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INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNING AND ENVIRONMENTAL
CARE: A CASE OF A FISHING COMMUNITY NEXT TO
AFRICA'S FIRST MARINE PROTECTED AREA

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the relationship between intergenerational learning and environmental care in the small fishing community of Covie, located next to the Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area (TMPA) on the south-eastern coast of South Africa. Since Covie's establishment as a woodcutter settlement in 1883, the community has depended on the marine and coastal environment such that their communal identity and basic means of subsistence are closely tied to their traditional fishing practices. Since its proclamation in 1964, the TMPA has undergone numerous policy changes, most notably the complete closure of the TMPA to fishing in 2001. Against this backdrop, the study sought to understand how intergenerational learning about fishing practices are mediated in Covie and the ways in which such learning processes constitute a sense of place and belonging for the Covie fishers, and to develop a sense of care for the natural environment.

The study included 12 Covie community members of different generations and genders so as to be representative of the community (approximately 86 members). The research was informed by qualitative data generated through a focus group discussion with eight Covie community members, a mirror workshop with the same eight community members, eight semi-structured interviews, and five naturalistic observations of fishing practices. Data generation and analysis was informed by Etienne Wenger's theory of Communities of Practice which was complemented by theoretical perspectives on intergenerational learning and attachment to place. This study found that the Covie fishers indeed operate as a community of practice who depend significantly on intergenerational learning processes to transfer knowledge, skills and values about fishing practices to younger generations. The 2001 policy changes that denied the Covie fishers access to their traditional fishing sites were shown to reduce the participation in fishing of a range of community members (in particular children and women), which in turn influenced forms of intergenerational learning about fishing. The youth's reduced participation especially was linked to more protracted and fragmented processes of learning about fishing and Covie's code of fishing conduct, including its underpinning sense of environmental care. Finally, this study argues that the affective and socio-material connections to their natural surroundings have shaped the Covie community's sense of care and responsibility toward the environment.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	vii
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	viii
Chapter 1: Setting the Scene.....	1
1.1 Introduction to the study.....	1
1.2 Contextual Background.....	1
1.2.1 Covie Fisher Folk.....	2
1.2.2 Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area, Africa’s first.....	3
1.3 Research Questions.....	4
1.4 My interest and position in this research.....	5
1.5 Overview of Thesis Chapters.....	5
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	7
2.1 Introduction.....	7
2.2 Communities and [Marine] Protected Areas: A global and local perspective.....	7
2.2.1 [Marine] Protected Areas in a global perspective.....	7
2.2.2 Bringing it back home: A South African perspective on [Marine] Protected Areas.....	9
2.2.3 ‘No-take zones’ within Marine Protected Areas.....	10
2.2.4 People-nature relations around MPAs.....	12
2.3 South Africa’s changing approach to people and parks.....	13
2.4 People and Park relationships in the context of the Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area and the Covie community.....	15
2.4.1 Community participation, MPA management and situated [mis]understandings.....	16
2.4.2 Access to marine resources.....	17
2.4.3 Illegal harvesting / Poaching.....	17
2.5 Intergenerational learning in communities.....	18
2.5.1 Defining and understanding intergenerational learning.....	18
2.5.2 Intergenerational learning towards social-ecological sustainability.....	19
2.6 Our attachment to our surroundings: A ‘sense of place’.....	21

2.7 Learning in Communities of Practice	24
2.7.1 Wenger’s Community of Practice theory.....	25
2.7.2 Three domains: Mutuality, Joint Enterprise, and Shared Repertoire	26
2.7.3 Three modes of belonging: Engagement, Imagination, and Alignment	27
2.7.4 Conceptualising family groups as communities of practice.....	27
2.7.5 Situated learning processes in Communities of Practice	28
2.7.5.1 Legitimate Peripheral Participation	29
2.8 Conclusion	30
Chapter 3: Methodology	32
3.1 Introduction.....	32
3.2 An Interpretivist Orientation.....	32
3.2.1 Qualitative Case Study.....	33
3.2.2 Covie – the selected case for this study	34
3.3 Research Methods.....	35
3.3.1 Naturalistic Observations.....	35
3.3.2 Focus Group Discussion	37
3.3.3 Mirroring Workshop	39
3.3.4 Semi-structured Interviews	40
3.4 Data Analysis	41
3.4.1 Phase One of Analysis	41
3.4.2 Phase Two of Analysis.....	43
3.5 Validity	45
3.5.1 Triangulation.....	45
3.5.2 Respondent validation.....	45
3.5.3 Audit trail.....	46
3.5.4 Rich data and thick descriptions	46
3.5.5 Participant reactivity	47
3.5.6 Peer review.....	47
3.6 Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity.....	48
3.7 Research Ethics.....	49
3.8 Conclusion	50
Chapter 4: Covie’s fishing tales.....	51
4.1 Introduction.....	51
4.2 Covie as a community of fishing practice.....	52

4.2.1 Mutual engagement (Mutuality)	52
4.2.2 Joint enterprise	57
4.2.3 Shared Repertoire.....	59
4.3 Place attachment to Covie and surrounds	61
4.4 The transformation of fishing practices and learning after the 2001 TMPA policy changes	64
4.4.1 Historic fishing practices	64
4.4.2 Fishing sites	67
4.4.3 Limited or Misaligned knowledge relating to fishing practices and TMPA management	69
4.4.4 Learning about fishing practices after 2001.....	71
4.4.5 Changing roles within the fishing practices.....	73
4.5 Forms of intergenerational learning about fishing practices.....	75
4.5.1 Intergenerational learning at the beach	75
4.5.2 Intergenerational learning at home	79
4.5.3 The process of becoming competent within the fishing community of practice	80
4.6 Manifestations of environmental care.....	82
4.6.1 Respect for nature	83
4.6.2 Fishing practices as stimulus of environmental care.....	86
4.7 Conclusion	89
Chapter 5: Discussion of case study data.....	92
5.1 Introduction.....	92
5.2 Analytic Statement 1: The Covie fisher folk sustain their identity as fishers and their preferred form of subsistence through participation in a community of fishing practice.....	93
5.3 Analytic Statement 2: The 2001 TMPA policy changes have influenced the Covie members' identity as fishers and changed how they learn about historical fishing practices.....	95
5.4 Analytic Statement 3: Intergenerational learning plays a significant role in developing the knowledge, skills and values necessary to become a competent fisher who, after attaining a certain level of competence, feels a true sense of belonging to the Covie community of fishing practice	97
5.5 Analytic Statement 4: The role of Covie women in intergenerational learning of fishing practice was significantly altered after the 2001 TMPA policy changes	99
5.6 Analytic Statement 5: Socio-cultural values in different communities of practice can potentially create a misalignment of knowledge and understanding of fishing practices.....	100
5.7 Analytic Statement 6: The community members' place attachment to Covie and the surrounds appears traceable to their relational ties to the place more than to their actual fishing practices	102
5.8 Analytic Statement 7: The Covie fishers' sense of care and responsibility for the natural environment appears to be directly influenced by their affective and socio-material connections to the place	104
5.9 Conclusion	108

Chapter 6: Recommendations and Conclusion	109
6.1 Introduction.....	109
6.2 Summary of the study	109
6.3 Concluding insights of research findings.....	110
6.3.1 Sub-question 1: How have the TMPA policy changes in 2001 influenced fishing practices and shaped intergenerational learning about these practices in Covie?.....	110
6.3.2 Sub-question 2: How is intergenerational learning about fishing practices mediated by older generations for younger generations to become competent fishers?.....	111
6.3.3 Sub-question 3: How is a ‘sense of place’ constituted through intergenerational learning about the Covie fishing practices?	112
6.3.4 Sub-question 4: How is environmental care, in relation to fishing practices, manifested in the Covie community?	112
6.3.5 Main research question: What is the relationship between intergenerational learning about fishing and environmental care in the Covie fishing community?	113
6.4 Reflection on the research process.....	114
6.5 Conclusion	115
7. REFERENCES	117
8. APPENDICES	124

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Wenger’s Community Dimensions Framework	44
Table 4.1: The place relationship each of the interviewees have with Covie	61

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Geographically situating Covie, the TMPA and the Nature’s Valley beach	2
Figure 3.1: Marquin, Michael and Anwill fishing in Nature’s Valley	36
Figure 3.2: Bernit, Ernest and Michael fishing at the Salt River fishing rock in Nature’s Valley	36
Figure 3.3: Michael and Elsabè’s clean homestead, and Michael’s cleaned fishing gear against the tree on the left of the photo	37
Figure 3.4: The focus group discussion participants sharing their stories	39
Figure 3.5: The mirroring workshop taking place with the participants in Covie	40

LIST OF ACRONYMS

TMPA	Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area
MPA	Marine Protected Area

LIST OF APPENDICES

- Appendix 1: Participant family tree
- Appendix 2: Data generation plan
- Appendix 3: Index and Inventory of data sources
- Appendix 4: Observation schedule – day 1
- Appendix 5: Detailed narrative of observation day 1
- Appendix 6: Register of focus group discussion
- Appendix 7: Focus group discussion transcript
- Appendix 8: Interview schedules
- Appendix 9: Example of an interview transcript
- Appendix 10: A coded and highlighted transcript
- Appendix 11: Inductive analytic memo for sub-question 1
- Appendix 12: Abductive category descriptions
- Appendix 13: Letter introducing research to Covie
- Appendix 14: Example of a consent form

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene

1.1 Introduction to the study

This study explored the relationship between intergenerational learning and environmental care in the small fishing community of Covie, which is located next to the Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area (TMPA) on the south-eastern coast of South Africa. Covie is a traditional fishing community and its members have lived in the Tsitsikamma area for most of their lives. Historically, intergenerational learning about traditional fishing practices was integral to the Covie fishers who fished not only for survival but also to sustain their identity as fishers. When the TMPA was established in 1964, right on the doorstep of the Covie fishing community, the community's fishers were affected in various ways. Part of this study's focus has been to explore further how the policy changes within the TMPA influenced how the Covie fishers learn about fishing practices, their attachment to the place, and the process of learning to become competent fishers. One of the study's aims was to foreground socio-cultural and historical perspectives at the intersection of intergenerational learning and conservation management approaches, which have traditionally excluded and denied historic peoples of an area access to resources they have used for generations.

This chapter presents a brief contextual background of the Covie fisher folk and the TMPA (section 1.2), the research questions which directed this study (section 1.3), a brief reflection on my interest and position in the context of this study (section 1.4), and, lastly, an overview of Chapters 1 – 6 (section 1.5).

1.2 Contextual Background

Local communities in the Tsitsikamma region, surrounding the Tsitsikamma Section of the Garden Route National Park (TS-GRNP) [TMPA¹], have, since their establishment, depended on the natural resources of the area to sustain their livelihoods as well as their cultural identity (Faasen, 2006; Watts & Faasen, 2009). The ocean and its resources were no exception to these people-nature relationships and most of these local communities considered fishing an important part of their lives. Most of these communities were established as woodcutter communities (Delius, 2002), but with the turn of the woodcutters'

¹ The Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area (TMPA) is within the borders of the Tsitsikamma Section of the Garden Route National Park (TS-GRNP), formally known as the Tsitsikamma National Park. In the context of this study, I will refer to the entire Park, MPA included, as TMPA hereafter and throughout the thesis.

era, due to shifting capitalist interests, most of these communities suffered and became impoverished, with the Covie community being one such community, if not the most impoverished, in the area (Williams, 2013).

1.2.1 Covie Fisher Folk

Covie was established in 1883 as a woodcutter settlement and is situated within the Garden Route on the border of the Western and Eastern Cape provinces of South Africa. The Covie community is a traditional fishing community and has been locally known as the ‘*vis en patat*’ (fish and sweet potato) community since the late 1800s (Williams, 2013). Both woodcutting and fishing formed integral parts of Covie’s history. However, when the timber industry industrialised and community members lost their timber employment, fishing became a bigger part of their livelihood. The community is approximately two kilometres from the coastline and is right next to the TMPA. Figure 1.1 below shows the Covie settlement in relation to the surrounding area and South Africa.

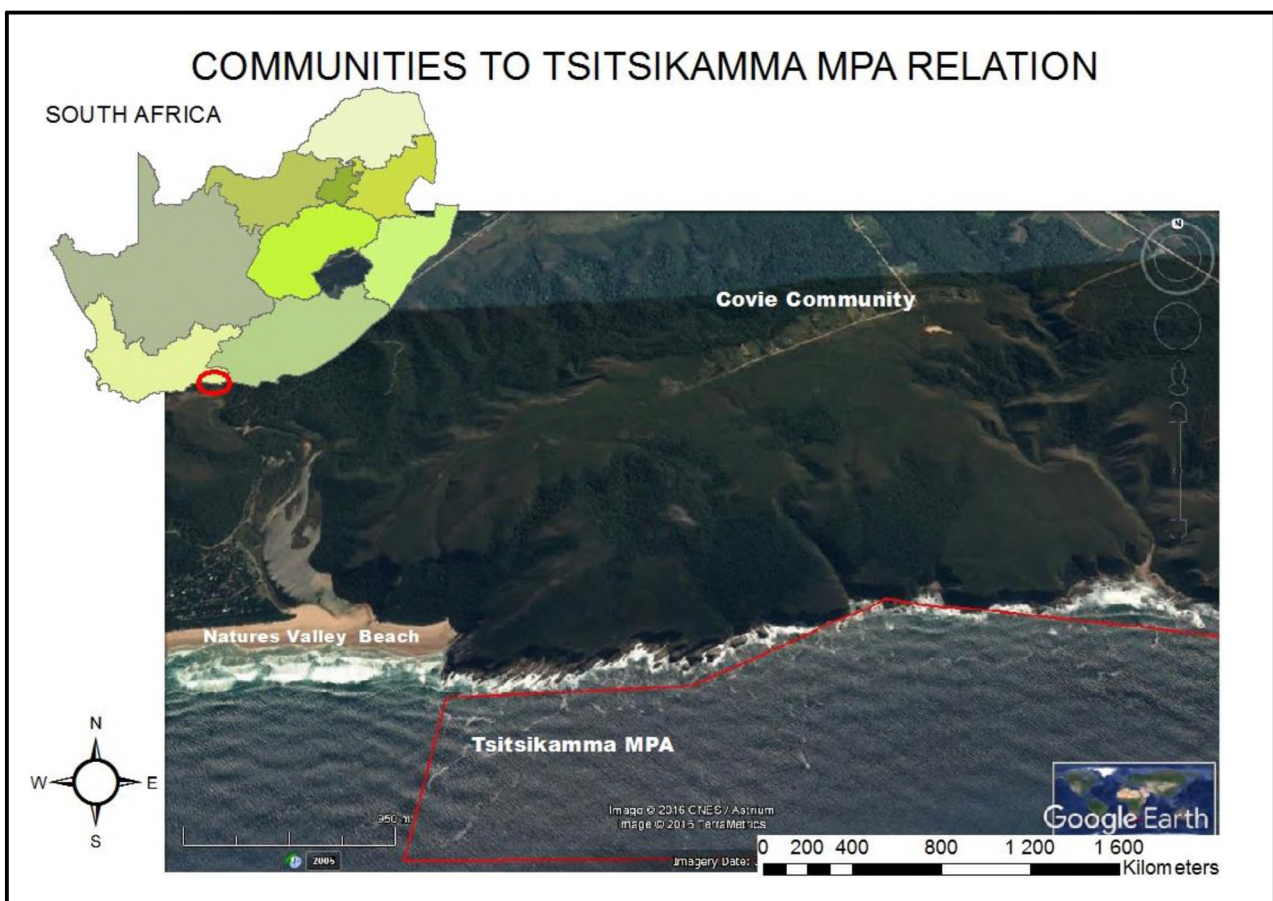


Figure 1.1: Geographically situating the Covie community, the TMPA and the Nature’s Valley Beach where legal fishing is now permitted (Google Earth, 2016).

Presently, there are approximately 86 members living in Covie, most of them with strong familial ties to each other. Until the 1970s, Covie's commonage, used for grazing and other needs, stretched all the way down to the ocean where they traditionally practiced fishing. Under apartheid, this commonage was taken away from the community by the then National Parks Board, to incorporate into the TMPA. Covie community members are currently in the process of a Land Claim to legally attain this land back. Fishing has been a part of the Covie community members' livelihood right from the onset, along with agriculture and livestock (Delius, 2002). In Covie, fishing practices have been passed on from generation to generation to sustain their livelihoods, culture and identity as fisher folk (Faasen & Watts, 2007; Williams, 2013). "Fishing provided a more regular and reliable source of protein and was particularly important to the coloured² families living in the community" (Delius, 2002, p. 139).

The Covie community members are also very attached to Covie and the surrounding area (Delius, 2002; Faasen, 2006; Williams, 2013). Furthermore, Faasen and Watts (2007, p. 40) argue that the Tsitiskamma communities, Covie included, have a strong relationship of care for the area and "communities should support the park in the conservation of nature". The Covie fisher folk predominantly fished from the rocks and beach below Covie to sustain their fishing identity and survival. Fishing became such a big part of Covie that a small group of their fisher folk developed a fishing settlement at the Salt River mouth during favourable fishing times to prevent having to walk between the Salt River and Covie every day (Delius, 2002; Williams, 2013).

1.2.2 Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area, Africa's first

Nestled between the Indian Ocean and the Tsitsikamma mountain range, and sandwiched between the Groot River East and Groot River West, in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces of South Africa, is the breath-taking TMPA. Proclaimed in 1964 under the directorship of the then National Parks Board of South Africa, the TMPA was Africa's first marine protected area and has undergone numerous access changes to marine resources since its inception (Hanekom, Mann-Lang, Mann & Carinus, 1997). For 11 years after its proclamation, until 1975, the TMPA remained open for fishing and bait collection to the surrounding communities due to certain agreements and socio-political pressure. Fishing in

² Coloured is a term used to describe people of mixed ethnicity in Southern Africa in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid times. It is one of the four main racial classifications, along with Black, Indian and White.

the TMPA was then limited to 15 sections from 1975 to 1978, and further limited to only three sections, with the complete prohibition of bait collection in 1979 (Hanekom et al., 1997). Hanekom et al. (1997, p. 54) hypothesised that the TMPA will “likely play an important role in conservation of recreational fish stocks in the Southern Cape” and recommended that “it would be ecologically preferable to close the TMPA to all angling, and that this ruling would not have major impact on the subsistence of local communities”. Thus, in 2001, and in contrast to the new democratic South Africa’s premise of community conservation and inclusivity, the TMPA was completely closed for fishing to the surrounding communities (Faasen & Watts, 2007). This complete closure of the TMPA also contradicted the new approach and conceptualisation of conservation created by South African National Parks after apartheid. This approach included being more focused on human needs, access to resources within the parks on a sustainable basis, and the preservation of indigenous histories and cultures of Africans, in an effort to move away from colonial conservation approaches (Cock & Fig, 2000).

Looking at the history of communities that surround the TMPA, the dominant demographic group and those who have lived in the Tsitsikamma region the longest are coloured communities (Faasen & Watts, 2007). These “coloured communities in Tsitsikamma were self-sufficient and shared their resources”, creating a “social network of support which still continues to this very day, especially in the Covie community” (Faasen & Watts, 2007, p. 37). It is important to note that with the proclamation of the TMPA in 1964 and the complete prohibition of fishing in the park in 2001 came the end of this self-sufficient era. This had a detrimental effect on the surrounding communities not just in terms of their livelihoods but also their cultural identity as they considered themselves historical and traditional fishermen and women of the area (Faasen, 2006).

1.3 Research Questions

The main research question this study responds to is: What is the relationship between intergenerational learning about fishing and environmental care in the Covie fishing community? This main research question is informed by four sub-questions:

- How have the TMPA policy changes in 2001 influenced fishing practices and shaped intergenerational learning about these practices in Covie?

- How is intergenerational learning about fishing practices mediated by older generations for younger generations to become competent fishers?
- How is a ‘sense of place’ constituted through intergenerational learning about the Covie fishing practices?
- How is environmental care, in relation to fishing practices, manifested in the Covie community?

1.4 My interest and position in this research

Through my work as an environmental educator at a non-profit organisation at the Nature’s Valley Trust, I facilitate educational programmes with various communities and schools around the TMPA, Covie included. Through this experience, I have heard Covie fishers express their knowledge of using marine resources sustainably since they and their forefathers have been doing it long before the TMPA was opened. They also chose to stay in Covie even though their access to marine resources in their traditional fishing sites has been denied, indicating an attachment to the place. In the context of current, and proposed, legislation governing people’s access to fishing in the area, and knowing how integral fishing practices are to the Covie community’s identity as fisher folk and for survival, I was inspired to take up this study.

In undertaking this study, I had three main goals: firstly, to investigate how learning about traditional fishing practices influences care for the natural environment among the Covie fisher folk; secondly, to make a scholarly contribution to the field of environmental education by developing an understanding of intergenerational learning and sense of place in indigenous communities around protected areas in democratic South Africa; and lastly, to suggest potential ways to include human dimensions and traditional, local knowledge in future management approaches of the TMPA, and other protected areas.

1.5 Overview of Thesis Chapters

This thesis is comprised of six chapters that together are structured to respond to the study’s research question. *Chapter One* has introduced the study by contextually describing the background of the Covie fishing community and the TMPA. The main research question and four sub-questions were also presented in this chapter.

Chapter Two presents an extensive review and discussion of theoretical and conceptual literature drawn on to inform this study. This chapter situates marine protected areas and surrounding communities in a national and international perspective. The theory of communities of practice as well as situated learning within communities of practice are explained. Concepts such as intergenerational learning, place attachment, family and environmental care are elaborated on.

Chapter Three describes the research orientation and overall design of this study and the methods used to generate empirical data in pursuit of answering the research questions. A comprehensive explanation of the data analysis process is given and issues of validity, researcher positionality and reflectivity, and research ethics are discussed.

Chapter Four presents the data generated over four months through a strategic four-method approach to respond to the research questions. Evidence is presented that the Covie fisher folk indeed operate as a community of practice, and that they have a unique relationship with and attachment to Covie and surrounds. This chapter also presents evidence of the transformation of the Covie fishers' practices and associated learning processes after the 2001 TMPA policy changes, the ways that intergenerational learning promotes fishing competence and, lastly, the manifestations of their environmental care.

Chapter Five discusses the findings, in the form of analytic statements, inferred by this study. This discussion draws on the theoretical and conceptual literature presented in *Chapter Two* and data presented in *Chapter Four*. Seven analytical statements, which inform the investigation into the relationship between intergenerational learning about fishing practices and environmental care in Covie, are presented. This chapter also explores how intergenerational learning has changed since the 2001 TMPA policy changes and how the Covie fishers' place attachment is constituted.

