well as conserving, resources. Fishermen felt that making use of marine resources illegally promoted poaching, which they felt was a much greater threat to the conservation of these resources than allowing communities to make a living from the sea. Allowing small-scale fishermen to fish in protected areas would not pose an environmental threat, because all the fishermen interviewed were of the opinion that small-scale line fishermen could not destroy the fish species in this area. Other marine resources had also been used as sustenance over the years and the species had not been destroyed. They agreed that the resources should be protected for the future, but that they should have access to those resources for subsistence purposes. The fishermen felt that their ability to conserve and protect their own resources was being underestimated by scientists and Marine and Coastal Management.

The current role of women in the communities

Drawing on the information gathered and identified in Chapter four, it became clear to me that women used to play quite an active role in generating income for their families in earlier years. The women were responsible for marketing and selling the marine produce on neighbouring farms and in towns. They also played an active role in the processing of fish, until the fishermen had to start gutting and cleaning their own fish on board. The women in the community supplemented the household income by the picking and selling of wild plants like sour figs, and

the berries used for making polish. While the berries were no longer used for polish, the sour figs were still commonly used for the making of preserves. They however now needed permits to pick these plants, since the areas traditionally utilised for this activity during summer months, now lay within conservation areas. The women today were no longer involved in any activities related to fishing and the major source of income for women in these areas was working as domestic workers. This type of work provided mostly seasonal income, because the houses they worked in were mostly occupied only during summer months. Many women remained unemployed throughout the year and sometimes the only source of income was through government grants for children. The participants in this research shared the sentiment that a new small-scale fishing policy should make provision for the involvement of women in, if not actually fishing, then at least the spin-offs of small-scale fishing activities.



Skiboat debate (chukkie skippers and ski-boat owners)

“Daai man het nog nooit met ‘n ‘n chukkie gewerk nie! Wat MCM gedoen het was ‘n verkeerde ding”.

(That man has never worked with ‘n chukkie! What MCM has done was wrong). (Kobus Gertse, Struisbaai 2009).



Ski-boat launching off Struisbaai Harbour

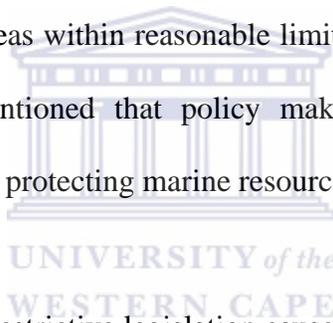
One of the major current controversies in the small-scale fishing community is the process of converting a permit for fishing on a chukkie, to that of fishing on a speed boat. Naseegh Jaffer explained to me that line fish permits are regulated using the Total Allowable Effort (TAE) mechanism. MCM has determined the TAE for the area Port Nolloth to Cape Infanta at 450 vessels of a certain amount of horsepower. If the horsepower is greater than the allocated amount, the effort is greater, the boat can go faster and further and more fish can be harvested. If greater effort is allowed, it is considered an environmental threat. Nasser mentioned that the way the mechanism is currently applied is problematic, given the way in which fishing rights have been allocated. He is convinced that there are people who currently have line fish permits that should not have these permits given that they are not traditional fishermen. Such illegal permits are often obtained through cheating on the application forms and the ignorance and incompetence of MCM officials. This is particularly unfair if these people obtain these rights at the expense of traditional fishermen who deserve permits. Another reason he mentioned was that after 1994, “weekend fishermen” who had boats took retirement packages and then used their boat ownership as motivation for obtaining fishing permits. Jaffer stated that if those

illegally on the current list of right holders could be “*cleaned out*,” more space could be created for traditional fishermen. The same applied to the crayfish permits where the Total Allowable Catch (TAC) mechanism was used.

Many of the older fishermen told me that there were not as many fishermen in the community as in the earlier years. Despite this drop in numbers, they reported that there were sometimes too many boats in the water to allow them to carry out their fishing in the traditional way of turning the boat towards the current while following the fish. Stuart du Plessis (interview, 3 June 2009) mentioned that during the 2008 season, there were 125 commercial boats in Struisbaai from the entire Western Cape Fleet, of which 95% were ski boats larger than 8 meters with crews of ten and more, which added up to about 1200 fishermen out at sea during the peak season. During the winter season, the local fishermen stayed behind while the others left for the West Coast to catch snoek or other modes of income. Stuart also mentioned that there were particular techniques involved in catching some of the winter fish species, and that most of the seasonal incomers were skilled only in hunting fish like yellowtail, Cape salmon and snoek. It also took more patience to catch the other fish and provided a lower income therefore it was not worthwhile for them to stay around during winter. Another concern of fishermen in the Struisbaai area was that their livelihoods were being threatened by people from other areas (like the West Coast), who had other means of income like crayfish and other seafood, as well as other industries that offer job opportunities. The people in this community had no other means of income. Waenhuiskrans was not affected by this, because unlike Struisbaai, it did not have the infrastructure to harbour vessels from other areas.