Chapter Six proposes contextual recommendations based on the inferences discussed in *Chapter Five*, before concluding with a summary of the study. Finally, this chapter offers a reflexive review of the entire study and suggests potential areas for further research beyond this report.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter theoretically and conceptually situates this study within the rest of the scholarly literature of intergenerational learning and environmental care in communities adjacent to marine protected areas. It starts with a discussion on the different perspectives on marine protected areas (MPAs) and no-take zones and their effects. The way protected areas, both globally and in South Africa, have been established has led to various tenuous relationships between the managers of these protected areas and the local communities that surround them. This chapter also reviews how environmental policy changed in South Africa after the apartheid era, with a focus on the relationship between the Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area (TMPA) and the Covie community of fisher folk.

The second half of this chapter explores theories relevant to social learning within communities of practice. It focuses on two major concepts: intergenerational learning and 'sense of place'. The concept of 'family' within the Covie community of fishing practice is explored along with the dimensions that define a community of practice. Finally, I discuss situated learning within communities of practice and consider its relevance to this study's focus on intergenerational learning about traditional fishing practices in the Covie fishing community.

2.2 Communities and [Marine] Protected Areas: A global and local perspective

This section explores different perspectives on protected areas, including MPAs, and the interaction between historical and local communities and these protected areas.

2.2.1 [Marine] Protected Areas in a global perspective

Francis, Nilsson and Waruinge (2002, p. 503) define MPAs as "coastal and sea areas enjoying some level of legal protection nationally or locally, and that are especially dedicated to the conservation, protection and maintenance of biodiversity, and associated cultural resources". Globally, MPAs have proven important for the management of fisheries, conservation and positive environmental benefits which include the protection of "habitats, ecosystem structure, functioning and integrity and species diversity, richness, size and

density" (Bennett & Dearden, 2014, p. 107). Of course, MPAs have been criticised for their negative impacts on local communities, but Bennet and Dearden (2014, p. 107) note that other benefits of MPAs "can also lead to positive outcomes for local communities through spill-over of fish into local fisheries, mitigation of climate change and environmental threats, and tourism livelihood benefits". Similarly, Hockey and Branch (1997) argue that MPAs have proven to be crucial in the process of replenishing fish and bait stocks, and have enabled fisheries management to ensure sustainability and spill-over for surrounding areas. This said, most of the participants in Bennett and Dearden's (2014) study expressed concern for their livelihoods and subsistence in relation to MPAs, especially 'no-take zones' (in no-take zones, the extraction of all marine resources [commercial, recreational or subsistence] is prohibited).

MPAs have increased fish population densities of various species compared to the population densities of these same species in areas that are exploited (Francis, et al., 2002). Claudet, Osenberg, Benedetti-Cecchi, et al. (2008) concur that marine reserves have increased the abundance and mean size of fish species, compared to areas that are not protected or under marine reserves. Similarly, Sowman, Hauck, Van Sittert and Sunde (2011, p. 573) state that "South Africa is employing MPAs as a key tool to protect important coastal and marine habitats and restore overexploited stocks and degraded areas". With these MPA benefits in mind, resource users demand access to MPAs, and this demand is consequently perceived as one of the biggest threats to biodiversity conservation within MPAs (Attwood, Mann, Beaumont & Harris, 1997). Hockey and Branch (1997) also note that the demand for marine resources has increased and consequently the expectation of access to MPAs through political change has become higher, resulting in a definite need to protect these resources. This protection can be achieved through declaring and establishing MPAs; this should not be seen as a violation of human rights but rather a measure put in place to meet South Africa's marine resources needs (Hockey & Branch, 1997).

Contrary to the Western conservation ideology of protecting coastal areas and resources for ecological benefits through MPAs, East African MPAs were established to also include benefits for local communities around these MPAs; they revolved around the aim "to conserve and manage the extraordinary / unique variety of the marine and coastal biodiversity for the benefit of the present and future generations" (Francis et al., 2002, p. 504). The conventional approach to protected areas management, including MPAs, commonly excluded local communities and failed to integrate pertinent cultural, social and political issues into

policies and management plans. This approach has disrupted local communities' traditional practices and limited their access to natural resources (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012). Consequently, MPAs globally have been perceived as having a negative impact on local fisher folk through limiting their access to marine and coastal resources, exacerbated by other issues such as little to no communication between MPA management and local communities. When communities can share their knowledge and opinions about the protected areas that have sustained them for generations, they feel a sense of ownership, motivation to continue to 'protect and regulate' the land, and empowerment through participating in such projects (Francis, et al., 2002; Andrade & Rhodes, 2012). Similarly, appreciation and attention to 'local environmental knowledge', its associated systems, and collaborative community involvement are important underpinnings to develop new management approaches (Clay & Olson, 2008).

2.2.2 Bringing it back home: A South African perspective on [Marine] Protected Areas

The establishment of protected areas during the apartheid era in South Africa (1948-1994) excluded the majority of South African communities from the management of protected areas, even though they lived adjacent to the parks (Makwaeba, 2004; Faasen, 2006). Under apartheid government, conservation was considered apolitical; politics and conservation did not overlap as the one was seen as irrelevant to the other. White dominance and supremacy also led to the passing of laws which furthered black South Africans' dispossession of land and political and economic marginalisation (Khan, 2000). The establishment of protected areas was commonly coupled with forced removals of local Africans from their land, and legislation prevented them from using natural resources even for subsistence purposes, as Africans were considered to be destructive to the environment (Khan, 2000). This colonial conservation approach disrupted local communities' traditional practices and patterns of natural resource use as they were denied access to areas they had historically utilised (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012). Neluvhalani (2007) argues that this disruption, and in some cases forced removal, displaced local communities from areas where they had built their indigenous knowledge over time. Consequently, black South Africans came to regard conservation as a 'white privilege', and black communities adjacent to protected areas experienced conservation strategies as having a negative impact on their livelihoods (Faasen & Watts, 2007).

Previously-colonised communities were not free to speak for themselves, and their cultural and historical practices and ways of knowing were oppressed and labelled as inferior and savage by the coloniser (Kayira, 2013). This subjugation not only affected the practices of local people but altered how they experience the world and threatened, in essence, the indigenous epistemology (Neluvhalani, 2007; Shava, 2013; Kayira, 2013). Furthermore, Kayira (2013) explains how the “African communal customs” accompanied by its “traditional values of mutual respect for one’s fellow kinsmen” were undermined by colonial education through the introduction of the “individualistic Western value system” (Kayira, 2013, p. 110). Against this backdrop, Khan (2000, p. 156) argues that “the cumulative effect of racially discriminatory laws and punitive conservation regulations has been the gradual but relentless alienation of blacks from the environmental sphere, and the growth of hostility to conservation issues as defined by the mainstream”. Furthermore, through being “deprived of ties to their land by the process of conquest, colonisation, and discriminatory legislation, blacks inexorably became alienated from the natural environment as well as from the nascent environmental movement” (Khan, 2000, p. 157). The perspective of MPAs in South Africa thus has two polarised notions: firstly, MPA management and most ecological scientists arguing for the establishment of MPAs and no-take zones for its ecological benefit to marine biodiversity; and secondly, local fisher communities equating the establishment and management of MPAs as a threat to their livelihood and fishing identities and consequently generally holding negative perceptions of South African MPAs.

2.2.3 ‘No-take zones’ within Marine Protected Areas

Lester and Halpern (2008) argue that no-take zones are favoured since they offer complete protection from extraction of any marine resources. Similarly, Claudet et al. (2008, pp. 481-482) argue that “marine reserves, where all extractive uses are forbidden (i.e. no-take zones), have been recommended as tools for an ecosystem approach to fisheries management and for biodiversity conservation”. Furthermore, Claudet et al. (2008) posit that with a bigger no-take zone and smaller buffer zone (areas outside the ‘no-take zone’ where fishing is allowed), better opportunities for fish species to increase in abundance are possible. ‘No-take zones’ are also good measures against unsustainable overfishing and ensure that areas surrounding these zones are constantly supplemented by the production of fish in these reserves, “providing an effective buffer against overexploitation” (Sale, Cowen, Danilowics, et al., 2005, p. 75). Lester and Halpern (2008) further posit that no-take reserves offer significantly more

biological protection and thus more positive responses to marine biomass, size and diversity compared to marine reserves that are partially open.

Globally speaking, Sale et al. (2005) state that for effective and adaptive management of no-take reserves, partnerships and collaboration between reserve management, scientists, fishing communities and other stakeholders are essential, along with attention to socio-economic issues of the surrounding communities to ensure their quality of life and support for the reserves. Similarly, Guénette, Chuenpagdee & Jones (2000) stress that for MPAs to be accepted by the communities in which they are situated, there are two vital issues which need to be addressed. "Firstly, MPAs must be perceived as bringing tangible benefits to local fishers. Secondly, the trade-offs among various local usage groups must be broadly accepted by the community" (Guénette et al., 2000, p. 6). Conflict between 'no-take zone' management and surrounding communities has been recorded in a range of literature, primarily because of issues of access to historically and culturally important fishing areas (Sowman et al., 2011). Sale et al. (2005) argue that 'no-take' reserves can be considerably smaller with the same conservation benefit for specific species and that larger 'no-take' reserves can be impractical as they disadvantage local communities through closing their fishing grounds. Taking different peoples' perceptions of no-take zones into consideration, Schmidt (1997, p. 489) insightfully recognised this tension by stating that, on the one hand, "no-take marine reserves are being seen as the last great hope for the fisheries management in many parts of the world", and, on the other hand, asking "how can we justify them to people for whom fishing is their livelihood when we cannot predict what the benefits will be".

In the case of the no-take zone in the TMPA, Mann and Bruce (cited in Sunde & Isaacs, 2008, p. 32) noted that "the marine biodiversity protected within the TMPA is of immense 'value' to the nation as a whole and that its protection status should not be compromised by the needs of a few" and that "opening of the TMPA to fishing would thus result in the rapid depletion of healthy stocks to the detriment of the local fishery and, more importantly, to the detriment of the commercial and recreational fishers operating in the areas adjacent to the TMPA". Sunde and Isaacs (2008) counter the above by pointing out that this highlights the issue of how the polarised views of biological stocks and historical, traditional and cultural identity is valued "in a country where the history of local communities has been systematically devalued". Cowley, Brouwer and Tilney (2002) suggest that the abundance, mean size and catch per unit effort of certain fish species in the TMPA was higher than in

surrounding areas where fishing is allowed, showing the role of the TMPA no-take zone in the replenishing of fish stocks. "The findings of this study therefore lend further support to the other local and international studies with respect to the value of MPAs as a viable fishery management tool" (Cowley et al., 2002, p. 33). In South Africa, the TMPA alone protects approximately 11% of the country's coastline (Sunde & Isaacs, 2008).

2.2.4 People-nature relations around MPAs

Opoka (1993 in Le Grange, 2012, p. 333) posits that in a precolonial African context "there is a community with nature since man [sic] is part of nature and is expected to cooperate with it; and this sense of community with nature is often expressed in terms of identity and kinship, friendliness and respect". Behrens (2012, p. 188) notes that intergenerational learning grounded in African thought "is characterised by an emphasis on the continuity of a shared identity of persons through generations. Individuals perceive of themselves as belonging to a communal lineage comprising ancestors, the living and the yet to be born". Looking at the Covie community and two other case studies of Sowman et al. (2011), fishing was uniquely embedded and woven into the communities' cultural, social, ecological and political web of life in the marine areas next to which they lived (Faasen, 2006; Sowman et al., 2011; Williams, 2013). Fishing is a way of life for fishing communities and when fishing rights are taken away by governmental laws and regulations, fishers do not feel morally obliged to comply because they feel it is an unjust system (Faasen & Watts, 2007; Sowman et al., 2011).

Behrens (2012) explains two African notions of moral obligations to future generations. Firstly, it is traditionally believed and understood that land [the environment] is communal belonging not to an individual but to an entire community, which includes past, present and future generations. Secondly, present generations respect past generations by following in their footsteps and leaving the environment in a condition that would support future generations' basic needs. These two African notions are strongly evident in the Covie fishing community as Williams (2013) explains how fishing practices are transferred from generation to generation. The two notions and the intergenerational learning about fishing practices show Covie fishers' relationship with their natural surroundings as it helps them construct and sustain their identity as fishers as well as their survival (Faasen & Watts, 2007).

Sunde and Isaacs (2008, p. 33) point out that the monetary value of the TMPA is estimated at millions of South African Rands, but nowhere is the cultural, historical and spiritual value of the TMPA to surrounding fishing communities (including Covie) noted, making it seem that there is no value in these aspects. Sunde and Isaacs (2008, p. 33) lament that “this non-use value is not factored into the value of the park, nor is the loss of access for these communities accounted for”.

Francis et al. (2002, p. 504) identified the rise of community-based MPAs in East Africa, where “communities are becoming increasingly aware of the value of the coastal resources and empowered to care for them”. This link between people and their care for the environment is further supported by Le Grange (2012, p. 334), who argues that “the sense of wholeness [*ubuntu*] and interconnectedness of self [*ukama*] with the social and natural by implication means that caring for others also involves a duty to care for nature”. Toledo’s (1988) description of conservation in Mexico, as cited by Makwaeba (2004), is relevant to understanding how South Africa’s cultural heritage is inextricably linked to its biodiversity and conservation practices:

In a country that is characterized by the cultural diversity of its rural inhabitants, it is difficult to design a conservation policy without taking into account the cultural dimension; the profound relationship that has existed since time immemorial between nature and culture. Each species of plant, group of animals, type of soil and landscape nearly always has a corresponding linguistic expression, a category of knowledge, a practical use, a religious meaning, a role in ritual, an individual or collective vitality. To safeguard the natural heritage of the country without safeguarding the cultures which have given it feeling is to reduce nature to something beyond recognition; static, distant, nearly dead. (p. 116)

2.3 South Africa’s changing approach to people and parks

With the advent of democracy in 1994, political changes also reflected environmental changes from wildlife-centred approaches which attracted affluent white minorities to a more inclusive and "holistic conservation ideology" which included "social, economic, political as well as ecological aspects" (Khan, 2000, p. 156). Democracy brought about a “political climate in which a broad-based and socially responsive environmentalism could flourish in more concrete ways” (Khan, 2000, p. 173). However, in spite of celebrating the beginning of a democratic South Africa in 1994, the country was still left with “a complex apartheid-based

protected area and natural resource governance legacy” (Sunde, 2014, p. 1). This was little different to the National Park[s] Act of 1926 which stated that national parks were there for all South Africans' enjoyment, although black South Africans were mainly allowed in these areas as unskilled workers (Khan, 2000). This apartheid legacy was in direct contrast to the new Constitution of South Africa which emphasised both environmental justice and the protection of biodiversity, as well as provided a space for people’s dignity to be restored through the redress of past injustices (Sunde, 2014).

The history of protecting marine resources and coastal areas in South Africa, dates back to the late 1800s with the passing of the Fish Protection Act (Sowman et al., 2011, p. 575). Currently, the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 provides the “legal mandate for the establishing and management of MPAs in South Africa”. Along with this act, there are a plethora of other acts, laws, regulations, gazettes and policies protecting, managing and governing South Africa's natural environment, including MPAs. Some of these have particularly highlighted the inclusion of communities to share the benefits of our MPAs (Sowman et al., 2011). These include the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) of 1998, which makes provision for more inclusive decision-making and management processes in relation to the natural environment, including the marine environment (South Africa, Department of Environmental Affairs [DEA], 1998), the National Environmental Management (NEM): Protected Areas Act of 2003, which provides for the sharing of benefits from national parks and other protected areas with surrounding communities (South Africa, DEA, 2003), and the NEM: Integrated Coastal Management Act of 2008, which seeks to ensure equitable access to coastal resources (South Africa, DEA, 2008).

Despite these substantial changes in the South African legal framework to include socio-economic and traditional aspects in the protection of natural resources, various authors (Sunde & Isaacs, 2008; Sowman et al., 2011; Sunde, 2014) still argue that there is little to no evidence of implementation of these exceptional policies at grassroots level, and that conservation authorities still generally neglect the social-ecological relations with marine ecosystems. Additionally, the Marine Protected Areas section of the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 does not consider socio-economic or cultural aspects of MPA management (Sunde & Isaacs, 2008). Sunde (2014, p. 2) argues that “the struggles of small-scale fishing communities have highlighted the disjuncture of policies in place for the governance of protected areas and actual practice in the coastal waters”. Similarly, Khan

(2000) states that environmental justice after apartheid remained a huge challenge because it was implemented at a level of theory and discipline, rather than through action at a grassroots level. Poor communities thus generally remain at a disadvantage, which exacerbates conflict between them and conservation agencies.

In line with increasing recognition of the importance of ‘human social systems’ in biodiversity management and conservation (Fazey, Fazey, Fischer, et al., 2007), biodiversity conservationists’ perceptions of protected areas in general have evolved to include indigenous and local communities’ cultural values and involvement in decision-making that will ultimately affect them (Faasen, 2006). South Africa’s post-apartheid legislative framework mandates national parks and conservation areas to facilitate more participatory involvement from local and indigenous communities (Masuku Van Damme & Meskell, 2009). This new and inclusive approach to conservation in South Africa emerged with a fear, projected by local conservation agencies, that complete involvement of local communities in conservation management might come with expectations of socio-economic benefits for communities from conservation management teams. Ferketic, Latimer and Silander (2010, p. 1169) argue that in poor communities, socio-economic benefits are not such an unreasonable request and “it would be unjust to restrict tangible benefits from local stakeholders”.

2.4 People and Park relationships in the context of the Tsitsikamma Marine Protected Area and the Covie community

In the case of the TMPA and its surrounding communities, Covie included, policies which disrupt traditional practices and limit access to marine resources have caused tension and conflict between park managers and communities surrounding the park (Faasen, 2006; Faasen & Watts, 2007). For this literature review, I investigated three prevalent contentious issues which contribute to this tension between not only TMPA management and surrounding communities (including Covie), but communities surrounding South African protected areas in general. These three issues are: (1) participation and misunderstandings, (2) access to resources and (3) activities that are considered illegal.

2.4.1 Community participation, MPA management and situated [mis]understandings

In their global review of MPAs and their surrounding communities, particularly drawing on Attwood et al. (1997) for the South African section, Guénette et al. (2000) are of the opinion that management and planning within South African MPAs are problematic because of 1) the lack of proper geographical boundaries, 2) poor enforcement and inconsistency of the rules and regulations, 3) local communities' limited access to information about the MPAs, 4) the lack of enforcement resources and trained staff to enforce MPA regulations, and 5) pressure from local communities to gain access to marine resources. According to Attwood et al. (1997), there was very little to no participation from local communities in the establishment and decision-making processes of the TMPA. This, and the fact that the communities' fishing rights in the TMPA were completely taken away in 2001 (section 1.2.2), contributed largely to misunderstandings between the local communities and the management of the TMPA (Attwood et al., 1997). The lack of communication between the TMPA and communities surrounding the park, Covie included, has further led to additional misunderstandings about fundamental concepts such as sustainability and conservation. "Local communities consider conservation to include sustainable utilisation while conservation officials from the practice pursue absolute protection of the marine fisheries resources" (Faasen & Watts, 2007, p. 36). In the same way, Bonaiuto, Carrus, Martorella, & Bonnes (2002) argue that, globally, the lack of communication and opposing views make negotiations between different MPA stakeholders difficult and, more often than not, these processes of negotiation fail. In cases like this, Bennett and Dearden (2014, p. 108) describe MPAs as "biological successes and social failures".

Bonaiuto et al. (2002, p. 650) argue that globally, nationally and locally, "conflict around the institution of protected areas can probably be partially avoided using participatory and inclusive management approaches or by communication strategies". Likewise, Guénette et al. (2000) state that initial participation of communities and other stakeholders in the planning process of establishing a MPA would lead to greater success of the MPA. However, this is not the case for many MPAs, TMPA included, as they still follow a top-down approach (Guénette et al., 2000) which has proven to fail in the light of social-ecological complexity and when it comes to contextualised situations (Chaffin, Gosnell & Cosens, 2014).

2.4.2 Access to marine resources

For 11 years after its proclamation, until 1975, the TMPA remained open for fishing as well as the collection of bait (with relevant permits) to the surrounding communities due to certain agreements and socio-political pressures. Fishing was limited to only 15 sections in the park from 1975-1978 and then restricted to only a 3 km stretch in the park in 1979, along with the complete prohibition of bait collection (Hanekom et al., 1997). In complete contrast to the new democratic South African Constitution and the premise of ‘community conservation’ and inclusivity, the TMPA was completely closed for fishing to the surrounding communities in 2001, whereas sections had been open during the apartheid regime (Faasen & Watts, 2007). This contradicts the new approach and conceptualisation of conservation created by SANParks after 1994, which was more attentive to human needs, access to resources within the parks on a sustainable basis, and the preservation of indigenous histories and cultures of Africans, in an effort to move away from ‘colonial conservation’ (Cock & Fig, 2000).

The TMPA’s goals now have a strong focus on building relationships between park management and stakeholders and the equitable distribution of benefits to encourage support from local communities. Yet the local communities resent the TMPA for its ‘no-take’ policy which denies communities access to the coast and in turn leads to communities not supporting the park (Faasen & Watts, 2007). This is elaborated by Bonaiuto et al. (2002) who argue from a global perspective that:

... when the institution of natural protected areas is perceived by local residents as limiting or threatening to local economy, or when it is perceived by local communities as an imposed decision or as an unfair interference of national or supra-national authorities into local affairs, it is possible that specific groups of local residents will manifest negative attitudes and opposition to the institution of natural protected areas. (p. 636)

2.4.3 Illegal harvesting / Poaching

Faasen and Watts (2007) found that poaching by the local communities was a retaliatory move against the TMPA authorities for implementing the ‘no-take zone’. Guénette et al. (2000) argue a slightly different view with regards to poaching in South Africa though. They argue that most literature about South African MPAs did not consider that most of the MPAs were established under the apartheid regime which consequently explains the lack of consultation of indigenous people and marking all their activities as illegal. “This may

explain the high degree of non-compliance and poaching observed by researchers” (Guénette et al., 2000, p. 11), raising the question whether local communities are even aware that they are ‘breaking the law’ as these practices have been a part of their culture and tradition for so long that they consider their actions to be ‘right’. Khan (2000, p. 175) calls this the “criminalisation of a traditional activity”. Similarly, and looking at a study in Thailand, Bennett and Dearden’s (2014, p. 110) participants “felt that this [the regulations] had made traditional local fishers into criminals [because] they have to steal from the sea to make a living ... everything they do is illegal”.

In keeping with the history of fishing communities adjacent to MPAs in South Africa where the abovementioned tensions and conflicts have been experienced, planning for and management of the TMPA continues with minimal involvement from Covie and other surrounding communities. Sowman et al. (2011) state:

In the South African context, the failure to take cognizance of the human dimensions of MPAs is all the more striking as it is contrary to the broader intent of the country's Constitution, and its suite of environmental legislations and policy frameworks, which seek to integrate and balance the ecological, social and economic rights of its citizens. (p. 581)

2.5 Intergenerational learning in communities

In the last few decades, international discourses have reflected a stronger concern for sustainability and meeting the needs of future, not just current, generations. This orientation has been reflected in world conventions such as the Stockholm Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UN General Assembly, 1972), the Brundtland Commission (Brundtland, 1987), the Rio+20 Statement (UNCED, 1992) and the Johannesburg Declaration (UN World Summit, 2002). Hollingshead, Corcoran and Weakland (2014) state that there is a need for inter- and cross-generational learning about issues of sustainability, but that the concept of ‘intergenerationality’ is still underexplored and should not just be about including children and youth in initiatives about sustainable development.

2.5.1 Defining and understanding intergenerational learning

Osano and Adam (2014, p. 162) define ‘intergenerational transfer’ as “individual transactions whereby an individual bequeaths or gives something of value to an individual in a succeeding

generation”. Rather than define intergenerational learning in the context of social-ecological sustainability, Hollingshead et al. (2014) emphasise certain characteristics of intergenerational learning processes which include:

- different generations and different age groups learning together about each other, including experiences, values, and aspirations for sustainable futures;
- different generations and different age groups learning together about ecological, social, cultural, and economic events relevant to them;
- different generations and different age groups learning through shared experiences and training activities designed to develop academic knowledge and skills for addressing the challenges of sustainability. (p. 28)

Hollingshead et al. (2014) focus on learning processes where knowledge is transferred from older to younger generations and vice versa, with the inclusion of traditional and academic knowledge and skills. Osano and Adam (2014) only emphasise knowledge transfer from older to younger generations. This latter process of intergenerational transfer, about their traditional ways of doing and knowing to sustain their fishing identity and survival, has been documented in the Covie fishing community as described by Williams (2013) in this excerpt:

Knowing the resources is key for a fisherman; he remembered a saying that his father always reiterated: *‘Jy vat net van die see wat jy nodig het’* [You only take from the sea what you need] ... fishing was not only restricted to men, this study found that women played a key role in fishing, and even taught their children to fish, which typifies the passing of knowledge from one generation to the next. (p. 176)

There is resonance here between Hollingshead et al.’s (2014) characteristics of intergenerational learning and Williams’ (2013) evidence of intergenerational learning in Covie: the Covie fishers’ practices to ensure sustainability were passed from father to son. Intergenerational learning processes about traditional fishing practices in Covie can thus be understood to include cross-generational transactions of knowledge, skills and values that are important in caring for the environment and responding to sustainability challenges.

2.5.2 Intergenerational learning towards social-ecological sustainability

Hollingshead et al. (2014) argue that intergenerational learning is a young and emergent but important area of research in the fields of environmental education and education for

sustainable development. According to Ali (2014, p. 215), this research thread emerged as a result of the growing gap between older and younger generations in responding to “globalisation, urbanisation, formal education, modernity, climate change, forest and land degradation, deforestation and religion”. Ali (2014) further states that younger generations do not get ample opportunities to engage with their forefathers’ traditional ways of doing due to the nature, content and the amount of time they spend within the formal education system. Similarly, Schudel (2014) states that younger generations do not have access to their forefathers’ traditional practices because of modernisation. This growing gap between older and younger generations thus threatens the very nature, identity, culture and tradition of African communities. The Covie community is no exception to this growing gap in terms of policy changes and regulations, which restricts the Covie fisher folk from accessing traditional fishing sites where older generations were taught about fishing when they were young.

In a study looking at increasing young people’s contribution to agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa, Osano and Adam (2014, p. 160) state that “a disconnect between formal education and rural farming” is one of the reasons youths are not involved in agriculture. Colonial and post-independence formal education systems have replaced learning through indigenous knowledge systems and thereby disrupted the intergenerational nature of knowledge transfer in African communities. Ali (2014) calls this change in learning an “erosion of cultures” mainly through formal education about other cultures as well as the degradation of indigenous epistemology (see section 2.2.2). Consequently, Osano and Adam (2014) argue for an intergenerational approach to learning which will enrich education and knowledge-sharing processes about traditional practices in African communities.

Traditional ecological knowledge is a key aspect not just for social-ecological resilience but also in translating people's relationship with their environment through stories and histories (Ali, 2014). This study investigates the contextual relationship between the Covie fishers’ intergenerational learning about traditional fishing practices and their environmental care. Oral history of fishing is a significant part of the Covie fishers’ way of doing (Williams, 2013) and thus is a potential medium of intergenerational learning about their fishing practices. Schudel (2014) argues that abstract school knowledge can be concretised and strengthened by drawing on intergenerational learning about every day or traditional practices and knowledges. She adds that critical perspectives on environmental issues can be

developed when intergenerational learning “is used not as a way of reproducing societal structures and functions, but rather as a way of challenging the *status quo* and representing new and creative ways of tackling inequalities and injustices” (Schudel, 2014, p. 242).

Traditional intergenerational learning processes of sharing knowledge, expertise, practices, values and a way of life are integral to processes of concretising knowledge in the formal education mainstream to respond to sustainability issues. These learning processes are mutual and multi-directional as younger generations can also teach and mentor preceding generations about modern technology (Hollingshead et al., 2014) to complement traditional practices. Intergenerational learning about traditional practices can also contribute to and transfer the perspective of environmental issues and risks and the relationship with or attachment to the natural environment from generation to generation.

2.6 Our attachment to our surroundings: A ‘sense of place’

Theorisations of people’s ‘sense of place’ are diverse and have developed in numerous disciplines ranging from psychology to geography. I begin this section by outlining the range of perspectives on ‘sense of place’ before focusing on an anthropological application which seems most pertinent to this study. In broad terms, ‘sense of place’ investigates the “emotional connection between people and places” and has been categorised into various sub-divisions or concepts: place identity, place attachment, place dependence and place satisfaction (Deutsch, Yoon & Goulias, 2011, p. 7). Stedman defines ‘sense of place’ as “the meaning and attachments that community residents have towards their community” (Stedman, 1999, p. 765). Additionally, Cross (2001) makes explicit the diversity as well as the commonalities of theories of ‘sense of place’ by outlining five different definitions from five different disciplines (anthropology, environmental psychology, geography, landscape architecture/history, and sociology). Environmental psychology focuses on the “particular experiences of a person in a particular setting” and the “spirit of the place”. The geography discipline describes sense of place as the “bond between people and place or setting”, topophilia, with varying intensities and responses to the environment. In the landscape architecture and history discipline, a sense of place is explained as “something that we ourselves create in the course of time” and the sociology field contributes by describing that “sense of place involves a personal orientation towards place, in which one’s understanding of place and one’s feelings about place become fused in the context of environmental

meaning” (Cross, 2001, pp. 1-2). An anthropological definition that is of relevance to this study represents it as:

Place attachment is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual’s and group’s understanding of and relation to the environment Thus, place attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive experience, and includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place (Low, 1992, p. 165).

Considering place attachment from a cultural perspective, Low (1992, p. 1) argues that "for most people there is a transformation of the experience of a space or piece of land into a culturally meaningful and shared symbol, that is, place". Apart from this relationship deriving from experiences that are of importance and value to an individual or group's culture, it also develops from other aspects such as historical, social, political and cultural sources (Low, 1992). In general studies about environmental attitudes, considerations of the ‘actual place’ are mostly neglected and not taken note of (Low & Altman, 1992; Bonaiuto et al, 2002). Bonaiuto et al. (2002) further state that researching environmental attitudes and behaviour is unrealistic if researchers do not also consider the place within which the research is conducted, and the relationships people have with it. Theories of place assist us to look at the relevance of social structures and linked identities, attitudes and action towards the environment (Bonaiuto et al., 2002). Bonaiuto et al. (2002) note, however, that empirical research investigating the abovementioned connections to a specific place is still very uncommon.

Faasen and Watts (2007) found that local community members held strong views about the protection of the Tsitsikamma area because of their cultural and historical connection to the place through living there and using the land long before the proclamation of the TMPA. It is thus not surprising that these “local communities consider restrictions on access to the fisheries resources in the park as an infringement upon their traditional rights” (Faasen & Watts, 2007, p. 37). Most of the people living around the TS-GRNP are coloureds whose generations have lived here since before the park was even proclaimed and "they have an emotional attachment to the area" (Faasen, 2006, p. 68). There are clear links between a group’s identity which derives from a specific place and the relationship they have with the place they live in. Consequently, when their identity is threatened by the loss of access and

control over their 'place', their place attachment can grow stronger (Bonaiuto et al., 2002). Farrington (2006, p. 20) argues that "continuity with a cultural past is a central component in the maintenance of 'sense of place' through the performance of rituals that accompany local customs and practice". Thus, there is a strong link between 'sense of place' or place attachment and cultural identity, as well as traditional rituals and activities and the place in which all of these take place. This type of strong link was evident in the Tsitsikamma area where, according to Faasen and Watts (2007), the coloured communities felt such a strong historical and cultural connection to the place that they felt more inclined than non-native people to protect it, and they believed that recent immigrants (non-natives) had no historical rights to the place (Faasen & Watts, 2007).

It is important to note Stedman's (1999) cautions when working with theories of 'sense of place'. He explains:

Sense of place is an inherently change-averse construct, oriented towards preserving established meanings against rapid social change. This orientation is reflected, for example, in calls to preserve logging 'as a way of life', suggesting a defence of the views of the 'old-timers' against those of 'newcomers', of 'locals' versus 'outsiders'. In this view, established place meanings are often considered more valid and important than ones which challenge them. This orientation towards 'preserving meanings' reflects notions of community stability rather than community resilience. This may be problematic for sustainability if adhered to too strongly – there is a temptation to over-romanticize existing senses of place and marginalize voices that challenge them. (p. 768)

As another point of caution, Stedman (2003) notes that, in defining 'sense of place', greater emphasis has been placed on social construction than on the possible contribution of the actual material environment to people's attachment to a place. The scale of theories of place can range from very small, for example one's home or the neighbourhood, to relatively bigger, for example, an entire community. Individuals' experiences in the environment and the physical cues it provides contribute to people's affective responses and attachment to a place. Low and Altman (1992, pp. 4-5) argue that "affect, emotion and feeling are central to the concept" of place attachment, whether positive or negative, and are "accompanied by cognition (thought, knowledge, and belief) and practice (action and behaviour). Additionally, Deutsch et al. (2011) argue that activities done and time spent in a place links an individual

profoundly to the place where these are experienced. Place attachment can thus shape and develop an individual's or group's identity through activities which are embedded in a specific place, even over generations.

Low and Altman (1992) posit that place attachment is a very complex concept which includes various facets, types of attachments and relationships. Low (1992) argues that "place attachment in cultural terms reflects the major components of sociocultural life – social, material and ideological" (p. 175), adding that "a better understanding of place attachment may provide new options or, at the very least, provide better and stronger arguments for the conservation and maintenance of environments that would otherwise be destroyed or totally changed" (p. 183). To this end, Cross (2001) developed a typology of different relationships to place which constitutes place attachment. This typology includes six relationships, namely: biographical, spiritual, ideological, narrative, commodified, and dependent. Each relationship is comprised of different characteristics which develop an attachment to a place (Cross, 2001). The biographical relationship is characterised as historical and familial which develops over time and relates to being born in and living in a place. Characterised as more emotional and intangible, the spiritual relationship relates to a sense of belonging and is felt rather than created; whereas the ideological relationship is characterised as being more moral and ethical – living according to moral guidelines, religious or secular, for human responsibility to place. The narrative relationship is characterised by learning about a place through stories and includes the creation of myths, family histories, and political and fictional accounts. The commodified relationship is characterised by the ability to choose a place based on its desirable traits and lifestyle preference; whereas the dependant relationship is characterised by dependency of people or economic opportunity and lack of choice (Cross, 2000). The above-mentioned relationships were developed as an analytical framework for this case study (see section 4.3).

2.7 Learning in Communities of Practice

In light of the situated, sociocultural and historical nature of the Covie fisher folk and their fishing practices, and this study's particular interest in the relationship between their intergenerational learning and environmental care, it was necessary to frame the research with a sociocultural theory of learning. In this section, I now introduce Etienne Wenger's and Jean Lave's work on theorising communities of practice and the role of situated learning

within communities of practice. This theoretical framework assisted me to explore how the Covie fishers share knowledge and learn about their historical fishing practices, and the different roles members of the community play; later (in Chapter 4) I argue that the Covie fisher folk are indeed a community of practice. This theoretical framework further enabled me to investigate the processes of intergenerational learning among the members of the Covie community of fishing practice, the process of becoming competent fishers, and how this translates into environmental care.

2.7.1 Wenger's Community of Practice theory

Eckert (2006, p. 1) posits that a community of practice “is a collection of people who engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavour” and that it creates an “accountable link” between an “individual, group and place in the broader social order”. Her definition builds on the work of Etienne Wenger (2000, p. 226) who argues that “knowing is an act of participation in complex social learning systems”. These learning systems are complex in their social, cultural and historical essence and are enhanced by the traditions of knowing of like-minded groups, organisations or, as Wenger calls them, communities of practice. Over time and through a shared practice, a community of practice develops its own values, doings, sayings and power relations (Eckert, 2006). The success and sustainability of a community of practice rests on its ability to operate as a social learning system and to participate in larger learning systems (Wenger, 2000).

The Covie fisher folk form a strong social network (Faasen, 2006) that transfers knowledge about fishing practices not just for the success and livelihood of the community, but to sustain the identity of the Covie fisher folk through intergenerational learning and participation (Williams, 2013). Wenger (2000) states that learning takes place in the interplay between one's own experiences and the social standards of competence. As such, in Covie, the interplay between the community's standards of competence in fishing practices and each member's individual experiences of these fishing practices is what enables learning. Wenger (1998, p. 4) further states that participation, being both action and a form of belonging, “shapes not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do”. He explains that:

Families struggle to establish a habitable way of life. They develop their own practices, routines, rituals, artifacts, symbols, conventions, stories, and histories ... Surviving together is

an important enterprise, whether surviving consists in the search for food and shelter or in the quest for a viable identity (Wenger, 1998, p. 6).

According to Wenger (2009, p. 3), he and Jean Lave coined the term ‘community of practice’ “to refer to the community that acts as a living curriculum for the apprentice”; this community has both core and peripheral members (Wenger, 2009, p. 3). Additionally, Wenger (1998, p. 6) posits that “learning that is most personally transformative turns out to be the learning that involves membership in these communities of practice”. Communities of practice can thus be building blocks of social learning systems since the “primary focus of this theory is on learning as social participation” (Wenger, 1998, p. 4). There are three domains, or characteristics, which constitute and define competence in a community of practice: mutuality (mutual engagement), joint enterprise, and shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998). Along with these three characteristics, Wenger (2000) identifies three modes of belonging integral to the process of identity formation and learning in a community of practice: engagement, imagination and alignment. The three domains of a community of practice are discussed below in section 2.7.2, and the three modes of belonging are elaborated in section 2.7.3.

2.7.2 Three domains: Mutuality, Joint Enterprise, and Shared Repertoire

Wenger (1998) argues that there are three broad dimensions, or characteristics, that define a community of practice. These are: mutuality, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. *Mutuality* refers to all members of the community of practice mutually engaging and contributing to the practice in different ways (Wenger, 1998). In mutuality, there is interaction and meaning-making among the members (Tshabeni, 2015) as well as creating opportunities for active participation in the practice. Mutual engagement promotes diversity within the community of practice and nurtures relations among the members (Wenger, 1998). Eckert (2006) elaborates by stating that developing an understanding about the enterprise happens through different forms of participation, mutual engagement and mutual understanding of this engagement, whether consensual or conflictual. A *joint enterprise* of a community of practice constitutes the common goal towards which the members coordinated their efforts. It is how the community proceed with and sustain their lives (Wenger, 1998). A sense of accountability and helping each other is central to working together to sustain the enterprise (Wenger, 1998). Through active engagement to pursue a joint enterprise, a community of practice develops ways of doing, sayings, routines and tools, known as their *shared repertoire*

(Wenger, 1998). As the community pursue their joint enterprise, they develop and sustain certain techniques, styles and discourses as part of their practice (Tshabeni, 2015). The community of practice conduct themselves and their practice with respect to others and the world around them to build up a reputation or repertoire.

2.7.3 Three modes of belonging: Engagement, Imagination, and Alignment

Engagement, imagination and alignment, the three modes of belonging, are the essence of the process of creating one's identity and are what shapes and inspires learning (Au, 2002). Thus, how one engages, imagines and aligns oneself with the community of practice is what shapes and inspires learning, for example, learning about traditional fishing practices. Au (2002) is of the opinion that these three modes of belonging are advantageous in developing case studies about a specific focus (in her case, teacher education), its historical events and the links it has to community development. She posits that: (1) engagement represents the development of the community of practice through participation, and striving for excellence in the practice, (2) imagination investigates the historical aspects of the community and practice, and (3) alignment reflects the community of practice's efforts to address social realities within the community (Au, 2002). Applying this same framework to this study, engagement, imagination and alignment will contribute, respectively, to: (1) the analysis of active engagement in fishing practices and the dialogical process of understanding and being competent in the enterprise, (2) the imagining of past fishing practices and how they have changed (drawing on stories told by older generations) and making the connections between past images and today's practices, and (3) relating fishing practices to environmental care and social-ecological realities in Covie.

2.7.4 Conceptualising family groups as communities of practice

Au (2002), a communities of practice researcher, considers the concept of a community from two different perspectives. Firstly, she draws on John McKnight's (1995) definition of community as "the site for the relationships among citizens" (Au, 2002, p. 223). Over time, these relationships can become characterised by a sense of care for one another, or, as McKnight describes it, "the consenting commitment of citizens to one another" (Au, 2002, p. 223). However, Au (2002), in her case study of a community on the Leeward Coast of the island of O'ahu, Hawaii, argues that communities now doubt their capability to care for one another, and therefore become careless, and place this responsibility of caring in the hands of

social service organisations. Secondly, Au (2002) draws upon the work of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, specifically Wenger's definition of community as "the social configuration in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable as competence" (Wenger, 1998, p. 5). Wenger (1998) argues that communities are made up of a variety of different individuals, smaller groups, and families. Williams (2013) noted that in the Covie fishers' practices, they worked together as one unit, with households taking care of each other in terms of their survival, thereby creating a sense of family and, in Wenger's view, a community of practice.

In rural South Africa, families have been constructed through various contemporary processes which include social, cultural, historical, and economic processes (Montgomery, Hosegood, Busza, & Timæus, 2006). Families are predominately described in the nuclear (Euro-American) sense (Oyewumi, 2015) as social units, conventionally consisting of two parents and children. However, Williams (2013) indicates that within the Covie community, the concept of a family is viewed in a more extended way. For example, most of the families/households consist of at least three generations and sometimes have extended family members in the same household. Because the community of Covie is so small, "many people were in some way or the other related to each other; therefore, the strong community bonds formed were largely as a result of family ties" (Williams, 2013, p. 180), making Covie 'one big family'. Thus, for this research, I (1) drew up a family tree which includes all the participants and their relation to each other (Appendix 1) and (2) defined 'a family' in the context of Covie as 'a small group of individuals that are socially, historically, culturally or ancestrally related to each other, living and working together in pursuit of a joint enterprise to sustain their larger community/family's way of life'.

2.7.5 Situated learning processes in Communities of Practice

Using a situated learning theoretical approach presents an opportunity to explore the interrelatedness of an individual's mind, cultural and historical practices, and the social world instead of looking at these components as separate from each other (Lave, 1991). She explains that "learning is recognised as a social phenomenon constituted in the experienced, lived-in world, through legitimate peripheral participation in ongoing social practices" (Lave, 1991, p. 64), and that these ways of learning are not guided by an explicit educational or moral set of instructions. In line with these understandings of learning as a dynamic process in sociocultural context, Handley, Sturdy, Fincham and Clark (2006, p. 642) state that

“individual learning should be thought of as emergent, involving opportunities to participate in the practices of the community as well as the development of an identity which provides a sense of belonging and commitment”. In social situations and settings where problems are present, the work towards finding solutions for those problems and how the solutions will be evaluated creates opportunities for learning and the realisation of expertise (Billett, 1996). In the light of this and my research interest, “MPAs should be designed as ‘platforms for social learning’ to be able to include traditional and other knowledge collaboratively and to react to change in an adaptive manner” (Ferse, Máñez Costa, Máñez, Adhuri & Glaser, 2010, p. 27).

A challenge for researchers of situated learning is the complexity of translating the lived experiences of social practices into a "specific analytical approach to learning" (Lave, 1991, p. 67). Similarly, Billett (1996, p. 264) cautions against the opaque "understanding about the cognitive consequences of situated learning largely because the relationship between social circumstances and cognition remains unclear". It is for this reason that Herrington and Oliver (2000) suggest that observing a community of practice is an essential aspect of investigating the complexities of situated learning. They further posit that one of the first steps in the process of participating in cultural practices is observations from the periphery or ‘legitimate peripheral participation’ (Herrington & Oliver, 2000).

2.7.5.1 Legitimate Peripheral Participation

In Lave and Wenger’s apprenticeship learning model, they describe ‘legitimate peripheral participation’ as a process that includes peripheral participation, then limited participation, and finally full participation in the community (Handley et al., 2006). A person becomes part of a community through legitimate peripheral participation in activities of the community, gaining both an identity as part of the community as well as knowledgeable skills (Lave, 1991). Lave (1991) argues, therefore, that continuous work and participation in practices are important contributors to learning for an apprentice.

More recent arguments, however, challenge the notion of participating to become part of a community of practice. Lave (2004) and Wenger (1998) argue that “participation may involve learning trajectories which do not lead to idealized ‘full’ participation” (Lave, 2004, cited in Handley et al., 2006, p. 664) and “that there may be a number of different forms of participation including marginal” (Wenger, 1998, cited in Handley et al., 2006, p. 664) rather than a standard ‘legitimate peripheral participation’ process. Handley et al. (2006) posit that

these contradictions are important to note since not all the members of a community wish to participate fully. They further stress the importance of investigating the power dynamics at play within the community and its influence on participation. Therefore, it is important in this study to consider participation in the traditional fishing practices of the Covie in terms of power relations *within* the community and not just external power relations such as regulations set by the TMPA.

2.8 Conclusion

The first section of the chapter reviewed literature on the different perspectives of marine protected areas on a global and national level. It highlighted that approaches to the establishment of protected areas, including MPAs, have historically excluded social aspects such as culture, history, socio-economics and politics, particularly in relation to communities living adjacent to the protected areas. With this said, a substantial amount of the literature argues for conservation agencies, interested and affected stakeholders, and local and indigenous communities to work together to ensure effective planning and management of protected areas. Against this backdrop of relationships between protected areas and their surrounding communities, the chapter discussed South Africa's new community and participatory approach to conservation. However, this section highlighted that South Africa has one of the world's most robust environmental policy frameworks, but it is not effectively implemented at grassroots level. Consequently, tensions exist in the relationships between protected areas and grassroots communities. These were highlighted in this chapter in this section on the relationship between the TMPA and the Covie fishing community.