The MPA Conservation Debate

One major concern especially in the Waenhuiskrans area was that the areas where they traditionally caught fish during winter were largely restricted by Denel and Nature Conservation. The findings of Sunde and Isaacs (2008) in their study on marine conservation and coastal communities were echoed by the participants of this study. They firstly felt that when research was done, their indigenous knowledge of the area should be considered. They had fished in the area for generations and their inputs could only be beneficial to scientific research. Most of them understood the importance of conserving the resources and felt that they could be included in the conservation process. Some of them also felt that small-scale fishermen from the area should be allowed in the marine protected areas within reasonable limits. They stressed the importance of the consultative process and mentioned that policy makers should not underestimate the fishermen's ability to play a role in protecting marine resources.



The fishermen mentioned that the restrictive legislation caused many of the younger fishermen to find other means of income. The Cape Agulhas socio economic survey (2009) indicate a 68.1% of early school leavers and mentions that this leads to various kinds of social problems such as increased levels of crime and HIV/AIDS among others. Because jobs were so scarce and the sea was the only thing they knew, many of them had taken to abalone poaching. Other alternative means of income had been taken away, such as the harders people used to catch during winter. For many younger fishermen it was easier just to get a wet suit and poach than to learn some of the more complex skills and practices from the older fishermen. Poaching seemed to be an easier means of income, as a kilogram of abalone sold for approximately R200 but a kilogram of fish sold only for about R2. Many poachers used the indigenous knowledge of the older

generation to determine where the best areas for abalone were. People in the community felt very strongly that poaching lead to other social problems like drug abuse among the youth. The use of crack (Tik) was a huge problem in the community.

Limitations to small-scale fishing

The participants identified several limitations in the current policies that prohibited them from effectively executing their daily income activities and as a result posed a threat to their livelihoods:

- The permitted size of the fish;
- The resources in the area not being permitted to be harvested by local fishermen, while West Coast fishermen with other permits and quotas were allowed to fish in this area;
- Disagreements and lack of consensus between small-scale fishermen and scientists. Scientists did not utilise the indigenous knowledge of local fishermen when formulating guidelines for policies and fishing regulations;
- The limitations like weather conditions and sizes of the ‘chukkies’ of the small-scale fishermen were not taken into consideration when formulating policy;
- The involvement of women within the fishing industry had declined completely;
- Trawling for smaller species like sardines, depleted the food of the line fish and drew them further back into the sea;
- Weapons testing at the Denel Weapons Testing Range had a negative impact on fishing. Fishermen mentioned that when weapons like bombs were being tested, the fish was scarcer than usual; and
- The restrictions of the marine protected areas in previously traditional fishing areas.

The fishermen pointed out that an attempt to include them in addressing these limitations and finding joint solutions would be welcomed in the community and that they were willing to give their co-operation in such a venture. If attention could be given to these limitations in the development of a new policy, policy makers could gain much ground in improving the livelihoods of these coastal communities.

Opinions and recommendations to policy

“Gee vir ons wat by die see grootgeword het, gee vir ons van Mei maand af tot Oktober maand toe vir harders. Ons wat vissermanne is maak self die seisoene toe. As jy gaan geelstert vang gaan jy nie rooivis vang nie. Gun dit vir ons vissermanne daai ses maande vir die manne wat die nette het”.

(Give us who grew up by the sea from May to October for harders. We fishermen will close the season ourselves. If you can catch yellowtail you won't catch red roman. Give us fishermen those six months for the men with the nets). (Hendrik Granfield, Waenhuiskrans 2009).

During the interviewing and research process, fishermen made several recommendations on what they would like to see in a new small-scale fishing policy:

- In commenting on the subsistence and small-scale commercial fisheries policies, the fishermen felt that none of the policies were applicable to them, since none of the mentioned species occurred in the area.