This chapter further reviewed literature on the significance of intergenerational learning in traditional communities, noting that 'intergenerationality' is still a relatively new field of scholarly research. Intergenerational learning processes enable the transfer of traditional knowledge and skills, and occurs across different generations, in all directions. A key interest in this chapter is the relationship between intergenerational learning and environmental care. As such, the chapter then discussed the attachment people have to their natural surroundings under the concept of sense of place and place attachment. This section highlighted that the environment which people live in and have an attachment to becomes a source of learning and developing experiences instead of a mere place. Finally, the chapter introduced Wenger's theory of situated learning within communities of practice as the theoretical framework of

this study. The discussion highlighted that the practice of a community is at the center of its identity, and that communities of practice are set in a complex social learning system, and include the three dimensions namely: mutuality, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. This section elaborated on the three modes of belonging to a community (engagement, imagination and alignment) as the essence of the process of creating one's identity and what shapes and inspires one's learning.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In conceptualising this research project, careful consideration was given to the methodology that would best suit the research questions, orientation, analysis and representation. This chapter describes the study's research orientation, the range of qualitative methods used to generate data (through observations, a focus group discussion, a mirroring workshop, and semi-structured interviews), methods and tools used to analyse the data generated, and issues of research validity and ethical considerations.

As described in *Chapter Two*, this study was informed by a combination of theoretical and conceptual frameworks to understand the Covie community's intergenerational learning processes about their historical fishing practices and its link to their environmental care. The fieldwork phase of data generation took place over four months (March-June 2016), a two-phased thematic data analysis process over six months (March-August 2016), and the compilation and write-up of this research report over five months (July-November 2016). A total of 12 family members of the bigger Covie family (see section 3.3) participated in and informed this research project. The forthcoming sections of this chapter further discuss the study's orientation, methods, and analysis, and issues of validity and research ethics.

3.2 An Interpretivist Orientation

Williams (2013) argues that people's relationship with and dependence on nature dates back over millennia, and that various positions and approaches have been developed to look at these people-nature relations. In contemporary research that counters positivist paradigms, these relationships are no longer interpreted through cause and effect perspectives, but rather as "complex systems that cannot be reduced to mathematical analysis" (Williams, 2013, p. 38). This shift from positivist to interpretivist perspectives encouraged a school of thought which argues that people are not separate from their surroundings nor the meaning, attachment and volition they create around that specific surrounding (Lee, 1991; Lin, 1998; Williams, 2013). Furthermore, Lee (1991, p. 347) argues that, in order for researchers to understand each social construction of reality, "the observing social scientist must, among other things, interpret this empirical reality in terms of what it means to the observed people". Runeson and Höst (2009) argue that an interpretive study "attempts to understand the phenomena through the participants' interpretation of their context". I have thus taken an

interpretive orientation to my research and its analytical processes, in order to understand the relationship between the Covie community's intergenerational learning processes about their fishing practices and their environmental care. Due to the strong link between the Covie community members' mediated fishing practices, their broader environmental practices and sense of place, an interpretive approach was best suited as it emphasises the difficulty of understanding social phenomena without considering people's perceptions of their surroundings and how it affects their well-being (Lin, 1998).

Embarking on a process of understanding the place attachment and volition of the Covie community members in relation to intergenerational learning about their fishing practices, I identified a qualitative, interpretivist case study to be an appropriate methodology for this research.

3.2.1 Qualitative Case Study

Merriam (1988) and Yin (1994) (both cited in Merriam, 1998, p. 27) respectively define case study as “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit” and “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context”. According to Merriam (1998, p. 27), “the single most defining characteristic of case study research lies in delimiting the object of the study”. This case study was limited to only one of the Tsitsikamma fishing communities, Covie, and focused on investigating the relationship between intergenerational learning and environmental care in that context. This single case study provided “in-depth investigation and rich descriptions” (Darke, Shanks & Broadbent, 1998, p. 281) of intergenerational learning about fishing practices, the Covie fisher folk as a community of practice, and the influences of the 2001 policy changes, helping to understand the participants' attachment to Covie and how their environmental care is manifested.

Enabling the participants to tell their stories through a close partnership with the researcher is, according to Baxter and Jack (2008), one of the advantages of a qualitative case study approach. My research included a strong emphasis on hearing people's realities to understand their care for the environment and how that is manifested as a result of learning about their historical fishing practices. Darke et al. (1998) argue that case study allows for action to be understood *within* context. Thus, decisions by Covie residents about environmental care

cannot be understood without considering their natural setting and/or cultural context. This study required a multi-method data generation design in order to understand how intergenerational learning about fishing practices influenced environmental care. Thus, a qualitative case study was appropriate, as Baxter and Jack (2008, p. 554) posit that the use of multiple data sources is a “hallmark of case study research”. The following section (3.2.2) elaborates on why Covie was selected as the case study site.

3.2.2 Covie – the selected case for this study

Having worked with the Covie community on tree planting, clean-up campaigns and conservation education programmes (see section 3.6), I was quite familiar with the community and, to a certain degree, their contextual background. I have seen Covie community members fishing in Nature’s Valley since I moved there in 2009 and, during casual conversations with them on the beach, heard first-hand what a big part fishing plays in their lives. Through these encounters, it became anecdotally evident that fishing is rooted within most of the generations of Covie families, they are attached to the area even in impoverished and challenging conditions, and they ‘care’ for their natural surroundings. Therefore, Covie was selected as the case study site with the assistance of Williams’ (2013, p. 41) three pre-determined criteria for the selection of her case study sites, namely 1) the richness of the data, 2) the researcher’s familiarity with the case study, and 3) personal motivation.

Maxwell (2009) argues that purposeful sampling allows the researcher to deliberately select a place, participants or activities in order to generate important information which other sources would not have provided. Consequently, I strategically selected the key informant Covie families (see section 3.3) as participants on the basis of how long they have lived in Covie, whether they still fish regularly and for what purposes, and whether teaching about fishing practices across and within generations still occurs. I selected these families with the assistance of the Covie Community Property Association (CCPA), an active platform of community members fighting for the land rights of Covie. It was also through the assistance of the CCPA that I got access and permission (see section 3.7) from the community to conduct this research with them.

3.3 Research Methods

As described in section 3.2, this study was designed as an interpretive case study which called for qualitative data generation methods and analytical processes. Schutz (1973, cited in Lee, 1991, p. 347) argues that “social science calls for methods radically different from, and foreign to, those of natural science”. In case study research, Loubser (2005) argues that data generation includes interviews which add in-depth understanding of key informants to the case, and observation of events.

Data for this case study was generated between March and June 2016 using four research methods: (1) five naturalistic observations, (2) a focus group discussion with eight members of the Covie family, (3) a mirroring workshop with the same participants who attended the focus group discussion, and (4) eight semi-structured interviews with selected members of the key informant families. It is worth noting that, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the concept of family is very complex in a community like Covie. I initially proposed to identify two key informant families to participate in this case study, but throughout the research process I found that I could not categorise the research participants into ‘nuclear’ conventional family structures as described by Oyewumi (2015). This, in turn, created a challenge for my research methodology, but also emphasised the disposition of the Covie community to being ‘one big family’. Consequently, I developed a family tree (Appendix 1) representing all the research participants and their familial relations to each other, alongside a definition of a Covie family in relation to this study (see section 2.7.4).

As described below, each research method contributed to my understanding of the phenomenon. Appendices 2 and 3 respectively refer to a data generation plan and an index and inventory of data sources.

3.3.1 Naturalistic Observations

I conducted a total of five naturalistic observations in Covie and along the Tsitsikamma coastline, primarily Nature’s Valley, to familiarise myself with the sociocultural, historical and current practices, and to assist in legitimising or refuting statements made during the other data generation methods. I conducted these observations as a participant observer, remaining in the social background with permission and acceptance from the community members (Gillham, 2000).

Three of the five sets of observations were conducted in Nature's Valley where some of the participants were fishing. During the first observation day, which lasted approximately six hours, I observed three generations of Covie fishermen (Michael, Anwill and Marquin) as they shared their knowledge and experience and learned from each other. The second observation lasted approximately three hours and was conducted at night with three Covie brothers (Clive, Bernit and Michael), all of them research participants. This observation day was significant for understanding how learning about fishing practices occurred within one generation of brothers, but more importantly, one generation within their community of practice. During the third observation day in Nature's Valley, I observed Michael, Bernit and Ernest fishing at the Salt River fishing rock for approximately three hours. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate scenes from observation days 1 and 3 respectively.



Figure 3.1: Marquin, Michael and Anwill (three Covie generations) fishing in Nature's Valley (Photo: Cindy-Lee Cloete)



Figure 3.2: Bernit, Ernest and Michael fishing at the Salt River fishing rock in Nature's Valley (Photo: Cindy-Lee Cloete)

The remaining two observation days were conducted in Covie and included observations of the research participants as well as observations throughout the greater Covie community. These two days of observations comprised of observing fishing-related practices at home, as well as identifying how environmental care manifested in the community. Observation day 4 was primarily conducted at Michael and Elsabè's house and lasted approximately three hours. Apart from just being in the social background, I also interacted with them in their normal routine at home. Figure 3.3 illustrates an image from observation day 4.



Figure 3.3: Michael and Elsabè's clean homestead, and Michael's cleaned fishing gear against the tree on the left of the photo (Photo: Cindy-Lee Cloete)

These observations allowed me to directly observe the participants' fishing practices, learning about these practices and the manifestations of their environmental care instead of relying on second-hand accounts (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). To record my observations, I used three types of recording systems described by Simpson and Tuson (2003, p. 35) as "systematic recording, descriptive recording and technological recording". These respectively included prepared observation schedules (see Appendix 4), written detailed narratives of my observations (see Appendix 5), and a camera, video recorder and iPhone.

3.3.2 Focus Group Discussion

Loubser (2005, p. 190) defines a focus group interview as "a moderated informal discussion among people... who share a common interest in the topic being researched". This step in the

research process was an important one as it gathered a “collective view” (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 367) on teaching and learning about fishing practices, particularly mediated through a focus on intergenerational learning, participants’ sense of place, and their perspectives on the 2001 TMPA policy changes. Furthermore, a focus group discussion, according to Wilkinson (1998, p. 112), also “offers an important opportunity to explore issues relevant to the person-in-context, providing a valuable methodological tool”.

With the assistance of the CCPA, I identified eight community members who are well-informed, are knowledgeable, have experience, and have been a part of the community over generations to participate in the focus group discussion. Thereafter, since most of the community members had already received an introductory letter about my research (section 3.7), I visited all eight participants and verbally invited them to the focus group discussion, in Covie. The participants included Michael, Elsabè, Marquin, Clive, Bernit, Ernest, Johannes and Ettiene (see Figure 3.4 and Appendix 6 for the focus group discussion attendance register). Seven of the eight participants were male and their age groups ranged from 12 to 60+ years old. All the participants were related to each other in some way (see Appendix 1 for the family tree) and formed part of the bigger Covie family as explained in section 2.7.4.

The focus group generated rich data because it allowed “respondents to react to and build upon the responses of other group members, creating a synergistic effect” (Steward & Shamdasani, 1990, cited in Wilkinson, 1998, p. 117). Appendix 7, the focus group transcript, illustrates how the participants reacted to and built upon each other’s stories to generate rich data.

The focus group discussion, approximately an hour long, further enabled me to select participants to include in the semi-structured interviews based on their knowledge and fishing practices. With permission, I video- and audio-recorded the focus group discussion to ensure that all relevant data was captured because the discussion was open-ended and multi-layered and could not be comprehensively recorded by note-taking alone (Loubser, 2005; Cohen et al., 2007). I then transcribed the focus group discussion and used direct quotations from it during both phases of the analytic process to compile analytic memos. Figure 3.4 illustrates the focus group discussion participants enjoying the memories of their shared stories.



Figure 3.4: The focus group discussion participants sharing their stories (Photo: Marco Barnardo)

3.3.3 Mirroring Workshop

This method included all the participants of the focus group, except Ernest, and additionally included two other members of the community, Anwill and Greg. After participating in the mirroring workshop, Anwill became a participant in the semi-structured interviews and the observations. Greg, however, was only an observer in the mirroring workshop and did not contribute to the discussion or become a research participant in any of the data generation methods. I used the mirroring workshop to either affirm or refute and then extend my understanding of the participants' perspectives (from data generated during the focus group) about learning about their fishing practices, their place attachment, and how these manifest as environmental care. I did this through what Wals (2010, p. 387) refers to as "mirroring", by reflecting the participants' "insights, experiences and feelings" gathered at the focus group back to them. The mirroring workshop also created a platform (as used by Engeström, Virkkunen, Helle, Pihlaja & Poikela (1996) as a 'change laboratory' methodology which includes the use of mirror data) to present to participants the challenges they experience in their activity systems to further discuss and understand their fishing practices.

The mirroring workshop emerged from the first data analysis phase (see section 3.4.1), which ensured that data generation and analysis occurred simultaneously "to progressively focus

your interviews and observations, and to decide how to test your emerging conclusions” (Maxwell, 2009, p. 236). After an inductive analysis of the focus group discussion, I identified six broad categories in which I included my perceptions of what was discussed, as well as direct quotations from the focus group discussion, to ‘mirror’ back to the participants. This gave the participants an opportunity to confirm the mirrored data or rethink it in light of different viewpoints (Wals, 2010) as illustrated in Figure 3.5. In their ‘change laboratory’ work, Haapasaari, Engeström and Kerosuo (2014) used video recordings as ‘mirror material’ to reflect the participants’ experiences back to them. I used flip chart paper as the mirror material to relay the participants’ viewpoints back to them. With permission, I video- and audio-recorded the 45-minute mirroring workshop.



Figure 3.5: The mirroring workshop taking place with the participants in Covie (Photo: Cindy-Lee Cloete)

3.3.4 Semi-structured Interviews

The focus group discussion, mirroring workshop and observations enabled me to design the semi-structured interviews as well as select the key interviewees from the participating families. Drawing on the data generated through all the other research methods, the semi-structured interviews filled gaps in the data and contributed to a comprehensive and authentic data set to answer the research questions (Loubser, 2005). Appendix 8 represents the interview schedules. The semi-structured format of interviews allowed me to be responsive as

the interview evolved and I could therefore alter the structure and order of the questions (Cohen et al., 2007).

Upon reflecting on the data generation process, after the focus group and mirroring workshop, I realised that all the participants, except for Elsabè and Marquin, were older men. This highlighted a gap in my research since the Covie community and fishing practices include all the members of the families who are active participants. Consequently, apart from the initial selected five interviewees, which included Elsabè, I purposefully selected another two female participants and an eight-year-old boy from the key informant families to conduct semi-structured interviews with in order to make the study more representative of the community (Maxwell, 2009). The participants in the semi-structured interviews included Marquin, Clive, Michael, Anwill, Elsabè, Avice, Helen and Keenun. Currently, Covie's population is just over 80 residents and this case study included 12 of the community members, comprising approximately 15% of the community.

By the time of the semi-structured interviews, I had built a rapport with the participants to ensure deep, insightful and honest answers instead of 'socially desirable responses' (Maxwell, 2009). Similar to the focus group and mirroring workshop, I conducted the semi-structured interviews in Afrikaans, and then transcribed all eight interviews (Appendix 9 is an example of a semi-structured interview transcript). With permission from all the interviewees, I audio-recorded the interviews to ensure verbatim transcripts. After this interesting, and at times challenging, three-month data generation phase of the research, I conducted an intensive process of analysing the data sets to make sense of it all.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data was analysed in two phases: (1) an inductive analysis phase of the raw data generated through the focus group discussion, and (2) an inductive and abductive analysis phase of all the data generated throughout the rest of the study.

3.4.1 Phase One of Analysis

This initial phase of analysis was conducted with the focus group discussion data to feed into the mirroring workshop (section 3.3.3). I transcribed the video and audio-recordings taken at the focus group into a 10-page transcript (Appendix 7). I then thoroughly read and re-read the

transcript to identify emerging broad, cohesive and dissonant themes, patterns and categories (Ryan, 2006) on how historical fishing practices are mediated through intergenerational learning, and how their sense of place and fishing practices manifest as environmental care. I identified a total of six broad categories into which I tabulated the data. The six broad categories were (1) relationship with Covie, (2) historical fishing habits/practice of the community, (3) fishing with children and grandchildren, (4) learning about traditional fishing practices, (5) caring and love for the environment, and (6) other experience and skills gained through their fishing practices. In preparation for the mirror workshop, I wrote each of these categories with their respective supporting statements on flipchart paper to present to the participants.

This form of coding my raw data through categorising enabled me “to develop a general understanding of what is going on, to generate themes and theoretical concepts, and to organise and retrieve data to test and support ideas” (Maxwell, 2009, p. 237). Through this initial phase of analysis, I gained important insights into how fishing practices were passed from generation to generation, how ways of learning these practices have changed and what affected these changes, and how environmental care manifests within this community of practice. As a result of these insights, I identified areas to probe further and discuss in upcoming data generation methods such as the tacitly changed role of women in the community of practice, how learning processes within the community of practice have changed, and community members’ expressions of environmental care.

In establishing the aforementioned six categories, I had to take care not to fall into the trap where categorising my data led “to the neglect of contextual relationship among these data” which in turn could “create analytical blinders” if data is analysed out of context (Maxwell, 2009, p. 237). To ensure that the categorisation of this first analytical phase did not compromise my second phase of analysis, I drew on Maxwell’s (2005, cited in Maxwell 2009, p. 237) differentiation of categories into “organisational, substantive, and theoretical categories”. The six categories of phase one were broad and established before the semi-structured interviews, thus organisational, and formed the basis for phase two of the analysis. Substantive categories are inductively developed and describe concepts used by participants, and theoretical categories are established by predetermined concepts.

3.4.2 Phase Two of Analysis

As suggested by Darke et al. (1998), I followed a three-step action plan during this second phase in the analytical process: firstly, a process of data reduction which included a “process of selecting, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the raw data” (Darke, et al., 1998, p. 285); secondly, a process of data display through organised coded categories of data in the form of analytic memos to be able to draw conclusions; and finally, a process of conclusion drawing which allowed me to “draw meaning from the data and build a logical chain of evidence” (Darke, et al., 1998, p. 285).

The second phase of the analysis was divided into two stages: inductive and abductive. As a personal preference, I printed the transcripts of all the data generation methods for this process. During the inductive analysis stage of this phase, I read through each transcript four times, once for each of my four research sub-questions, to create organisational and substantive categories. After identifying these categories, I coded them (see Appendix 10 for an example) and read through each transcript again, working across the different data sets, to look for evidence of each of the categories, one at a time. I highlighted and marked sections of evidence relevant to a specific category with that category’s code (an example of this is also shown in Appendix 10). Following this process, I drew up an inductive analytic memo for each of the study’s four sub-questions with their respective categories, empirical evidence correlating with each category, and corresponding data sources. These four inductive analytic memos were translated from Afrikaans to English for ease of representation in *Chapter Four*. (Appendix 11 presents analytic memo I produced towards answering sub-question 1.)

A similar process was followed during the second, abductive, stage of this phase of analysis. I used the clean set of transcripts (with no coding from phase one) to develop an abductively analysed set of transcripts. During this stage, I used Wenger's (2000) community dimensions as an analytical framework, Table 3.1 below, to investigate if the Covie fisher folk operate as a community of practice. This framework also enabled me to investigate learning to participate in fishing practice through displaying competence. I used this framework for sub-question two in particular and read through the data sets in search of the six main concepts of this framework, namely mutuality (mutual engagement), joint enterprise, shared repertoire, engagement, imagination, and alignment. Appendix 12 and sections 2.7.2 and 2.7.3 give a

brief description of what each of these main categories and concepts represents. Using these six categories, I compiled an abductive analytic memo for sub-question two.

Table 3.1: Wenger’s Community Dimensions Framework (adapted from Wenger, 2000).

	Enterprise: learning energy	Mutuality: social capital	Repertoire: self-awareness
Engagement	What are the opportunities to negotiate a joint inquiry and important questions? Do members identify gaps in their knowledge and work together to address them?	What events and interactions weave the community and develop trust? Does this result in an ability to raise troubling issues during discussion?	To what extent have shared experiences, language, artefacts, histories, and methods accumulated over time, and with what potential for further interactions and new meanings?
Imagination	What vision of the potential of the community is guiding the thought leaders, inspiring participation, and defining a learning agenda? And what picture of the world serves a context for such visions?	What do people know about each other and about the meanings that participation in the community takes in their lives more broadly?	Is there self-representation that would allow the community to see itself in new ways? Is there a language to talk about the community in a reflective mode?
Alignment	Have members articulated a shared purpose? How widely do they subscribe to it? How accountable do they feel to it? And how distributed is leadership?	What definitions of roles, norms, codes of behaviour, shared principles, and negotiated commitments and expectations hold the community together?	To what traditions, methods, standards, routines, and frameworks define the practice? Who upholds them? To what extent are they codified? How are they transmitted to the new generations?

Similarly, I investigated the participants’ sense of place or place attachment by using Cross’ (2001) six place relationships, as described in 2.6, and the analytic framework (section 4.3). This framework allowed me to describe the participants’ relationship to Covie and the surrounding area through using the five different relationships set out by Cross (2001) and the specific type of bond and process that aligns with each relationship. These six relationships were biographical, spiritual, ideological, narrative, commodified and dependent. I used this framework in particular to understand their attachment to Covie and assist in answering sub-question three. Using these six categories, I compiled an abductive analytic memo for sub-question three. The abductive analysis stage of phase two thus created two abductive analytic memos from the abductively analysed transcripts, apart from the four inductive analytic memos. For this reason, evidence represented in *Chapter Four* from the two abductive analytic memos was referenced with an ‘[ab]’ (for example, (CMI4, p. 4, // 177 – 178 [ab])). The two abductive analytic memos were also translated from Afrikaans to English.

Both of the abovementioned stages helped me construct a narrative to present the data in *Chapter Four*. There were some words or phrases in the data sets that lost their authenticity

when translated to English. I therefore kept these words and phrases in Afrikaans and italicised them with the closest English translation in square brackets. For example, “the participants mentioned that fishing was the ‘*beleid*’ [policy] of Covie” (CMI4; OD1).

3.5 Validity

From the conceptualisation phase to the commencement of this research project, I was made aware of various threats to the validity and reliability of the entire research process. Maxwell (2012, p. 129-130) states that researchers have “relied mainly on the methods used in a study to assess its trustworthiness and validity”, but argues that “validity pertains to the accounts or conclusions reached by using a particular method in a particular context for a particular purpose, not to the method itself”. Recognising that validity threats vary according to the context and purpose of each study, I undertook the following to enhance the validity and trustworthiness of this study.

3.5.1 Triangulation

Triangulation, as defined by Maxwell (2009, p. 245), is the process of “collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods”. Similarly, Cohen et al. (2007, p. 493) argue that triangulation compares data “across a range of situations, times, groups of people and through a range of methods”. I used a four-stage data generation method to confirm data generated by various sources (Botes, 2003) as well as to confirm findings (Baxter & Jack, 2008). In this study, triangulation allowed “for better assessment of the generality of the explanations that one develops” (Maxwell, 2009, p. 245). I could confirm findings from one data set by correlating it to another data set, as well as identify discrepancies between data sets.

3.5.2 Respondent validation

In this study, the most substantial forms of respondent validation, or member checking, occurred through the mirroring workshop where participants were given the opportunity to confirm or dispute my interpretations of the information shared at the focus group. This process of member checking allowed me to clarify certain statements that were made during the focus group and allowed the participants to further describe the phenomenon (Botes, 2003) or “contribute new or additional perspectives on the issue under study” (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 556). I gave all seven interviewees a printed verbatim transcript of their interview

and gave them a week to read through the transcripts before I returned to discuss the validity of what was written. During these follow-up meetings, all interviewees were satisfied with my representation of their accounts and opted to keep the copies of their transcripts, except for Helen, who did not want me to have to go to the expense and inconvenience of printing another copy of her transcript.

3.5.3 Audit trail

To increase transparency and validity of the research process, I electronically stored all the data sets on my computer, on an internet-based back-up system, OneDrive, as well as on two different external hard drives. The filing system on my computer and OneDrive was identical and consisted of a folder for preparations before the data generation phase, folders for each of the data generation methods, a folder for data analysis, and a folder for all the chapters. Ryan (2006) argues that this labelling and organising of all the data sets into relevant folders makes it easier for interpretation. Baxter and Jack (2008) add that this filing system, or database as they refer to it, enhances the reliability of the research and creates an archive for easy retrieval and logistical information. The reason I opted for a manually configured database as opposed to a digital software programme was because I wanted to stay as close to my data sets and sources as possible, as Baxter and Jack (2008) caution that digital software programmes can distance researchers from their data in the analysis process.

3.5.4 Rich data and thick descriptions

To accrue ‘rich data’, my involvement with the Covie community was very intense during the data generation phase of the first four months of the research project (February-June 2016). Coupled with this is my longer-term involvement with Covie over the last seven years of my employment status with the Nature’s Valley Trust (NVT). Together, these two kinds of involvement with Covie enabled me to generate data that are “detailed and varied enough that they provide a full and revealing picture of what is going on” (Maxwell, 2009, p. 244). During all my data generation methods, especially my observations, I was consistent in taking detailed, thick and descriptive field notes of discussions and my observations (Appendix 5). I video- and audio-recorded both the focus group and mirror workshop, and audio-recorded all seven semi-structured interviews to ensure verbatim transcripts to add to my own field notes (Maxwell, 2009). Since all the data generation was conducted in Afrikaans, all data sets, except for my observation field notes and narratives, were also

recorded and transcribed in Afrikaans. I translated some of the empirical data into English for ease of reporting in the thesis and this posed a threat to the validity and reliability of the study. To attenuate this threat, I included one of the original transcripts (Appendix 9) and an example of an analytic memo (Appendix 11) as appendices and included some original extracts which were translated into the body of my thesis (Nikander, 2008). I am also fully bilingual in Afrikaans and English.

3.5.5 Participant reactivity

I became acutely aware of participant reactivity as a validity threat during observation days 4 and 5 in Covie. These two observation days were different from the rest in that they took place in the participants' homes in Covie. My attention was drawn to this threat because they brought me out of the social background into their immediate real life situation. For example, during observation day 4 at Michael and Elsabè's home, they finished the tasks they were busy with when I arrived and then came to sit with me as 'hosts' where I was doing my observations. Although I made significant observations during observation day 4, I felt that them bringing me into their immediate real life situation was problematic in that I 'distracted' them from their authentic routine.

Therefore, in preparation for observation day 5, I carefully negotiated the terms for observations in Covie (Cohen et al., 2007) with all of the participants when I had a meeting with the interviewees about their transcripts. On observation day 5, I also spent at least an hour in the community to get them accustomed to my presence in the community before commencing with my observations, as suggested by Cohen et al. (2007) and Maxwell (2009). I could thus remain in the social background during observation day 5 because the participants got used to my presence and also understood the terms of my observations. Furthermore, instead of using my field notebook, I used my iPhone to make field notes during observation day 5 as it seemed less intrusive and formal, and more social and casual.

3.5.6 Peer review

To enhance the validity and reliability of my analytical process and draft findings, I analysed the raw data set from the focus group discussion, identified initial broad categories through an inductive analysis, and formulated two preliminary findings that I presented to my Masters research class and research advisors for critical feedback. Apart from this, I also asked

another social science researcher based at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg to conduct a brief thematic analysis of observation day 2's transcript to compare to my own analyses of the same transcript.

3.6 Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

Following Maxwell's (2009) advice on thinking about the relationship you want to have with your research participants and how you want to establish these relationships, I recognised that I needed to particularly establish relationships of trust, since the community knows me as a NVT employee. NVT is an organisation with a very scientifically-driven section that works with other conservation authorities, like SANParks, to ensure that fishermen comply with the national fishing regulations. My position at NVT is facilitating various conservation education programmes and projects with local communities, including Covie.

In order to establish relationships of trust, I had several meetings with some of the community leaders to explain my position as a researcher, independent of NVT, and that I want to understand their relationship with Covie and the surrounding areas through learning about their historical fishing practices. This was very important for my data generation phase as I wanted the participants to be as natural, open and honest as possible with me. Throughout the study, I continuously reflected on my position as an independent researcher as well as an employee of NVT and how these two relationships influenced each other. I journaled issues, concerns and opinions pertaining to myself, the research participants and the research process in general (Watt, 2007). I used the same reflective journal to lay out data generation plans and analytical processes, and to record reflections and interpretations emerging from the data sets.

The biggest area of tension for me was related to people's understandings or expectations of the study's position in relation to, and potential influence on, legislation affecting Covie members' access to coastal areas. In the light of Minister Molewa's new fishing regulations proposed late in 2015 and the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries' 2016 campaign to register all small-scale fishermen from historical fishing communities, I had to explain clearly what my research entails to all the participants (Thuo, 2013), and that currently my research has no influence on decisions made about the abovementioned processes. I reflected on how these processes influenced my interpretation of participants' perspectives on these two nationally-driven processes by constantly discussing it with peers

and fellow scholars, both at NVT and other universities. Discussions with my supervisor greatly assisted in decision-making processes such as whether or not to include more Covie women in the study, and in responding to the social dynamics of conducting observations in people's homes.

Lastly, it is worth noting that I do not have a background in fishing nor did I grow up in a community that practiced fishing for our livelihood or as part of our identity. I therefore had to familiarise myself with fishing terms, tools and sites to understand the community's practices and how it contributes to their sense of care for the environment.

3.7 Research Ethics

My familiarity with the Covie community and my position as a novice researcher motivated me to ensure that I remain aware of the ethical considerations throughout the research process and be attentive to keeping a balance between my research demands and the rights and values of the research participants (Cohen et al., 2007). This process started by meeting with the CCPA and some community leaders in February 2016 to introduce this study to them to acquire initial permission from them to conduct this research in Covie, as well as to assist in the selection of the participants. After this meeting, I arranged another meeting with one of the CCPA members to deliver a letter to the community (Appendix 13) informing them about the research, its timeline and expectations.

With assistance from the CCPA, I formally invited eight voluntary participants for the focus group, and explained the research and what participating in it would entail. After verbally agreeing to participate, the participants signed a written consent form, confirming their voluntary participation. On this consent form (Appendix 14), I gave all participants, throughout the research process, the option to choose how they would like their contribution to be acknowledged in the final research report: as anonymous, a pseudonym or their real names. Every participant indicated that they wanted their real names to be used. The consent form also asked for permission to use the video, audio and photographic material as evidence in the research report, to which all the participants agreed (Cohen et al., 2007). Marquin and Keenun's individual consent forms were signed by their grandmothers, Elsabè and Avice respectively, as they are both younger than 18 years.

All my communications with the participants, CCPA and community leaders, as well as the supporting documentation, were conducted in Afrikaans because it is the mother tongue of the community. Through this, I ensured that the community could comprehensively express their perspectives and experiences in a language they feel comfortable with, and that this study was not experienced as an imposition on the community. Similarly, the transcripts were all compiled in Afrikaans for member checking (see section 3.5.2). I kept a well-organised filing system and ensured data sources were correctly labelled and stored (section 3.5.3).

I was particularly aware of the gender and power relations and hierarchy within the community of practice in Covie, and at all times ensured respectful interactions with all members of the community, particularly the older fishermen as they were seen as the most competent in the practice. This was made easier because of my ethnic background, connection and familiarity with the community. I regularly reminded the participants of my position as a researcher and was open and honest about the purpose of the project and engaged truthfully with the participants when issues of concern arose, like the participant reactivity validity threat outlined above in section 3.5.5. In the research report, I took extra care to stay true to the authenticity of the data and its representation in context to the case.

3.8 Conclusion

In summary, this research was conducted as an interpretivist qualitative case study and included a multi-phased data generation methodology. This multi-phased approach consisted of four research methods, namely five observations, a focus group discussion, a mirroring workshop, and eight semi-structured interviews. I selected the Covie community because of their history as a fishing community, both for their livelihood and identity, and because of my familiarity with the community through years of working with them. The data analysis process included three phases and consisted of an initial inductive analysis of the focus group discussion, followed by a second, two-staged inductive and abductive phase, and finally, a brief narrative analysis of the Covie women's stories. To ensure the validity of the study, I triangulated my research methods, kept a good audit trail, wrote thick descriptions, went through two processes of respondent validity, and responded to participant reactivity. Generating data for this research was ethically defensible in terms of the general conventions of ethical educational research, and particularly the Rhodes University Education Department's Research Ethics Guidelines.

Chapter 4: Covie's fishing tales

4.1 Introduction

This chapter represents the data generated with the Covie community between February and July 2016. The focus of my research was to investigate the relationship between Covie fisher folk's intergenerational learning about fishing and their environmental care for their surroundings. Therefore, the data in this chapter is represented according to the study's four sub-questions as outlined in Section 1.3.

Section 4.2, as a theoretical underpinning for the study, posits that the Covie fisher folk are indeed operating as a community of practice. This was established through analysed transcripts which were coded for Wenger's (1998) three characteristics of a community of practice: mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire.

Section 4.3 represents the Covie fisher folk's sense of place by using Cross' (2001) place attachment analytical tool to investigate the different relationships the 12 participants have with their place. This section responds to sub-question 3 which explores how a sense of place is constituted.

Section 4.4 responds to sub-question 1 which explores how the 2001 new fishing regulations adopted in the TMPA have influenced and shaped intergenerational learning about traditional fishing practices. It presents evidence of how fishing practices have changed, intergenerational learning has been shaped, and roles within the community of practice have been redistributed.

Section 4.5 describes different ways that intergenerational learning about fishing practices take place and the process of learning to become a competent fisher within the community of practice. This section responds to sub-question 2 which investigates how intergenerational learning about fishing practices is facilitated by older generations for younger generations to become competent fishers.

Finally, section 4.6 responds to sub-question 4 and presents evidence of how the Covie fisher folk's care for the environment manifests. These manifestations of care predominantly

emerge from knowledge about the ocean and surrounding environment, which was acquired through active engagement in the community of fishing practice.

4.2 Covie as a community of fishing practice

Covie is a very small fishing community approximately two kilometres from the coastline (see section 1.2.1) where they predominantly fish off the rocks and from the beach. The community is sparsely populated with clusters of houses which are at least a few 100m from each other. These clusters of houses are either right next to the one main road in Covie, or branch off from the main road and are situated a few meters from the main road. Plates 1 and 2, at the end of this chapter, illustrate the landscape and community setting as well as images of the species of fish mentioned right throughout this thesis. As noted in 2.7.4, Covie community members have strong bonds with each other because they are related to each other.

All the research participants, except for Johannes, were related to each other. Michael and Elsabè are married and live with their grandson, Marquin. Michael has three siblings, Clive, Bernit and Avice, who also live in Covie with their respective families, and were research participants. Avice is married to Ernest and their grandson, Keenun, lives with them in Covie. Helen is Ernest's sister. Anwill and Ettienne are cousins and live in the same house. Appendix 1 is a family tree which illustrates all the participants and their relation to each other.

Throughout my analysed and coded transcripts, there was substantial evidence of mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire within the Covie fisher folk's fishing practices. Wenger (1998) identifies these three elements as characteristics of a community of practice. Thus, through data presented in the sub-sections below, I suggest that the Covie fisher folk constitute a community of practice. This section of the chapter draws on analytic memo 5 which was produced out of my abductive analysis.

4.2.1 Mutual engagement (Mutuality)

This sub-section is structured according to the three main characteristics of mutuality as identified by Wenger (1998), namely enabling engagement, diversity and partiality, and mutual relationships, as introduced in section 2.7.3.

- Enabling engagement

Opportunities to engage in the practice of fishing were enabled by allowing young community members to accompany the older and competent Covie fisher folk when they went fishing. These created opportunities for participation and learning, evident in the following statements by Anwill, Elsabè, Avice, Helen, Keenun and one of the focus group participants:

- I went with them to the sea and through that, taught myself (CMI4, p. 1// 4 [ab]).
- I always went along [to go fishing] (CMI5, p. 1, // 20 [ab]).
- We went to the sea quite regularly (CMI6, p. 1, // 3 [ab]).
- From when we were still in school, my dad included us in the fishing business (CMI7, p. 1, // 2 [ab]). We went with them to the sea (CMI7, p. 3, // 106 [ab]). We had to help work the fish, cleaning and such and help carry [the fish] home (CMI7, p. 1, // 10 – 11 [ab]).
- We took tree branches and looked for fishing line and hooks on the rocks because it is always tangled there ... we then put bait on to cast (CMI8, p. 3, // 76 – 77 [ab]).
- They took us along to the sea, and we stayed there [for weekends and holidays] (FGD, p. 1, // 26 [ab]).

A few of the participants shared how the more competent and older members of the Covie fisher folk were determined to do whatever necessary to enable engagement in the fishing practice and, ultimately, membership of the community of practice. Elsabè remembered her Aunt Olga saying, “Don’t worry child, I am going to make a plan. Man, then she breaks off a branch from a ‘taaibos’ [a tree], curved like a fishing rod, and puts on [the bait] for me” (CMI5, p. 1, // 5 – 6 [ab]). Avice concurred: “We had little branches which they simply broke off like this” (CMI7, p. 1, // 20 – 21 [ab]). Similarly, Keenun noted how his grandfather enabled him to participate by allowing him to use one of his smaller fishing rods when Keenun himself did not have one yet: “My grandpa had a small one, like mine now, and a big one; because he had two, my grandpa gave me the little one to catch fish” (CMI8, p. 4, // 126 – 127 [ab]). Keenun’s participation was further enabled when his grandfather bought him a fishing rod: “We got fishing rods on Christmas Day” (CMI8, p. 2, // 46 [ab]). Further opportunities were created for members to engage in the different aspects of the practice if they could not go down to the sea: “Sometimes they also brought fish home to clean – then we watch what they do. Then we see, no, but it is actually easy” (CMI3, p. 1, // 28 – 30 [ab]).

Younger members also learned to fish at different fishing spots. Michael taught Marquin about the community's styles and tricks that are used at these different spots (CMI1, p. 1 [ab]). Anwill also remembered being taught the latest tricks, methods and styles about fishing at different fishing spots: "Sometimes you have to hold the rod on your left side, other times on right side; you have different styles to cast at the sea" (CMI4, p. 1, // 33 - 34 [ab]). "We learned about different methods" (CMI4, p. 4, // 171 [ab]). Clive explained that the older Covie generations did whatever was necessary to enable engagement even in uncomfortable and dangerous fishing sites by saying, "Look, he [Clive's dad] often cast for me, some places are uncomfortable so then he casts himself and then he gives the rod to me" (CMI2, p. 1, // 22 - 23 [ab]). Engagement was also enabled through easier ways of participation to contribute to the fishing practice, as Michael explained: "You simply stand on a rock next to a gully at the sea and let your baited hook sink down" (CMI3, p. 1, // 22 - 23 [ab]). Anwill recognised that their process of becoming competent fishers was further enabled because Covie was so close to the sea (CMI4).

Elsabè also remembered how opportunities were created for them to learn from each other. For example, when a young member of the Covie fisher folk goes fishing for the first time, the older fishers encourage younger fishers who have started participating in the practice to teach the new comers (CMI5). There is a history of fishing in Covie since older generations also practiced fishing and passed it on to their children, who passed it onto their children, enabling mutual engagement across generations. "I know back to my grandpa and I know they went to the sea more than we do, so yeah - I don't know the generation before that [of his grandparents] but they of course also fished" (FGD, p. 6, // 203 - 204 [ab]). In addition, Michael also noted that "I have already seen that many of them [Covie community members], if their forefathers didn't fish then they don't fish either. But now, the children whose forefathers fished, they all fish, see" (CMI3, p. 3, // 127 - 129 [ab]).

- Diversity and partiality

The Covie fisher folk enjoyed diversity of members in their practice because the community of practice spanned generations and included entire fishing families as most of the individual family members were included in the practice (FGD). This diversity enabled the Covie fishers to fish more efficiently because of the different roles members fulfilled. The Covie fisher women contributed to the practice with their style of fishing and took on the role of the bait collectors, forerunners and signallers (see section 4.4.5). The roles of the members of the

Covie community of fishing practice complemented each other and made the practice easier, for example, how the women and the men's roles complemented each other. Avice explained this: "The men would go in the evenings after work to catch bigger fish such as *Elfe* [Shad] with the *Strepies* [bait] the woman caught during the day while the men were at work" (CMI6, p. 1, // 12 – 13 [ab]).

Diversity in the Covie community of fishing practice was maintained by encouraging mutual engagement of all members which created different levels of hierarchy and roles within the practice depending on experience and competence (FGD). During observation day 1, I observed three different generations (Michael, Anwill and Marquin) fishing together (OD1) which created the opportunity to contribute to the community's diversity in the practice as all three fishers bring different experiences and expertise from outside into their practice. I observed that Marquin protected his grandfather's catch while the latter was still fishing (OD1) and in his interview, Marquin confirmed: "Sometimes I watch the catch so that the birds don't take it" (CMI1, p. 2, // 35 [ab]). "Marquin did not catch anymore but was fulfilling another part in the practice. He kept watch over the catch and helped with packing and moving to different fishing spots. He also observed a lot" (OD1, p. 3, // 127 – 128 [ab]). The diversity in the community also enabled learning from each other and making meaning of others' knowledge and competence as I noted during observation day 1:

Anwill, who came back to the camp to fetch something from his bag, explains to Marquin and I that they don't use red bait in the summer months but rather in the winter months and that's why Marquin's grandfather won't use that now. Marquin asked, 'Oooh – only with worms now?'. Anwill answered, 'Yes – and with *Strepies* in the summer'. ... Michael tells Anwill to put on a bigger hook because *Elf* normally bites the small ones off. And I got a sense he was speaking from experience. ... Marquin uses the technique his grandfather just used to try and catch the *Kolstert* in the pool (OD1, pp 2 - 3, // 85 – 119 [ab]).

There are also power relations and hierarchical dynamics at play within the Covie fisher folk as during the focus group discussion the older fishermen spoke for the women and children when it came to their fishing practices (FDG). Some Covie fishermen, like Ernest, are much more competent and are therefore closer to the core of expert practice of the community of practice:

- One thing I notice when Ernest casts is that he throws so much further than the rest of them. He looks so much more experienced (OD3, p. 1, // 46 – 48 [ab]).
- Bernit casts over Ernest's line and says that that was a bad cast. Ernest says that it is fine because his line is more to the left and Bernit's is more to the right. 'It's okay, my line is over here and yours is over there', as he points to where their lines are located (OD3, p. 2, // 46 – 48 [ab]).

- Mutual relationships

Sustained engagement creates deep social relations and bonds between the Covie fisher folk as a community of practice. As if one big family, and through participating in the fishing practices, Covie community members form relations which strengthen them as a unit. Participating in activities such as friendly competitions in their fishing practices also builds these relationships, as noted by Michael that, "One always wants to be above the other – they want to actually brag to one another. No, I caught the biggest one today. It is almost like competition fishing; we compete against one another" (CMI3, p. 5, // 203 – 204 [ab]). The different members also formed close and mutual relational ties because they are a part of the practice: "Mikey says they take salt and stuff with them from home, make a little fire, and prepare fish to eat together at the beach" (CMI5, p. 4, // 151 – 152 [ab]). Observing Ernest, Bernit and Michael, this social bond was evident through their interaction with each other while fishing:

The three of them share stories about what happened last night when they were fishing. Bernit and Michael were here (Salt River) last night and so they are telling Ernest about their catches as well as the other guys that were here and caught some fish – and how they were doing it. They all have a good laugh at all the stories about how some of the guys were struggling the night before (OD3, p. 1, // 37 – 40 [ab]).

In conclusion, the data shows that the Covie fisher folk sustain the practice through active and mutual engagement, and older members also create opportunities for engagement by younger members. The practice enjoys a variety of young and old, male and female, and competent and apprentice fishers working together in pursuit of their joint enterprise. Mutual engagement in the practice of fishing appeared to reinforce the relationships among the Covie fisher folk, contributing to a close-knit community.

4.2.2 Joint enterprise

A large part of the Covie community members' joint enterprise is to sustain their identity as fisher folk through encouraging learning that will pass the practice on across the Covie generations. Anwill, Elsabè, Keenun, and Avice respectively noted:

- That is why they also taught us littlies [to fish], so that we can continue the [Covie fishing] *beleid*³ [policy], so that we don't destroy it (CMI4, p. 1, // 10 – 11 [ab]).
- She says because the day that she's no more, I must teach her children and my children and grandchildren [to fish] (CMI5, p. 3, // 101 – 102 [ab]).
- If I fish, my grandma boasts about my fishing skills, this is why it is pleasant (CMI8, p. 3, // 112 [ab]).
- He wants to go to the sea because he feels he wants to go to the sea (CMI6, p. 3, // 99 [ab]).

Another element of the community's enterprise was their survival and livelihoods. Clive explained: "I have to go to the sea so that there can be something to eat tonight with the piece of bread" (CMI2, p. 1, // 13 [ab]); "Sjoe, I don't have anything to eat tonight so I must go to the sea" (CMI2, p. 2, // 17). Fishing was "a help for the house" in terms of the Covie community members' livelihoods (CMI3, p. 1, // 7 [ab]), "because what will be on the table" (CMI5, p. 3, // 102 [ab]) if they do not go fishing? But fishing is also more than just putting food on the table. Apart from maintaining their fishing identity, fish is also what they as a community prefer to eat, as Keenun stated: "Our people like to eat fish, our land's [Covie's] people like to eat fish" (CMI8, p. 2, // 56 [ab]). Again, even when referring to their joint enterprise as their survival and lifeline, the participants mentioned that fishing was the *beleid* [policy] of Covie (CMI4; OD1).

There is also a big element of enjoyment in engaging in the practice not just as a secondary pursuit, but one of the main enterprises of the community. Marquin, Helen, and a participant during the mirroring workshop noted this enjoyment, as did I during observation day 2:

- Fishing became very pleasant for me (CMI1, p. 2, // 50 [ab]).

³ *Beleid* means a way of life, a code of conduct and an inherent way of doing things or what the community is known for – the best English translation for *beleid* is policy – but, in essence, policy does not describe a way of life. I will thus use *beleid* from this point onwards instead of policy.