- They felt that they should be permitted to fish for others species outside their area, since fishermen on the West Coast were allocated line fish permits and fished in their waters.
- They added that if they could not get quotas, they should at least get a lobster permit that allowed an allocation of ten lobsters per day.
- The chukkies should be allowed to be upgraded to speed boats in order for them to be able to get to waters where the fish resources were more plentiful. A few white boat owners were allowed to do so without any clear reason.
- The major feeling from the fishing communities was that policies were not applicable to them and that new policies needed to be developed, but in consultation with the community.
- The harder fishermen's recommendation on a new small-scale policy was to allow communities to protect their own resources.
- The harder permits should be brought back because the restrictions had negatively influenced the livelihoods of the whole community.
- They wanted the beaches to be opened to vehicles, so that the harder fishermen were able to drive their equipment to the area's best suitable for their job. The presence of vehicles on the beach would also make it more difficult for poachers to operate.

This chapter presented an overview and discussion of current and planned policies regarding small-scale fishermen, as well as introduced current points of debate. Some of the limitations to small-scale fishing that had a negative effect on the livelihoods of the community were discussed and recommendations to policy were identified by the participants. The following chapter focuses on the influence of history on policy and traditional practice and concluding discussions.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

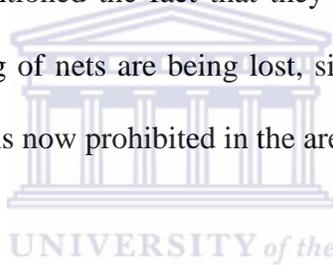
“Die bruinmense, mens kan amper sê hulle het nie regte in die see nie, soos hulle nou aangaan nie. Vis moet net sy lengte hê. Jy kan mos nie as ‘n vis aan jou lyn byt en hy’s miskien nie so groot nie, daai vis weer terug gooi in die see nie, hy’s mos dood! Baie van die visse is mos dood, dan moet hulle weggegooi word. Dis mos sonde.”

(The coloured people, the way things are going now, one can almost say they have no rights in the sea. Fish must have its length. One cannot, if a fish takes your bait and it’s not the right size, throw it back, it’s dead! Many of those fish are dead and then it must be thrown away. That is a sin). (Dorie Felix, Waenhuiskrans 2009).

The slow pace of life in the fishing communities around the Cape Agulhas coastline has not changed much over the years. The skill of fishing has been passed on from generation to generation and the methods, practices and passion for the sea, are still very similar to that of earlier generations. The purpose of this thesis was to capture a part of the history of the fishermen in the Cape Agulhas community, with specific attention to the small-scale fishermen in Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans. Another goal was to investigate the influence of history on the MLRA, and the development of a new small-scale fishing policy. This chapter briefly discusses how the findings relate to the key themes that were identified in the methodology and whether history could indeed play a role in the formulation of a new policy.

Could the oral histories inform the kind of indigenous knowledge systems that were practiced?

In an area where not much of research has been done on the origins and history of a people, oral records are priceless. Having been able to talk to elders in Struisbaai and Waenhuiskrans, enabled me to capture some of the essence of how the community, methods and practices came about and their recollections were able to provide information of at least three generations. The older people could recall where and how their grandparents worked and what kinds of fishing methods they used, since fishing, many of them believe is in their blood. Besides the fact that the row boats were replaced with chukkies, most of the methods for line and harder fishing are still used. Many respondents mentioned the fact that they were afraid that some of the older skills like trapping and the making of nets are being lost, since trapping is no longer practiced and harder fishing, that uses a net, is now prohibited in the area.



Literature like Domfeh, (2007) and Scoones, (1998), suggest that more attention be given to local indigenous knowledge and how it could complement natural science and government policies to improve the livelihoods of communities. This was confirmed by the sound knowledge the local fishers had of the species, currents and seasonal weather patterns, even though most of them did not even finish high school. When talking to younger fishers, they ensure that most of their knowledge was passed on from elders to them.

A further point that came out was the effects that Apartheid had on the community, having experienced forced removals, fishing- and other restrictions that directly influenced their livelihoods. After 1994, even further restrictions have been introduced that hampers the fishers right to provide tot their families. Many feel that if scientists and policy makers could consult

and use the indigenous knowledge of the local people when doing research and formulating policy, their livelihoods might improve.

What is the level of awareness and participation of the community in the small scale policy making process?

Most respondents know that there are some developments in formulating a new small scale fishing policy, but they are ignorant in terms of where the process is. They were quite despondent and feel that the process is being driven by scientists and MCM and they are not being consulted in the formulation of a new policy. All the respondents were adamant that are aware of the responsibility of protecting marine resources, but feel that it is impossible for the few fishers in the Struisbaai and Waenhuikrans areas to threaten the environment if legislation is made and implemented in consultation with communities.

The respondents are well aware of the limitations that currently face them in existing legislation and expressed it as the major threat to their livelihoods. Some of the major concerns in the Struisbaai community were the use and issuing of permits to use ski boats, the harder permits. The Waenhuiskrans community emphasised that the weapons testing at DENEL could influence fishing negatively and the restrictions of the marine protected area in previously traditional fishing areas. Some fishers questioned the way scientific information was acquired to determine fishing permits.

The fishers are very clear and articulate in what they recommend for a new small scale fishing policy. They feel sensitive about not being able to get permission to fish and harvest other

species in other areas while fishers from other areas are permitted to fish there. They emphasised that if given a permit to harvest or fish, they would not jeopardise those permits by endangering the environment through poaching.

Conclusion

This research has clearly shown that many small-scale fishermen today still use the same traditional methods and practices that were in use generations ago. The photos clearly illustrate that not much has changed besides exchanging the sail and the oars for engines. The major changes are in the policies and guidelines that prescribe fishing today. The research has shown that most small-scale fishermen are dissatisfied with current policy, are excluded from the policy making processes and are faced with escalating threats to their livelihoods. The interviews with fishermen have identified that most of their knowledge and skill of fishing was learnt from the older generation – knowledge and skills that could be lost to current fishermen.

There is a definite concern that local small-scale fishermen are not being consulted by scientific researchers, even though the local small-scale fishermen have inherited much indigenous knowledge that can be useful for scientific research. Previous studies, like that of Sunde and Isaacs (2008), have also indicated the importance of including small-scale fishing communities in natural resource management and that fact was reiterated in this study. By including small-scale fishermen in the development of a new small-scale fishing policy and through giving recognition and attention to their concerns, the government will show that they are serious about improving the livelihoods of coastal communities. It is hoped that this research is a trigger for further research into the history of the people of the Overberg, as well as further exploration into

how indigenous knowledge systems, like those of the small-scale fishermen in the Cape Agulhas community, can contribute to scientific research.



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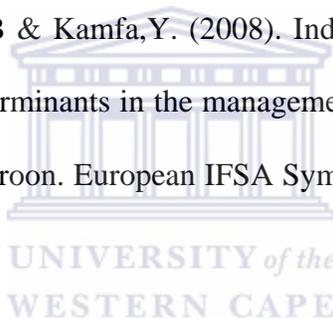
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APPENDICES



Appendix A: Fieldwork References

List of people interviewed 2009

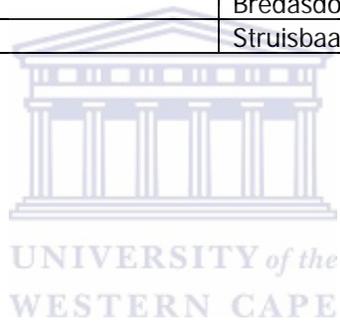
Name	Occupation	Age	Place	Date
Jakobus Granfield	Pensioner	68	Waenhuiskrans	27.05.09
Helena Granfield	Pensioner	62	Waenhuiskrans	27.05.09
Pieter Swart	Pensioner	67	Waenhuiskrans	27.05.09
Beatrice Swart	Library Assistant	40	Waenhuiskrans	27.05.09
Gerrit Pretorius	Pensioner	73	Struisbaai	27.05.09
Felicity Murtz	Pensioner	72	Waenhuiskrans	28.05.09
Eli Murtz	Priest	72	Waenhuiskrans	28.05.09
Hein Felix	Fisherman	40	Waenhuiskrans	28.05.09
Dorie Felix	Pensioner	86	Waenhuiskrans	28.05.09
Francis Felix	Domestic worker	60	Waenhuiskrans	28.05.09
Rachel Murtz	Pensioner	72	Waenhuiskrans	28.05.09
Paulina Felix	Housewife	43	Waenhuiskrans	28.05.09
Vera-Elen Lourens	Pensioner	77	Bredasdorp	28.05.09
Pieter Lourens	Pensioner	82	Bredasdorp	28.05.09
Alec Ahrendse	Pensioner	74	Struisbaai	29.05.09
Connie Ahrendse	Pensioner	71	Struisbaai	29.05.09
Anton Joorst	Pensioner	75	Struisbaai	02.06.09
Hendrik Bantom	Fisherman	40	Struisbaai	02.06.09
Marthinus Newman	Fisherman	61	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Rachel Ahrends	Pensioner	62	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Marthinus Ahrends	Fisherman	62	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Philip Thompson	Fisherman	Unknown	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Sias Marthinus	Fisherman	53	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Adriaan Marthinus	Fisherman	63	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Hendrik Marthinus	Fisherman	59	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Andrew Jantjies	Pensioner	82	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Stuart du Plessis	Fisherman	31	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Adriaan van den Berg	Fisherman	68	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Maria van den Berg	Pensioner	Unknown	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Marthinus Newman	Fisherman	48	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Emily Newman	Housewife	Unknown	Struisbaai	03.06.09
John Marthinus	Fisherman	43	Waenhuiskrans	04.06.09
Sameul Marthinus	Pensioner/Pastor	78	Waenhuiskrans	04.06.09
Jacobus Gertse	Fish Buyer	47	Struisbaai	05.06.09