- It was sometimes for the pleasure too (CMI7, p. 3, // 102 [ab]).
- It is indeed pleasant to go fishing, you just want to be at the sea (MW, p. 3, // 101 – 102 [ab]).
- Clive and Bernit look so at peace ... it is like they can sit there forever, even if they did not catch anything (OD2, p. 2, // 45 – 46 [ab]).

Helen explained two aspects of their enterprise, namely 1) having fun while fishing, and 2) all the Covie fisher folk as one big community (CMI7). Similarly, participants in the focus group recognised that fishing was a collective practice: “It is in the family” (FGD, p. 6, // 206 [ab]). The fisher folk put a lot of energy and effort into the practice to help with the survival of their families: “You take the whole day off because you have to walk to the sea ... think of that man’s effort. That man went fishing for his family” (CMI3, p. 3, // 122 – 125 [ab]). “Bernit and Michael have been here [fishing at Salt River] since 11 in the morning and they are still here [late afternoon]” (OD3, p. 2, // 82 [ab]). Elsabè remembered the energy one of the Covie women put into the fishing practice: “But that auntie, really, she walked [far] man” (CMI5, p. 2, // 63 [ab]), as well as that of her own mother: “She walked down the hill and she walked up the hill. And when they went to fetch the fish, they walked up the hill from the Valley” (CMI5, p. 2, // 65 – 66 [ab]).

All 12 participants have been a part of the fishing practice for most of their lives (explained in section 4.3). During the focus group discussion and mirroring workshop, there seemed to be a collective and coherent response by most of the participants about outside factors they have no control over, influencing them and their practices. When asked about the availability of fish in the bay, Ernest said: “But as we said, it is not the people living here [Covie] that made things change, it is people who came from outside” (FGD, p. 12, // 118 – 119 [ab]). Similarly, Johannes explained that the reason the number of fish is declining is because “those guys, they park the boats just before the water break then they dive and use fishing spear guns along the banks” (MW, p. 4, // 161 – 163 [ab]).

The Covie community members’ enterprise included caring for the entire community when it came to their survival, as Michael noted; “In Covie things are different; if you catch too much [fish] then they give to one another” (CMI3, p. 1, // 39 – 40 [ab]). Likewise, Helen explained that “if they caught enough [fish], they don’t sell it; they give it to the people [in Covie] that cannot go to the sea” (CMI7, p. 3, // 97 [ab]). When engaged in the fishing practice, the Covie fisher folk also felt mutually accountable for each other’s safety, either when teaching

younger fishers or among competent fisher folk. Helen reflected on her childhood experiences: “We must also not get too close to the water. They made our *stok en draad* [tree branch and fishing line] so long that we were a little way from the waves” (CMI7, p. 1, // 21 – 22 [ab]). Helen further explained that this protected them from strong crashing waves while they learned to catch little fish (CMI7). When they go fishing together, they are accountable for each other’s safety at the beach (CMI4). During observation day 1, Michael told Anwill to “wait for the tide to go out a bit more because the water is still too rough which makes it dangerous” (OD1, p. 1, // 21 [ab]).

Through their joint enterprise, the Covie fisher folk help each other to make things easier while fishing, as seen during observation day 2 when Michael, Bernit and Clive worked together to ensure each other’s safety as well as ensure that all three of them caught some fish (OD2). Throughout the day, there was a sense of accountability among the three brothers as they assisted each other and made decisions together (OD2).

The community’s joint enterprise is more than just a goal, it is their way of life. Through their fishing practices, they sustain their identity as a fishing community, as well as their survival. The way they negotiate their collective fishing practice and are accountable to one another has produced a shared repertoire (a collective of doings and sayings), and has influenced how the Covie fishers respond to outside factors affecting their practice.

4.2.3 Shared Repertoire

As a part of the Covie community of fishing practice, members need to comply with a set of intangible fishing rules and regulations established by the community over time. These rules are not documented but are understood by each member as they are passed on through generations, as Anwill explained:

There was a precise way how you had to do it. See, why I say this, we go to the sea, maybe down here, then we are not going to leave litter at the sea, not be licentious at the sea, catch too many of one kind or so. There simply just was a measure how we caught it [fish] and always kept it [the area] clean. So, there is indeed a *niek* [technique]. Our people, our forefathers taught us like this (CMI4, p. 1, // 17 – 20 [ab]).

Similarly, Helen reflected:

One day, my father said to me, to us actually, because we were all together, he said: ‘Remember this one thing now – these things that you do, you take out of nature. But you must always leave [some], in nature you must also leave [some]. You can’t remove everything. You must leave a little for the next time.’ Then I said: ‘Yes, Daddy, we know this’ (CMI7, p. 3, // 124 – 128 [ab]).

This way of doing, passed on from generation to generation, built a legacy of fishing in the Covie community for its members. “Look, our forefathers gave us this knowledge” (CMI2, p. 3, // 106 [ab]) and with this knowledge “we can just follow in their footsteps” (CMI3, p. 1, // 8 [ab]). Anwill explained that following in their parents’ footsteps:

Their tools won’t disappear, you understand? In that way, they actually left us a legacy ... we now uphold the *beleid*, we build it – and we tell our children, that was Covie’s thing and this is how it must live on (CMI4, p. 1, // 14 – 17 [ab]).

Both Anwill and Elsabè respectively expressed how they were taught to make tools for the practice: “They taught us how to make the kind of bags they made, the fish bags” (CMI4, p. 1, // 23 – 24 [ab]) and “Aunt Olga broke Bluegum branches for us to fish with, not thick ones you see” (CMI5, p. 1, // 13 – 15 [ab]). Significant care was shown for their fishing tools and equipment, for example, Helen shared that “they [Covie fisher folk] were precise on their boat [when they still had one]” and Keenun explained that they are not allowed to cast at certain rocky areas for fear that they might lose their hooks and sinkers (CMI8). I also observed that Michael had a certain section of their laundry line at home for his fishing tools after he had cleaned them (OD4). The practice’s tools are also important draw cards for younger generations to participate in the practice: “I always longed for my first little reel ... from then on I couldn’t stay away from the sea anymore” (FGD, p. 7, // 223 – 225 [ab]).

In terms of passing on their ways of doing, Michael said: “I want to teach him [Marquin] while he is still young. He must know where the bad spots are and where the easy spots are. He must know what he must do when he gets there” (CMI3, p. 4, // 155 – 156 [ab]). Telling stories about their experiences is a part of their tradition and it also creates a bond between the members of the community of practice. At home, they also shared stories about fishing and the practice, noted, for example, in my observation notes: “Elsabè prompted Michael to

tell me certain ones [stories] which indicated that stories were shared” (OD4, p. 2, // 54 – 55 [ab]).

The Covie fisher folk have developed and established a code of fishing conduct which is adhered to by its members and passed onto generations to form a fishing legacy. Their ways of doing have a long history and have created resources to use in their practice as they pursue their joint enterprises.

4.3 Place attachment to Covie and surrounds

I drew on Cross’ (2001) relationship to place analytical framework (section 2.6) to investigate the eight interviewees’ ‘sense of place’ in Covie and the surrounding area, and inform sub-question 3. Cross (2001) identified a typology of six relationships or attachments to a specific place, namely biographical, spiritual, ideological, narrative, commodified and dependent. Appendix 12 describes each of these relationships to place and Table 4.1 below is a representation of the eight interviewees’ place attachment to Covie.

Table 4.1: The place relationship each of the interviewees has with Covie (Adapted from Cross, 2001).

Relationship to Place	CMI1: Marquin	CMI2: Clive	CMI3: Michael	CMI4: Anwill	CMI5: Elsabè	CMI6: Avice	CMI7: Helen	CMI8: Keenun
Biographical	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Spiritual			√	√	√	√	√	
Ideological	√							
Narrative								
Commodified	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
Dependent								

As summarised in Table 4.1, the interviews reflected three very strong forms of attachment to Covie. The strongest relationship to Covie, as described by the interviewees, was a biographical one. Following Cross’ characterisation of a biographical relationship, it includes a long history with a place by either being born there, or having lived there for a long time. All of the interviewees expressed an attachment to Covie because of the fact that they have lived there for most of their lives:

- I’ve lived here since I was small (CMI1, p. 1, // 14 [ab]).
- Lifelong, because we grew up here (CMI2, p. 1, // 3 [ab]).

- Lifelong (CMI3, p. 1, // 1 [ab]).
- Why I have such a bond with Covie, look, I grew up in Covie. I grew up in Covie, from five years on and I lived here for the rest of my life (CMI4, p. 4, // 177 – 178 [ab]).
- I was six years when we came to live here [Covie] and I am now 53 (CMI5, p. 3, // 94).
- This is our birth place (CMI6, p. 1, //31).
- I was not born here but when I was barely in school, we had to move here [Covie] (CMI7, p. 6, // 244 – 245).
- I was born in the Cape, and then we moved to Covie (CMI8, p. 1, // 2 [ab]).

Since job opportunities in Covie are scarce, community members pursue employment in surrounding towns and areas. Clive explained that he worked in various places and as a result had to move away from Covie. His attachment to Covie drew him back and consequently he resigned from his job and even sold the house he owned in one of the other areas to move back to Covie. When asked why he resigned, Clive stated that the other places were not his place, he did not feel at home and that is why he moved back to Covie (FGD, p. 10; CMI2, p. 3 [ab]).

Cross (2001) argues that when decisions to stay in a place are made based on certain preferences or characteristics and traits, the relationship to that place becomes commodified. Seven of the interviewees were attached to Covie because of specific characteristics, traits and gains, making this the second strongest relationship with Covie. Transversely, there were three main commodified reasons why the seven interviewees were so attached to Covie. These included safety, the tranquil quietness of the place, and its peaceful nature. Michael argued, “It is a peaceful life here in Covie for us. That’s why we don’t want to move away from here if we can help it” (CMI3, p. 5, // 195 – 196 [ab]). Taking a holistic view and referring to South Africa in general, Clive noted that, “it is more about your safety. Covie is still one of the places where you can sleep with your door open” (CMI2, p. 4, // 146 – 147 [ab]). This attachment and commodified relationship with Covie has been passed on to the younger generations, as Marquin explained in his interview that Covie “is a quiet place and not so many things happen here that happen in other places. Here, people don’t kill one another or steal from each other” (CMI1, p. 1, // 4 [ab]). Avice agreed with Marquin that in Covie no one steals from each other by saying, “Here you can still leave your washing outside” (CMI6, p. 3, // 96 [ab]). Keenun said that he prefers living in Covie because it is quiet and “here are only a few people in Covie, that is why” (CMI8, p. 5, // 174 [ab]). The

natural environment around Covie also holds certain gains, like free indigenous medicine, which is one of the reasons Elsabè is so attached to it:

When my back is sore, I just go down this gravel road at the oak tree to pick *Bekruip* for my back, and I pick *Nierbossie* as well – and the *Bos-salie*, I picked some for myself the other day. For when you have a cold and cough (CMI5, p. 3, // 131 – 133 [ab]).

Furthermore, six of the seven interviewees regarded Covie as ideal compared to other places and preferred living there because of the safety, quiet and peacefulness. Clive said that he would not want to raise his children anywhere else but in Covie because of these three characteristics (CMI2, p. 4). Some of the other commodified traits which created a strong attachment to Covie included (1) the fact that the community is like one big family, (2) everyone knows and is close to one another, (3) the supportive nature of the community, (4) the surroundings protecting the community from natural elements and crime, and (5) the surrounding environment that keeps them healthy and supports them in their way of life (FGD, p. 10; MW, p. 10, p. 4; CMI2, p. 4; CMI3, p. 1; CMI4, p. 4).

Five of the eight interviewees described their attachment to Covie in the way that Cross (2001) describes a spiritual relationship with a place. This relationship focuses on the emotional and intangible elements of the attachment to a place. When asked if his relationship with Covie changed after he couldn't fish here anymore, Michael responded: "I still feel exactly the same about this place over all these years. Look, I just took it like this, if I can't go here [Covie's beach], I'll simply go to Nature's Valley, I'll walk" (CMI3, p. 4, // 150 – 151 [ab]). Similarly, Clive stated that he will still stay in Covie and "when they have money, then they will just have to buy fish if they can't catch it here" (CMI2, p. 3, // 122). Even with social challenges such as not having shops or other entertainment in Covie, Marquin said that he won't move away from Covie because "*dis te lekker hier*" [it's too nice here] (CMI1, p. 4, // 130). This feeling of enjoyment was shared by Michael, Avice, and Keenun.

Elsabè is strongly attached to Covie and does not want to move anywhere else no matter how impoverished the conditions they live in are: "We are not moving anywhere! This is our Covie ... my house may look like this, I am not going to build a new house" (CMI5, p. 5, // 169 – 170). When asked if she would ever leave Covie, Helen said that even through a life

changing event like marriage, she won't leave this place: "No, no, this is my place and here I will stay ... he [her future husband] must come live here because I stay here. I feel free here" (CMI7, p. 6, // 253 – 257). Michael said, "I will die here" (FGD, p. 14, // 489).

Lastly, Cross (2001) characterises an ideological relationship by feeling morally or ethically responsible for a place. Marquin was the only interviewee who described an ideological relationship with Covie as he explicitly expressed a sense of responsibility by wanting to protect Covie from other people and said that, "we like Covie a lot and we must not let other people come live here" (CMI1, p. 4, // 125).

4.4 The transformation of fishing practices and learning after the 2001 TMPA policy changes

Drawing predominantly on analytic memo 1 (Appendix 11), this section responds to sub-question 1 which investigated how fishing practices and intergenerational learning were shaped after the 2001 policy changes of the TMPA (see sections 1.2.2 and 2.2). Analytic memo 1 was produced from the inductive analysis of all my data sources, including three observation days at the Nature's Valley beach and two observation days in Covie. The raw data from these data sources were analysed and organised into five overarching categories within analytic memo 1 to structure this chapter: historic fishing practices (section 4.4.1), fishing sites (4.4.2), the mismatch of knowledges (4.4.3), learning about fishing practices (section 4.4.4), and roles within the fishing practices (section 4.4.5).

4.4.1 Historic fishing practices

The eight research participants shared their stories about their fishing practices during the focus group discussion. Even though Covie was established as a woodcutter community in the 1800s, fishing was a part of Covie right from the very beginning: "Covie began with fishing and planting" (CMI4, p. 3 // 104). There was consensus across different participants about fishing and planting being an integral part of Covie's history, both for survival and their identity. The following three excerpts, two from the focus group discussion and one from Anwill during the mirroring workshop, illustrate this consensus:

- That [fishing] and woodcutting. Look, they were woodcutters, of course, and they caught fish. Those two things. And planted. So the old people also planted when there was nothing else (FGD, p. 2 // 38 – 39).
- So automatically they had to plant and fish to add [to the sustenance] (FGD, p. 2 // 53 – 54).
- Look, the food came from the garden (MW, p. 2 // 68).

Their fishing practices have been passed on from generation to generation as the focus group participants remembered three preceding generations also fishing. “When we were still children, the old people and our fathers and such caught fish” (FGD, p. 1, // 23 – 24). Referring to fishing, participants of the focus group discussion said “Yes, it was the biggest part” (FGD, p. 2, // 36) of Covie’s practices, particularly in the olden days (MW, p. // 38). Bernit remembered that the fishing practice was bigger than their parents’ respective jobs because they would go fishing instead of going to work when there were certain fish in the bay (FGD). Currently, this is still practiced as some community members call in sick to work when they hear the fish are biting: “Like now, only a few years ago, some guys will call in sick to work just to go to the sea” (MW, p. 3, // 106). Since the money their parents earned at their jobs was very little, Bernit explained that:

They went fishing on the days they couldn’t work in the garden and when it was time to work in the garden, they took days off to do work in the garden because that was the life. The little money they got from Forestry was only for some clothing or such (FGD, p. 2, // 44 – 47).

Bernit stated that when they were young, they were actively involved in both these two practices, fishing and planting, on a daily basis. Their tasks would start right after school with working in the gardens weeding beans or something and then they would go to the sea with their parents or big brothers in the afternoon for the catch of the day (FGD). Similarly, Helen remembered being a part of and actively participating in the fishing practice as a child:

- My father included all of us children in it. And that, of course, was just their thing, going out to sea to catch fish (CMI7, p. 1 // 8 – 9).
- Sometimes, when we came home from school in the afternoons, they would let us know that we must come down to Salt River to help – then we walked down. And so, we learned about the fishing practice, fish things which they taught us (CMI7, 1, // 4 – 6).

The above excerpts are indeed evidence that fishing was a family practice in which all the members were included and actively engaged. More so, it was a community practice since most families in Covie were fisher folk (CMI7). One of the ways the community practiced fishing together was during weekends and school holidays, camping at the beach just below Covie. All the research participants, except for Marquin and Keenun who were the youngest participants, remembered several families and households camping together and learning from one another at the ocean (FGD). Avice remembered: “Then we go camping there from Friday afternoon till the Sunday. Those who knew how to catch fish, caught fish themselves. We then cooked the fish to eat. It was very pleasant” (CMI6, p. 2, // 54 – 55). Some of the community’s favourite camping spots are now part of the world famous and exclusive five-day Otter Hiking Trail managed by TMPA, as Helen noted: “... we always went down to Covie’s beach and camped there during weekends. There where the Bloukrans huts are now, there, exactly on that spot. We went to camp there and so they taught us to catch fish” (CMI7, p. 1, // 18 – 20). Nonetheless, the inheritance of fishing together as a community is still evident as Covie community members go fishing together:

See, even now, if there is going to the sea, then I ask: ‘Hey guys, I’m going to the sea for a bit on Saturday – what do you say?’. ‘No right, I am coming with you.’ So, there is generally one or two people from a household and in the end, there are six or seven from different families together. So, it’s also a community thing (FGD, 12, // 420 – 423).

As mentioned in 4.2, the Covie fisher folk are a community of fishing practice that also planted crops to pursue their joint enterprise, their survival, by sustaining their livelihoods and their identity. “*Vis en patat, dis mos die beleid van Covie*” [Fish and sweet potatoes, that’s Covie’s policy] (OD1, p. 4, // 133). Currently, planting crops is not as much a part of the community anymore because of wild animals such as baboons and bush pigs (CMI3; CMI4), and, although fishing is still actively practiced by a few households in Covie, many of the fishers have turned away from the practice since 2001, as Clive, Anwill, Elsabè and Avice noted respectively:

- It definitely influenced the community, see, everything affects each other like that of course. That is why so many people here don’t fish anymore (CMI2, p. 3, // 114 – 115).

- This is when our people started moving away – many of us don't worry to fish anymore ... most of the women decided not to go fishing anymore, and some men too (CMI4, p. 2, // 82 – 86).
- Then Aunt Olga said, 'No, now we simply leave it all' (CMI5, p. 4, // 144).
- Many people don't have the money to buy a permit to go to Nature's Valley, so then they have to sit at home like that [without food] (CMI6, p. 2, // 62 – 63).

The TMPA 'no-take zone' (section 2.2.3) was also implemented with the 2001 rules and regulations, and therefore limited the Covie fisher folk's range of fishing sites. This limitation caused more Covie fishermen and women to turn away and ultimately transformed the community's history of fishing practices and how intergenerational learning about fishing was mediated.

4.4.2 Fishing sites

Covie community members used to have access to a variety of fishing sites, including the camping sites mentioned in 4.4.1, but since the 2001 policy changes and implementation of the TMPA regulations, these fishing sites have become few and far between. This restriction to fishing sites caused shorter and fragmented fishing seasons and fewer good fishing opportunities for the Covie fisher folk. An example of this is the Nature's Valley beach where most of the Covie fisher folk currently fish. It is approximately eight kilometres walking distance from Covie and the closest permitted fishing site, and its prime fishing season, as used by the community, is only from December to March annually (MW). Prior to 2001, the Covie community used different fishing sites during different times and fishing seasons of the year, and were consequently able to catch a wider variety of fish and prepare various kinds of fish meals, such as salted dried fish, steamed fish, pickled fish, baked fish and grilled fish (FGD). In the winter months, they specifically fished at their historical fishing sites, now in the TMPA 'no-take zone', to catch *Galjoen* because they do not catch it anywhere else: "In Nature's Valley you don't catch *Galjoen*" (CMI3, p. 3, // 104). In fact, "In winter you don't catch anything there [Nature's Valley]" (CMI3, p. 3, // 100).

Nature's Valley as a fishing site has three significant elements which sometimes limit participation from both older and younger generations, namely, the distance they have to walk, the time and effort it takes when fishing there, and safety when crossing the Groot River estuary mouth. Michael shed more light on this as he explained that "... it is far to

Nature's Valley – now, you have to set aside an entire day to go to the Valley and then you don't even catch anything because the fish don't bite as good in Nature's Valley" (CMI3, p. 3, // 98 – 99). At the old fishing sites, they could catch as much as they wanted to not only because they were not policed, but also because the catch was much better there (CMI6). Johannes remembered that "... we actually only just go and fetch [the fish] ... early evening you're back home" (FGD, p. 3, // 94 – 95). Helen noted that the distance to Nature's Valley also affected the current younger generation:

Like it happened one time, we walked down here [to Nature's Valley] with children because they wanted to go to the sea, they want to go fish. When we were almost on the hill before you go down to Nature's Valley, at the cell phone tower, we had to turn back. They did not want to go any further, they rather wanted to go home (CMI7, p. 2, // 66 – 69).

Lastly, to get to the Nature's Valley beach, the Covie fisher folk must cross the Groot River estuary mouth which is a natural open and closed estuary system. Therefore, some days the estuary is linked with the ocean through moderate to very rapid currents. Most of them do not have cars and walk to go fish. Thus, only when they are almost at Nature's Valley can they determine whether the Groot River estuary mouth is open or closed and how strong the flow is, and this limits participation of younger generations:

But now you must think of the danger to those little children at the lagoon because often the lagoon runs out to the sea so strong that you cannot get through. Well, then those little children are with you and you now sit with the danger of them having to cross the lagoon mouth to get to the other side (FGD, p. 12, // 405 – 407).

During his interview, Keenun explained that he actually prefers Nature's Valley as a fishing site although he is disappointed that he can't go fish where his grandfather used to fish. "Yes, I am sad. Otherwise I would have gone down here with Oupa. But there are too many stones and rocks there, you fall. That's why Nature's Valley is perfect [there are no stones and rocks]" (CMI8, p. 5, // 167 – 168).

4.4.3 Limited or Misaligned knowledge relating to fishing practices and TMPA management

All of the participants have lived in Covie for most of their lives and have been members of the community of fishing practice (see section 4.2). The ways of doing and knowing have been passed from generation to generation within the Covie community of fishing practice (see section 4.4.1). During the TMPA policy changes in 2001, the Covie families did not receive any information about why the ‘no-take zone’ was going to be implemented in 2001 (section 2.2.3 elaborates on reasons for implementing the ‘no-take zone’). Michael stated, “We were not personally informed about it, we heard it on the radio – from head office in Pretoria” (CMI3, p. 3, // 94 – 95). Helen concurred that, “They simply closed it! They didn’t send anything out!” (CMI7, p. 5, // 223).