List of Key informants

Name	Capacity	Place	Date
Jeannette Grobbelaar	Museum Curator/Local Historian	Struisbaai	27.05.09
Dr Con Kruger	Anthropologist MA, DPhil (Stellenbosch)/Local Historian	Struisbaai	03.06.09
Naseegh Jaffer	Masifundise Development Trust	Cape Town	30.06.09

List of outside field sites

Institution	Place	Date
Bredasdorp Shipwreck Museum	Bredasdorp	May, June 2009
Cape Agulhas Lighthouse Museum	Cape Agulhas	06.06.09
Houtbay Fishing Museum	Hout Bay Cape Town	29.06.09
Bredasdorp Public Library	Bredasdorp	May, June 2009
Con Kruger Africana Library	Struisbaai	06.06.09

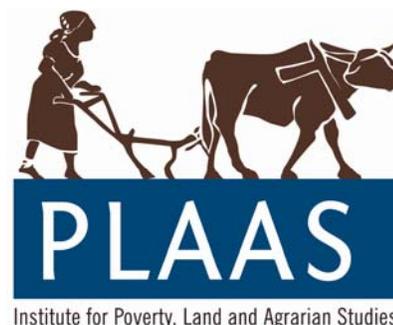


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08 June 2010



To Whom It May Concern

Request Participation in Research

Mrs Tracey-Lee Dennis, student number: 9156506 is a registered student for the MPhil in Land and Agrarian Studies at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape.

She is currently in the process of writing her mini-thesis. Her research topic is "Perceptions of history and policy in the Cape Agulhas area: Could history influence policy on small-scale fishing?" The research objectives which she would be investigating are as follows:

1. To establish part of the history of these communities and the basis of for the historical claim to fishing rights in that area.
2. Analyse the policies regarding small-scale fishing and the gap between implementation and knowledge.
3. Identify possible historical lessons and guidelines to policy formulation

We would be grateful if you could assist her with her research. Should you require any additional information or verification, kindly contact me directly.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Moenieba Isaacs , Senior Lecturer, misaacs@uwc.ac.za, 0846828443



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08 June 2010

Consent Form to Participate in Research

STUDENT NAME: Tracey Lee Dennis

STUDENT NUMBER: 9156506

THESIS TITLE: Perceptions of history and policy in the Cape Agulhas area: Could history influence policy on small-scale fishing?

To Whom It May Concern:

I *Tracey Lee Dennis* am a registered Masters student at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape.

I am currently engaging in research for my thesis. My thesis title is "*Perceptions of history and policy in the Cape Agulhas area: Could history influence policy on small-scale fishing?*" and the purpose of the research is to • obtain recollections of people, particularly in the area of allocations of fishing rights in the past, whether it was formal or informal?

- Obtain the knowledge of people in terms of the current and proposed legislation and where the information came from
- Get the opinions on the recommendations and guidelines to new and proposed policies.

I am inviting you to participate in this research and through your participation. Your response will be confidential provided you give us consent to use your name in the research. I can assure that the information provided will only be used for research purposes.

Kindly complete the form attached indicating that you agree to be a participant in this study.

Should you have any queries or to verify information, you are welcome to contact Carla Henry, Postgraduate Administrator at PLAAS on 021 959 3727 or email: chenry@uwc.ac.za

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. I greatly appreciate your assistance in furthering this research endeavour.

Kind Regards,

Tracey Lee Dennis

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Participant Consent Form

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by *Tracey Lee Dennis* towards her Masters programme at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape.

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 am also aware that excerpts from the interview maybe included in the thesis paper. Quotations will / will not be kept anonymous. I do / do not give permission for my identity to be revealed in research reports.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher. With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name: _____
Participant ID Number: _____
Participant Signature: _____
Date: _____
Place: _____

Interviewer Name: Tracey Lee Dennis
Interviewer Signature: _____