The miscommunication between the TMPA and the Covie fisher folk led to a misalignment of knowledge between these two parties. This misalignment of knowledge was evident in the focus group discussion as Covie fishers urged that anglers would not be able to cause the extinction of local populations of certain fish species, as suggested by the TMPA management:

You cannot catch the fish if it does not bite – there are some days when you do not catch any fish. Then you go again the next day and another guy catches a lot of fish where you were yesterday – what does that tell you? You, an angler with a fishing rod and reel, will never cause fish to go extinct (FGD, p. 4, // 133 – 163).

The older participants said, based on what they learned and experienced when they were allowed to fish in the TMPA, that they cannot trust what the TMPA management tells them about the fish stocks in the ocean:

Since we don’t go to Park’s ocean anymore, we cannot say that some fish are extinct because we don’t go there anymore [to see for themselves]. We cannot say it is extinct because we don’t go there to catch it, and I know this time of the year the fish bite. It bites only during a certain time of the year and from then onwards it doesn’t bite; you have to wait till its season again (MW, p. 4, // 146 – 153).

Nevertheless, Anwill, with his training and education as an eco-guide by the TMPA and other partners, said that, “as I progressed into the thing [training as an eco-guide], I saw why SANParks closed the place. Because it is the breeding ground of the fish” (CMI4, p. 4, // 140 – 141). Over the years, the Covie fisher folk have made the connection that fish are not as abundant as they used to be and that some fish species are completely gone from the area because they do not catch them anymore. Some of the participants in the focus group discussion and, later, Michael explained:

- You see, what we have noticed here at the sea is that some time ago the *Red Steenbras* used to bite a lot. It’s been a few years now that they don’t bite here anymore. Not one! It does not matter what you do, they don’t bite here anymore (FGD, p. 3, // 102 – 104).
- The *Poenskop* is also very scarce now, and it was common (FGD, p. 4, // 114 – 115).
- Those years the fish were not like it is now, that time they were plentiful. The fish bite less and less every year – but not then. That time the sea was littered with them. You did not wonder whether you’re going to catch something, you were sure you were going to. But nowadays you wonder: ‘Where am I going to get a little fish?’ (CMI3, p. 2, // 89 – 92).

Overall, there seems to be limited or misaligned knowledge and understanding about the availability of marine resources between the Covie fisher folk and TMPA management. This mismatch has strained relationships between these two parties. These relationships, just as the knowledge of the fishing practice, have been passed from generation to generation as both Marquin and Keenun respectively commented: “... if you catch more than that and you maybe don’t have a permit, then they [TMPA staff] are going to catch you” (CMI1, p. 3, // 83) and “you must not have more than five [periwinkles], you must only have five” (CMI8, p. 4, // 137). Traditional knowledge passed on through intergenerational learning has also reinforced particular views of outsiders and people fishing from boats, and where the Covie fisher folk are situated within the bigger picture of people fishing (FGD; MW; 4.4.2). These, and other collective images, have been passed to the younger fishers in Covie: “You tell the children too, then you say – things were like this and that, but it wasn’t always like that. So, you must now look out for it” (FGD, p. 6, // 214 – 215 [ab]).

The misalignment of knowledge and understanding and lack of communication have created a fluctuating, but mostly tenuous, relationship between the Covie fisher folk and the TMPA management. The relationship between these two parties further deteriorated as heavy fines

were issued to fisher folk caught in the ‘no-take zone’, followed by court appearances for those who could not pay their fines, and fishing tools and fish being confiscated. These punitive measures shifted the relationship, this time to a more compliant one, because, “... you can’t afford to be locked up ...” (CMI3, p. 4, // 164). The community members thus, to some extent, started complying with the regulations and gave their cooperation (CMI2). Certain treaties were also formed where the Covie community members were permitted, with a ranger present, to collect dead wood lying on the ground in the forest for fire wood – a privilege the community was very grateful for and which improved the relationship between the two parties (FGD). The community’s fisher folk have chosen to obey the TMPA regulations only until Covie’s land claim is finalised, after which they intend to take their land back, which stretches all the way to the water mark (CMI2).

4.4.4 Learning about fishing practices after 2001

Traditionally, learning about fishing was a community practice as it was not limited to a family or household; everyone who practiced fishing in the community learned from each other. This way of learning has been a part of the Covie fisher folk: “... from the early years ... a few families go together ... to the sea and so you learn from one another – your experience that you have, you share with whatshisname, so it is not just the family for itself” (FGD, p. 12, // 415 – 417). Learning about historical fishing practices took place at home and at the beach while fishing. Covie families spent weekends and holidays at the beach below Covie engaging in and teaching their children about their fishing practices. The implementation of the ‘no-take zone’ restricted access to the ocean closest to Covie, where fishing predominantly took place, and thus learning about fishing did not take place as frequently and continuously as it did before 2001 (FGD).

Clive explained how the process of learning about their historical fishing practices has changed since 2001 and how that has affected the community of Covie in ways that were not imagined. Here, he suggests that the youth of Covie are nowadays more susceptible to substance abuse because they lack a productive focus such as fishing.

We grew up at the sea – not grew up in the literal sense, but in a manner of speaking. No school holiday passed without us going fishing and camping at the sea. And then we, when it was school term, went fishing on weekends. When they [TMPA management] closed the sea, they automatically pushed us back – so then we couldn’t go and camp there anymore. So the

need grew bigger in the whole family [Covie] – we, of course, consider fishing as the *soutpunt* [staple food] in the house – because we have fish regularly ... Because the young children of today, they fall into drugs and narcotics and that type of thing – it was not there in the past. Because now they don't have what we had – so many people cannot understand why the young children [from Covie] drink like they do, but they don't have a sport like fishing, something to keep them busy (CMI2, p. 2, // 67 – 79).

With the fishing bag limits, the fisher folk could not catch as much as they used to which affected learning about different ways of preparing fish, an integral part of their identity:

... filleted, salted and peppered and hung on the fence to dry out – the fish hung like laundry – you could make dried fish for yourself, like biltong. But when they came and closed the sea, those things are stopped ... I mean, then you couldn't catch so much that you can still do such things (CMI2, p. 2, // 73 – 750).

When asked about how else learning about fishing changed with the implementation of the 'no-take zone', Michael and Ernest explained that teaching the younger ones about the practice has become harder since 2001. Nature's Valley is the closest beach to teach the children but the children do not want to walk so far and if they do, they only do it once or twice and then hesitate to go again because of the distance and how tiring the walk is there and back. Furthermore, one of the Covie fisher folk's codes of conduct is that you must carry your own bag to the sea and back. This deters the children because carrying a bag of fishing gear and fish over that distance is very tiring for them (FGD).

The older participants of the focus group discussion recognised that learning about fishing has to do with getting to know the practice by regularly participating in it. With restricted access to nearby fishing sites and the distance to the closest permitted fishing sites, learning about the practice became challenging because the current younger generations do not participate as frequently as the current older generations did when they were younger. Michael reflected on his learning about fishing and how he came to enjoy it:

The thing about fishing is like this man: if you go along once, well, you probably won't like it that much. If you cast once, twice, maybe three times – nope, then you have had enough. But if you just go along more times, then you'll find that fishing is a wonderfully pleasant affair (FGD, p. 7, // 219 – 221).

Helen explained that when they could still go down to where their parents used to fish, she loved playing and fiddling around in the rock pools while her parents were fishing, and that is how she also learned about nature and catching fish (CMI7). Currently, with the new regulations, she explained that they can't even just go down to explore the rock pools with the children "because you do not have the freedom to go there anymore ... if you go, even if you just go to explore the rock pools or things – they think you are going fishing or collecting 'alikeukels' and doing such things" (CMI7, p. 4 // 147 – 149). Ernest also explained that another reason why Covie's youngest generation do not frequently learn about the practice is because they are sometimes deliberately excluded from it:

I don't catch fish with my children so regularly anymore. I'll tell you why: when we get to the beach and the fish don't bite, then after only a few minutes you see their fishing rods and reels on the ground and they each have a stone in their hands. Every bird that comes into the area, they will throw with those stones. Now, I say they must first listen for a bit before I take them again ... their punishment is to learn not to throw stones at the birds (FGD, p. 1 // 9 – 14).

4.4.5 Changing roles within the fishing practices

Looking at the Covie fisher folk's historical fishing practices, the women's role was the one that was most significantly transformed after the implementation of the 2001 policy changes. This became evident through the focus group discussion and interviews with the Covie women, Elsabè, Avice and Helen. During the focus group discussion, the men remembered the women actively participating in the practice and particularly fulfilling the role of bait collectors before the implementation of the 'no-take zone':

Goodness – oh boy, the women caught fish! The women formed a team and went to the sea on their own – not around here, they would go as far as Bloukrans, you know. Yes, the days when the men could not go because they had to be at work to earn money, the women went fishing. But you see, they actually caught bait for the men, little fish – so when the men came home in the evenings, they can go to the sea [using the bait the women caught] (FGD, p. 2, // 66 – 72).

Clive and Ernest added that the women fulfilled another important role by observing signs in the environment that indicated where certain fish types were moving along the coast: "The men also often got information from the women ... the women were almost like the forerunners. They give the signal" (FGD, p. 2 // 73 – 78). When asked why the women do not

fulfil these roles anymore, Michael responded, “It is now with the permit story that we have to buy. Do you see where it comes in?” (FGD, p. 5, // 180 – 181). The permit system, introduced with the ‘no-take zone’ policy, costs R170 per person per annum, an amount which the Covie fisher folk cannot afford (FGD). This permit system, along with the distance to the new fishing sites, and the fact that the catch per unit effort is lower than it was in the past have all contributed to why the Covie women stopped fishing, even though they still really want to: “It is so inconvenient these days to get there and when you think about the fact that the fish are not plentiful as they once were, then my wife says, oh no ..., but she really wants to go” (FGD, p. 6, // 187 – 189).

Elsabè remembered her fishing days fondly and, when asked how many women used to fish, she said, “A lot, man. Wendal’s mom too. We were a crowd” (CMI5, p. 1, // 24 – 25). She spoke about how the Covie women contributed to the community’s enterprise by not only being the bait collectors, but also by putting food on the table:

Women were a big part of fishing. Because, for example, if Aunt Olga comes over and says: ‘Oh, I don’t know what we’re going to eat tonight’, then we simply decide: ‘Let’s go to the sea’. Then, we were not afraid because there was no park [TMPA], you understand? No, man, in no time we were off to the sea and before dark, we’re back. And especially on a Thursday, Uncle Steven would tell us that he is going to the sea the Friday night, then we have to collect worms and bait for Uncle Steven. Especially the little *Streprietjies* and things, that they use as bait, they fillet it to catch with it. It was nice, man (CMI5, pp. 1 – 2, // 41 – 46).

Avice and Helen both shared similar stories and Avice noted that things changed after, as she put it, “the sea was closed” (CMI6, p. 1, // 3). Marquin explained how his grandmother (Elsabè) cooked octopus at home (OD1) and Keenun, how his grandmother (Avice) and aunt are the ones who prepare the fish at home (CMI8).

During the data generation phase of this research, the South African Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries launched their national small-scale fishing legal framework. This intervention required historical fishing communities to register Expressions of Interest to benefit from the redrafted Small-Scale Fishing Regulations. The Department visited the Covie community and encouraged them to register their Expression of Interest. Elsabè and Helen both excitedly said, respectively: “... a man will be coming here to give

free permits. I'm going to get myself a permit! I will fish with my *draad stok* [fishing line and branch]" (CMI5, p. 6, // 242 – 244) and "I am interested and I said I am going again, I haven't been to the sea in a long time" (CMI7, p. 4, // 177). This demonstrated that even though the Covie women are currently not fishing, they wish to participate actively in the practice again.

4.5 Forms of intergenerational learning about fishing practices

As described in section 4.4.1, the fishing practice has been passed from generation to generation in the Covie community. This section now draws on analytic memo 2 to inform sub-question 2 which investigated how intergenerational learning about fishing practices is mediated. All the older participants remembered the different ways of learning from their forefathers about their historical fishing practice to become competent fishers of Covie: "You learn from your parents" (FGD, p. 6, // 213). "They [Covie women] also learnt from their parents" (FGD, p. 8, // 283). The close social relations within the community also enabled learning about fishing as a community rather than just individual families. Consequently, learning was facilitated by the entire community's fishers rather than just by grandparents and parents teaching their children, as shown in section 4.4.4.

4.5.1 Intergenerational learning at the beach

Thinking about how they learned about their historic fishing practices and became competent fishers, the focus group participants remembered the social nature of these processes. Ernest remembered that going to fish, whether for just a day or camping, meant a few households or families were present and all the members participated equally in the practice: "You don't sit around while the others make bait for you, everyone collects bait; when you have finished collecting bait, then everyone fishes and towards the evening before it gets dark, you pack up" (FGD, p. 8, // 272 – 275). Since the older generations of Covie grew up at the sea (see section 4.4.4) and had access to it, learning about fishing was a lot easier, assisted, and participatory. Clive stated:

As we said, we grew up at the sea. So, while our parents are fishing, we fiddle around in the pools where these small *klipvissies* [rockpool fish] are swimming around. You then try to catch it in your own way with your piece of fishing line and your little reel – and as you grow stronger and more competent, you go in deeper with a *stokkie en draad* [branch and fishing

line]. And you catch your first *Strepie* ... and then you want to keep on fishing (FGD, p. 9, // 233 – 237).

For the Covie fishers, currently and historically, intergenerational learning at the beach predominately took the form of two processes, namely (1) learning from demonstrations and examples, and (2) learning from personal experiences and explorations.

- *Learning from demonstrations and examples*

During observation day 1, which took place at the Nature's Valley beach, Michael used his experience and surrounding environment to teach Marquin about fishing. One of these examples was when a man fishing close to them caught a fish and Michael told Marquin to look at how the man was doing it. "As the man on the other side caught his third fish, Michael, from where he is fishing, called out to Marquin to look at how the man reels in his catch and to show Marquin where the fish is in the water. Michael shouted, 'look at how he is bringing him [the fish] in – there is the fish'" (OD1, p. 1, // 39 – 41). Every time Michael caught a fish, he put it in a small rock pool. When they moved from one fishing spot to another further down the Nature's Valley beach, Marquin packed all the fish his grandfather caught in their fishing bag but struggled to catch one of the fish that was still alive. Michael then showed Marquin "how to catch the *Strepie* by getting into the rock pool, walking the *Strepie* to a more shallow part of the pool and catching it. Michael caught the *Strepie* with ease using this technique" (OD1, p. 3, // 114 – 116). Immediately after his grandfather caught the *Strepie*, Marquin used the exact same technique to catch another fish in the same rock pool but gave up after approximately 5 minutes of running after the fish but not catching it (OD1, p. 3). Michael also showed Marquin which part of the *Strepie* to cut and use for bait to catch bigger fish but still ensure that he has a good piece of the *Strepie* left to cook at home (OD1, p 3).

Similarly, Clive, Michael, Avice and Helen, respectively, remembered how they learned about fishing by first just watching as the elders showed and explained what and how to do things as they were fishing:

- They just took us along and then we sat and watched – now, as he works, he is explaining ... See, many times he cast for me, and then gives me the rod (CMI2, p. 1, // 19 - 23).

- As we grew older, we could see what the adults are doing with the reel and such. We also learned like that, watching them (CMI3, p. 1, // 24 – 25).
- They [elders] showed me and I watched how to do it (CMI6, p. 2, // 70).
- Sometimes when we did not attach the bait and stuff correctly, one of the others with us comes and says, ‘No, you did it wrong there, do it this way. They also knew how much fish they had to catch, and we learned that from them too. We simply did what they did (CMI7, p. 3, // 110 – 120).

Elsabè reflected on her learning by remembering how she did it wrong the first time and that her aunt, Aunt Olga, then showed her how to cast by demonstrating it (CMI5). Avice remembered how she learned about the different aspects of fishing by stating that “my sister-in-law, with whom we always went with at first, they showed us how to do it [clean the fish]” (CMI6, p. 1, // 24 – 25). Seeing how other people in the community did things in the fishing practice was an inspiration to learn how to fish and master related tasks of the practice, as Helen explained: “My stepsister inspired me quite a lot with the fishing stuff” (CMI7, p. 3, // 108 – 109). During observation day 1, Marquin took on the role of an observer and watched how his grandfather and Anwill fished in Nature’s Valley (OD1, p. 3).

Intergenerational learning from examples and demonstration gave young fishers the confidence to engage actively, explore, and experiment without any help, as Avice shared: “I went with other people ... but I was fishing on my own without any help from them, I went and did my thing” (CMI6, p. 2, // 71 – 72).

- *Learning from personal experiences and explorations*

Intergenerational learning, about the fishing practice through older and more competent fishers showing younger and novice fishers what to do and how to engage in the practice, was followed by learning about the practice from personal experiences and explorations. After watching his grandfather preparing his fishing rod, Marquin started practising and working on his own fishing rod to prepare it to fish. Marquin included Michael, his grandfather, in his learning experience by asking Michael which swivel to use for preparing his fishing rod (OD1). Through exploring the rock pools during observation day 1, Marquin “discovered a piece of fishing gut entangled in some seaweed. He immediately focused on it and pulled the fishing gut out of the seaweed and threw it next to the pool” (OD1, p. 2, // 47 – 49). Exploring the rock pool into which Michael put all the fish he caught, Marquin learned about

the different fish by thoroughly inspecting the fish. I observed: “He [Marquin] looks at all the fins of the Steenbras and at the mouth ... kind of like he is studying it for a big test. After he thoroughly inspected the Steenbras he puts it back into the pool” (OD1, p. 2, // 59 – 61). He further stated, “These are probably also Steenbras because they also have black stripes” (OD1, p. 3, // 91). Keenun similarly explained that through exploring and experimenting, he learned how to fish:

We take tree branches and then look for fishing line and hooks on the rocks because it always gets stuck there. We then look for some worms on the rocks too, to attach them to our hooks to cast. Then that fish bite! I only catch small fish with a branch and fishing line in the rock pools at the sea. There are always some of those small brown fish in the rock pools. When I see the fish coming to bite the worm on my hook, I jerk it out of the water and there, the fish is in the hook. Then I take it off the hook and throw it back into the water again (CMI8, p. 3, // 74 – 89).

As Marquin fed the fish in the rock pool, he saw a shrimp coming out of a crevice to eat the worms. Through this experience he made a connection that the shrimp likes worms more than the fish, as he said, “now I see what eats the worms” (OD1, p. 2, // 71). This technique of learning about fishing through exploring rock pools was also popular when Helen was growing up, as she explained, “I liked to fiddle in the pools. But that is how I learned to fish here” (CMI7, p. 3, // 105 – 108). There is a combination of learning from one’s own experience and with the guidance of competent fishers, as Clive and Avice noted:

- See, many times when you start and the fish nibbles on your hook, you want to jerk it out of the water. But then my father says ‘No, no, no, not yet’.... wait for it [the fishing line] to descend – it must descend with the rod, then he says ‘Jerk now’ (CMI2, p. 1, // 23 – 25).
- The first time I caught a fish I wanted to throw away the fishing stick ... But the people that are with me, helped me. Later, we did it ourselves. I do my own stuff. Catching a little fish, I bring it out myself and I also take it off the hook myself (CMI6, p. 1, // 15 – 18).

Through the experience of cleaning a fish himself, Keenun explained that he learned how to do it properly and easily following a certain process (CMI8). Learning at the beach was also part of the process of becoming competent fishers, as Michael remembered: “We first used *stok en draad* [branch and fishing line] to catch fish, like the old people had taught us” (CMI3, p. 1, // 20). Anwill explained that because they learned about fishing at the sea,

learning was so much easier and they became more competent because of that: "... and at the sea they taught us how to cast with the rod and reel" (CMI4, p. 1, // 29). Learning about the practice while they were fishing on the beach also taught Anwill about the aspects that could not be taught at home (CMI4).

Marquin and Keenun, the youngest participants, acquired most of their fishing skills by predominately learning from their grandfathers rather than from other Covie fishers. Marquin explained that he "learned from my grandpa how to put my bait on, and how to hold my fishing rod to cast in the sea ... what the names of the fish are and whether a person can eat it" (CMI1, p. 1, // 15 – 24). Similarly, Keenun shared the following example of how his grandfather taught him to fish: "... my grandpa said I mustn't cast over the other people's fishing lines. He said I should not cast where other people are fishing because my line might go over their lines" (CMI8, p. 1, // 29 – 32).

4.5.2 Intergenerational learning at home

Clive explained that he taught his sons about fishing at home as well: "... many people learn at home. I teach my sons at home just so that they know a little before they get to the sea. See, he can't get there completely dumb" (CMI2, p. 1, 26 – 29). Anwill remembered that the older fishers taught them to prepare their fishing gear at home before they go to fish: "Those were the ways they taught us, and how we tie sinkers, make swivels before we go to the sea" (CMI4, p. 1, // 28 – 29). Learning about the fishing practice at home was also included in the process of becoming competent fishers, as Michael explained: "Maybe cast at home because you can then become confident with handling the stuff, practised casting – then you see, ok, you're making progress" (CMI3, p. 1, 26 – 27). When asked if he also learned about fishing at home, Keenun responded, "Look, there is also a poster of fish [Keenun points to a fish poster on the wall of their living room]. That is my grandpa's poster" (CMI8, p. 2, // 41 – 42). The poster had some of the local Southern Cape fish on it and Keenun pointed out that they learn at home about the different types of fish they catch here. Keenun also remembered when his grandfather gave him his first fishing rod and how he had to practise at home before he could go fishing with his grandfather:

When we received fishing rods on Christmas Day, I boasted about it. Then my grandpa said we must take sinkers the following day, the 26th, he said we must take old sinkers, tie them to the fishing rods, and then learn to cast. We had to practise casting approximately from here to

there in front where the grass grows. That's how we learnt the whole time. (CMI8, p. 2, // 46 – 49)

Other aspects like cleaning and cooking the fish, as well as cleaning the fishing gear were done at home. Michael said, “sometimes they also brought fish home to be cleaned and we, of course, watched how and what they did” (CMI3, p. 1, // 28 – 29). During observation day 4, I noted a section of the laundry line dedicated to Michael's fishing gear. Two backpacks and a pair of gloves were hanging there and next to these items, leaning against the tree which was the post of the laundry line, were two fishing rods. The bag in which Michael put all the fish he caught was also pinned to the same line (OD4). Cooking and preparing of the fish predominantly took place at home and the fishers were also taught how to cook different types of fish as well as other marine species. Elsbè particularly remembered how difficult it was to clean the periwinkles before she had to cook them because of all the small pieces of shells (CMI5).

Finally, intergenerational learning about their fishing practices was facilitated by the bigger Covie fisher family. This was evident to me when “Michael showed Anwill where they should go and cast, pointing to a rock further into the surf, but saying they should wait for the tide to go out a bit more because the water is still too rough” (OD1, p. 1, // 19 - 21). Similarly, Elsbè remembered that Aunt Olga told her “now you teach *her*” when another one of the Covie girls came fishing for the first time (CMI5, p. 4, // 156). When the Covie fishermen are fishing, they share their experiences among themselves and with other people with whom they fish. For example, during observation day 2, Clive, Bernit and Michael helped each other catch Shad at Salt River. As Clive reeled in a big Shad, “Michael ran towards the water to get the fish and Bernit shone the light for Clive to see” (OD2, p. 1, // 12). During observation day 1, “there were three generations of Covie fishermen, Michael, Anwill and Marquin”, learning from each other (OD1, p. 1, 75).

4.5.3 The process of becoming competent within the fishing community of practice

The sections so far have shown that it is through intergenerational learning that Covie's community of fishing practice passes on its historical and traditional practices in pursuit of its joint enterprise. To better understand the process of learning to become competent fishers and thereby develop a fishing identity to belong to the community, I used Wenger's (1998) three

modes of belonging (engagement, imagination and alignment) to explore the process of competence development in the Covie fishing community.

- Engagement

Some participants explained that their level of competence increased as their engagement in the practice increased and they did not need the competent fishers to show them what to do anymore (FGD; CMI1; CMI6; CMI8). As described in the focus group discussion by Michael, Helen and Anwill, their competence development included:

- As far back as I can remember, we started fishing with a *stok en draad* [branches and fishing line] (FGD, p. 7, // 223 – 224; CMI3, p. 1, // 10 [ab]).
- You then move on to the fishing rod and learn how to cast with a rod and reel. You have to learn to cast with a rod and reel at home before you could catch fish with it at sea. (CMI7, p. 4, // 154 – 156).
- Then you have to learn how to put on the bait. And this is now only after you can cast properly. You must first learn all those things, how to cast, what to do with the reel – and all those things before they let you fish alone (CMI7, p. 4, // 160 – 161).
- We want to see if you can tie your own hooks, attach bait, cast and keep it in and pull out a fish. And we look at how you react to the water and what your attitude is by the sea, because many people don't look around or such things – they don't take note (CMI4, p. 3, // 92 – 95).

There was ample evidence that active involvement in their historical fishing practices was key to the research participants' becoming competent fishers and members of the community of practice. Marquin explained that through engaging in the fishing practices, he went through different stages of becoming competent enough to use a fishing rod and that he first used a handline (CMI1 [ab]). Clive also remembered that his competence stemmed from actively engaging in the fishing practice when preceding generations went fishing: "I began fishing with a short handline and our parents taught us about reels and things and what to do as we went with them" (CMI2, p. 1, // 3 - 4 [ab]). It appears that active engagement in the community of practice helped young fishers attain a certain level of competence that enabled them to catch their first fish, a significant event that stimulated more motivation and engagement with the fishing practice (CMI4; CMI5; CMI6).

- Imagination

Wenger (1998) posits that imagination includes images of the past, present and future (see section 2.7.3). As Michael narrated some of his fishing stories during his interview, the state of their current fishing practices led him to create an image of how fishing used to be in the past. He explained that in the past the fish were more abundant than in current days of fishing (CMI3). Similarly, Anwill formed images about the availability of fish in contemporary and historical times in connection with environmental influences: “Our seasons and currents have changed – we don’t catch fish like we used to in the olden days anymore” (CMI4, p. 4, // 155 – 156 [ab]).

As a young fisher in Covie, Keenun imagines teaching his own children how to fish when he is older and how his children will teach their own children. He explained, “I am going to teach my child. Then he will, when he is grown, will also fish ... and teach his children” (CMI8, p. 4, // 118 – 120 [ab]). “I think the grandfather is a great inspiration for them, his little team”, Helen said as she spoke about Ernest teaching his grandchildren how to fish (CMI7, p. 2, // 76 [ab]). This inspiration came through in Keenun’s interview as he imagined being as great a fisherman as his grandfather: “Yes, because when I am all grown up, I also want to fish like my grandpa” (CMI8, p. 4, // 115 [ab]).

- Alignment

The Covie fisher folk have a set of rules and regulations for their fishing practice that they adhere to, to become competent fishers (see section 4.2.3). Apart from aligning themselves with the community’s structures, the Covie fisher folk also comply with bigger structural rules and regulations enforced by TMPA (see section 4.4.3). Alignment with these sets of rules and ways of doing formed competent fishers who contributed to the community’s joint enterprise of sustaining their fishing identities and thus belonging to the community. The Covie fishers also connect with and belong to bigger fishing communities as they work with and help fishers from other communities who fish with them when they are at the ocean (OD2; MW).

4.6 Manifestations of environmental care

This section focuses on the different manifestations of environmental care in the data, as captured in my inductive analytic memo 4. It directly responds to sub-question 4 and suggests that environmental care within the Covie community manifests in relation to their traditional

fishing practices. Two main aspects of environmental care emerged from the data, namely (4.6.1) respect for nature, and (4.6.2) fishing practices as stimulus of environmental care.

4.6.1 Respect for nature

The first thing Ernest mentioned when asked why he does not take his grandchildren fishing as often anymore was that "... if the fish don't bite, they [the children] pick up stones and get up to mischief [like throwing the birds with the stones] (FGD, p. 6, // 200). As mentioned in 4.4.4, Ernest said that the children first have to learn not to harm the birds before he takes them fishing again. Anwill explained that they teach their children to care for their natural surroundings: "we look after nature, the forests and things, and we teach the children too. Don't break the trees, don't break that. These things are important for us and this is how we look after Covie" (CMI4, p. 4, // 110 – 112). In his interview, Marquin said that they always clean up after they have fished: "Yes, when I eat chips, I put the packet in my pocket ... and if there is litter where we sit, that other people might have left there, we pick it up" (CMI1, p. 4, // 112 – 114). Michael and Anwill also said:

- We pick it up, the pieces of paper. There is a lot of litter at the Salt River, that's not nice. People just leave it like that. One day when I got to the Salt River, there were bait boxes lying around everywhere, I then collected them and burned them – let it rather be burned out instead of lying there (CMI3, p. 5, // 208 – 210).
- If you leave that plastic bag there, it does not suit nature and it has an effect because other people see that thing, the litter that is lying around and it also goes into the sea where some of the little animals can die from it. So, that is why we always cleaned up so that it is tidy and normal again, as it always was (CMI4, p. 2, // 54 – 57).

Although Michael, Anwill and Marquin spoke about the importance of caring for the environment, during observation day 1, as the three fishermen moved fishing camps, I observed that "they left behind the Styrofoam cup, an empty chips packet and some small pieces of fishing gut" (OD1, p. 4, // 148 – 149). During observation day 2, Michael's fishing line got entangled over his reel and after trying to untangle it for a few minutes, Michael said that "he'd rather cut it all off and use another reel ... before all the fish are gone. Michael pulled off all the fishing line from his reel and threw it next to him on the rock" (OD2, p. 1, // 40 – 44). "After eating his packet of chips, Michael folded the packet and put it into one of the crevices of the rock he was sitting on" (OD3, p. 1, // 36 – 37). It seemed that Michael left

some of his fishing gear on the rocks at Salt River the night before too, because during observation day 3, he looked for it and explained to Ernest that he left them there because he could not see properly the night before while packing up (OD3).

Referring to when they go fishing and at home, Michael said: “We don’t go to get up to mischief at the sea. Like hurting birds and animals and damage plants, we never did that” (CMI3, p. 3, // 95 – 97). “Here in Covie we’re not going to make trouble in the forest” (CMI3, p. 5, // 193 – 194). The Covie fishers seemed to have a general sense of care for Covie and the surrounding area and were conscious of their impact on it. I observed that the natural fynbos in Covie was undamaged which corresponds with data from the focus group discussion and interviews (OD5). During observation day 4, I noticed Michael using a yoghurt tub to collect water from the tap, just enough for two cups, to boil for coffee (OD4). There is also a sense of pride in their homesteads in Covie. I noted that “it was very neat. Not a single piece of litter in the yard ... There were flowers everywhere, in margarine tubs and halved 2 litre bottles. The garden was very well kept and neat” (OD4, p. 1, // 25 – 27). During observation day 5, I observed that “there was some litter next to the road and in certain sections of the community, and upon further inspection I noted that most of the litter was chips packets, sweet wrappers and citrus peels” (OD5, p. 1, // 10 – 11).

In the focus group discussion, some of the participants expressed one of the reasons for caring for their natural surroundings:

We look after nature and the fynbos around us. The indigenous forest gives us firewood and it protects us. The fynbos on its part is very beautiful and there are many useful things which the community can get from it. Things like ecotourism that will put food on our tables. See, so therefore it is very important that we must look after the things – if we don't conserve them, we will have nothing at the end of the day. Then Covie will not be beautiful and not be pleasant anymore (FGD, p. 11, // 383 – 388).

An explicit care for fish emerged during the focus group discussion and mirroring workshop when the participants spoke about fish being tagged⁴. They have a strong relationship and care for the fish they catch and fish in general, and are particularly opposed to fish being

⁴ Tagging is a process of catching a fish, attaching a tag to the fish’s body and releasing it again back into the ocean. This process is used by researchers and anglers to record data of different fish species.

tagged as supported by the following excerpts: “I have never seen tagging to be a good thing, I don’t know” (FGD, p. 4, // 150). “The fish has to live with this tag every day and who knows how painful that is” (MW, p. 6, // 234 – 235). There is also a strong sense of respect for the ocean because of its power: “You should have seen the big cement blocks the sea rolled around ... like a small thing it rolls up and down ... those big cement blocks are nothing for the strength of the sea” (FGD, p. 8, // 261 – 265). This care for fish took on two forms, the first being the effects tagging has on the fish as a living creature, and the second the fact that they can’t take the fish home to eat if it has been damaged by tagging (FD; MW). During observation day 2, Michael, Bernit and Clive took extra care when they removed the fish they caught from the hooks and when they handled the fish (OD2). Michael explained to Marquin why they should not throw fish back after they catch it, referring to another fisherman unhooking a fish and putting it back into the ocean during observation day 1: “The reason why he doesn’t want the man to throw the fish back is because it is injured now ... the hook might have hurt the fish and that is why it’s not good to throw back the fish” (OD1, p. 1, // 25 – 28). However, in apparent contradiction to this stance, during observation days 1 and 3, Marquin and Ernest unhooked fish that are not eaten in the Covie community and carefully put them back into the ocean (OD1; OD3).

There was also a deep sense of care for the forest because of how beautiful it is, and this is passed to the younger generations as well:

We conserve nature because it is beautiful. You can also see how green the forest around Covie is and that the trees are not chopped down. The people [in Covie] don’t go into the forest with an axe to cut trees down because we don’t want to. The children are also not sent into the forest with an axe. I’d rather hire someone to take me to go and make fire wood at Platbos before I take it in nature, or in Covie. I could have gone and cut trees down here in Covie and nobody would know it was me. But why must I go and cut down here? There is a plantation of dry trees at Platbos. I’ll hire someone, cut up the wood so that I can bring it home. It saves me from having to cut down things in the forest (FGD, pp. 10 – 11, // 354 – 374).

The surrounding indigenous forest and fynbos are seen to protect Covie from dangers and that is why the community members care for it: “In this sense, many robbers pass by Covie and don’t even know about us. Here, we’re situated in the middle of nature. So, we must

protect nature because it also protects us” (FGD, p. 10, // 355 – 357). Other than protecting the Covie community, the indigenous forest and fynbos also sustain the community’s survival as “... nature keeps us alive ...” (FGD, p. 10, // 360).

Fishing played a significant role in this care for the environment and exposed the fisher folk to their natural environment where they learned and experienced the wonders of nature. Their natural surroundings seem to have both intrinsic and instrumental value for the Covie fishers. Finally, and in Clive’s words, is a representation of how the Covie fishers feel about the natural environment: “I think that the love is simply in the blood, man; it is how we were raised” (MW, p. 10, // 389).

4.6.2 Fishing practices as stimulus of environmental care

This section presents data which shows that the Covie fisher folks’ fishing practices over generations have contributed to their collective sense of care for their environment. During observation day 1, Marquin saw some fishing gut wrapped around some seaweed. “He immediately tends his focus to it and pulls the fishing gut out of the seaweed and throws it to the one side next to the rock pool”. In his interview, Keenun reflected on the size of fish he catches, and explained that he puts small fish back into the water because of their size: “Yes, I put the fish back because it is still too small after all, it must also still live. Its mother and others will probably miss him. And he also wants to be alive.” (CMI8, p. 3, // 91 – 94). Clive explained their love and care for the environment because they fish in it:

Because we walk through nature when we go fishing, it makes you love nature, and therefore we look after the things, we don’t destroy nature. Because you are in nature and in nature is the river water which is good for us – it’s nice and cold when you come back from the sea. And we also learned that the brownness of the water in the river is only the leaves of plants that colour it that way, the river is not dirty, it is healthier – because you immediately take in something else of nature too (CMI2, p. 1, // 44 – 52).

En route to the sea, Avice was always attracted by the flowers along the way, as she explained: “The flowers which always look so beautiful ... Now, a few times I simply stole two or three along the path on our way home from the sea, then I come put it in water in a vase” (CMI6, p. 2, // 44 – 47). “Yes, it is very lovely to walk through the forest” (CMI6, p. 2, // 51). They saw the wonders of nature when they went fishing, as Michael remembered: “At

the sea, I also saw those succulent plants grow on bare rocks, man – there is no sand ... I stood there and wondered how those plants can grow there” (CMI3, p. 2, // 61 – 65).

Michael loves the peaceful environment at the sea as much as he loves the peace and quiet in Covie: “... it is very peaceful for me at the sea. The thundering of the sea is nothing ... it actually lulls you to sleep” (CMI3, p. 2, // 69 – 72). The interaction between the different natural elements which helps them with their fishing practices, particularly sea birds like gannets diving into the sea to catch fish, instilled care for the natural surroundings: “Like Monday evening again, we watched those birds [gannets] again as they dived from high in the sky, wow!” (CMI3, p. 2, // 76 – 77).

Being a part of the practice and through intergenerational learning, the Covie fisher folk have learned of the various environmental factors which impact their fishing. Some of the participants shared the following:

- When the predator fish, those *Roosanters*, are in the area, there are so many of them it’s like you just go and fetch them. They are normally not here or close to the coast, only when there’s an influx of cold water from the deep sea do we get them here (FGD, p. 3, // 74 – 76).
- You know approximately for how many days the easterly wind must blow for the water to be cold enough to bring the predator fish and so forth (MW, p. 8, // 314 – 315).
- My father taught me about the different types of wind and the association I should make with how strong the wind is blowing with regards to good fishing opportunities. So now, I look at the weather forecast to decide where I can go to fish the next day (CMI2, p. 1, // 35 – 38).
- Mikey doesn’t go to the sea when the westerly wind blows. Now recently when the westerly wind blew, Bernit phoned Mikey to says that they should go fishing. Mikey said: ‘Are you mad? Can’t you see it’s the westerly wind? I don’t go to the sea if the westerly wind blows like this’. When the easterly blows, he waits 2-3 days before he goes fishing (CMI5, p. 5, // 207 – 211).
- Bernit explains that it is because of the easterly winds that they decided to come fish because they knew that the easterly would bring in some fish, especially *Elf* (OD2, p. 1, // 15 – 16).
- If the northly wind blows for a long time, we don’t catch fish. If the easterly blows, then we catch a certain type of fish. The water must also be a certain temperature and have a certain roughness to it to catch a certain type of fish. That is how the different types of wind, with low and high tides, play a role in our fishing. It makes you think about all these things before you go fishing and when you are already on the beach fishing (CMI4, p. 2, // 46 – 51).

Through their fishing practices, the fisher folk have also learned and became attuned to the different fishing seasons and when they can catch certain fish within that season (FDG). With the fishing seasons, the Covie fisher folk also associate other natural factors that influence their fishing: “That’s why we have *Elfe* time here. There is a certain time when we catch *Elfe* all along the coast. It’s the sea currents – cold sea currents and warm sea currents” (MW, p. 7, // 257 – 258). Both Marquin and Anwill reflected upon the different types of bait they use to catch certain fish, noting how their forefathers taught them “about different fish that occur in the sea and the kinds of bait you must use for the fish and at what times the fish bite” (CMI1, p. 4, // 128 – 129). As they learned “what type of bait can we make and what the fish will go for ... Then I realised the fish, the weather and nature all play a role – so it works in a circle” (CMI4, p. 1, // 43 – 45).

Furthermore, the Covie fisher folk learned to look at natural indicators to see whether there is fish in the bay and where it is: “Often when we go down to the sea and see the gannets diving from the sky into the ocean, we know the predator fish are in the water. The gannets are after the sardines, and where sardines are, bigger fish are just below them. This was also a big indicator from nature’s side, playing a role in our fishing practices (FGD, p. 8, // 287 – 291). The fishers also took note of the behaviour of the waves and how rough the sea was, not just for their safety but to tell whether or not they will actually catch any fish:

Many of our people were hit off the rocks by the waves. So, when you get to the top of the hill, you first have to read the water. Because the sea is not the same every day. Many times, it seems like it’s flat with no waves, but then picks up swell right in front of the rock you are on and it knocks you over. These are all the things you must watch out for before you go down the hill to go fishing. There is another thing that we have noticed when you go to the sea: there are different kinds of roughness to the ocean. Sometimes it looks like its boiling, like it’s turning on itself – and when it’s like this you can just as well turn around and go home because you won’t catch anything from the rocks. With the different kinds of roughness, you can tell where you are likely to catch something and where you won’t catch anything at all (FGD, p. 9, // 292 – 307).

Marquin also enjoys learning about the environmental factors which influence their fishing practices: “I like learning about the fish and about the water, when it is high or low tide” (CMI1, p. 2, // 52). Along with learning about the environmental factors which influenced their fishing, the Covie fisher folk also learned about the different kinds of medicine while

engaged in their fishing practices: “The other thing our forefathers also discovered is the medicine at the sea. They also taught us about the medicinal plants. For example, this is the *Kruisbessie*, it’s good for stomach ache, and we still know all those plants to this day” (FGD, p. 9, // 301 – 304). The younger generations are also taught about indigenous medicine, as Marquin confirmed: “he [Michael] told me a lot about different medicine at the sea” (CMI1, p. 3, // 98).

4.7 Conclusion

The empirical data presented in this chapter identified the Covie fisher folk as a community of practice, as theorised by Wenger (1998) within his framing of mutuality, joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire. They have established an intangible code of conduct which is adhered to in the practice to pursue their joint enterprise. Covie fishers have three main types of relationships with their natural surroundings, biographical, spiritual, and commodified. These relationships each contribute to a strong place attachment the fishers have towards Covie and the surrounding area. The policy changes implemented by the TMPA in 2001 have a range of consequential influences for the Covie community of fishing practice with regards to the different roles within the practice, what and how they now learn about the practice, and the relationship between Covie fishers and TMPA staff. Since 2001, engagement in the practice has significantly decreased, thereby affecting the process of forming a fishing identity among younger fishers in Covie. The Covie women’s fishing practices and the role they fulfilled were also significantly altered by the 2001 policy changes. In Covie, intergenerational learning about traditional fishing practices was predominantly facilitated at the beach and at home. These two main ways of intergenerational learning about fishing practices facilitate the development of competent fishers who belong to the Covie community of fishing practice. Their fishing practices played a significant role in developing their sense of care for the environment because their fishing practices are embedded in their natural surroundings. Their sense of environmental care is stimulated by their fishing practices and other associated practices ranging from medicinal plants along the way to the beach, to observing gannets diving for fish from the sky.

In the following chapter, I present and discuss the inferences drawn from the evidence presented in this chapter to answer the study’s research question.

Plate 1: Covie and surrounds



Welcome sign at the entrance of Covie.



Michael and Elsabè in front of their house in Covie with Cindy (researcher).



The layout of Covie with its main road.



Helen's house in Covie.



Clive's house in Covie.



A tourism initiative to generate income using their natural surroundings.

Plate 2: Fish Species in my Thesis



Kolstert / Black-tail / *Diplodus capensis*



Strepie / Karanteen / *Sarpa salpa*



Galjoen / *Dichistius capensis*



Rooi santer / Santer / *Cheimerius nufar*



Elf / Shad / *Pomatomus saltatrix*



Poenskop / Black Musselcracker /
Cymatoceps nasutu

Chapter 5: Discussion of case study data

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I critically re-examine literature reviewed in *Chapter 2* in relation to the data presented in *Chapter 4* to discuss the relationship between the Covie fishers' intergenerational learning about their fishing practices and the care they have for the environment. The chapter presents the findings in the form of analytic statements to answer each of the four sub-questions and ultimately the main research question. As outlined in section 1.3, the four sub-questions of this study are:

- How have the TMPA policy changes in 2001 influenced fishing practices and shaped intergenerational learning about these practices in Covie?
- How is intergenerational learning about fishing practices mediated by older generations for younger generations to become competent fishers?
- How is a 'sense of place' constituted through intergenerational learning about the Covie fishing practices?
- How is environmental care, in relation to fishing practices, manifested in the Covie community?

Data presented in Chapter 4 (section 4.2) reveals that the Covie fishers are indeed operating as a Community of Practice according to Wenger's (1998) three dimensions of a community of practice: mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. The two data analysis phases (section 3.4) enabled me to make the following inferences which are presented here as analytic statements:

- **Analytic Statement 1:** The Covie fisher folk sustain their identity as fishers and their preferred form of subsistence through participation in a community of fishing practice.
- **Analytic Statement 2:** The 2001 TMPA policy changes have influenced the Covie members' identity as fishers and changed how they learn about historical fishing practices.
- **Analytic Statement 3:** Intergenerational learning plays a significant role in developing the knowledge, skills and values necessary to become a competent fisher who, after attaining a certain level of competence, feels a true sense of belonging to the Covie community of fishing practices.

- **Analytic Statement 4:** The role of Covie women in intergenerational learning of fishing practices was significantly altered after the 2001 TMPA policy changes.
- **Analytic Statement 5:** Socio-cultural values in different communities of practice can potentially create a misalignment of knowledge and understandings of fishing practices.
- **Analytic Statement 6:** The community members' place attachment to Covie and the surrounds appears traceable to their relational ties to the place more than to their actual fishing practices.
- **Analytic Statement 7:** The Covie fishers' sense of care and responsibility for the natural environment appears to be directly influenced by their affective and socio-material connections to the place.

5.2 Analytic Statement 1: The Covie fisher folk sustain their identity as fishers and their preferred form of subsistence through participation in a community of fishing practice

It is evident that the Covie fisher folk consider themselves to be 'one big family' because of their familial ties and their care for each other as a community (section 4.2.2). Wenger (1998) posits that a community of practice groups people not because of their shared social categories (gender, class, race, etc.) but rather by shared practice. All the research participants, and their respective families in Covie, share fishing as a practice which has been passed from generation to generation. Their shared fishing practices make the Covie fisher folk a community of practice instead of just a community of families living in the same area. The situated and socio-cultural rootedness of the Covie fishing practices is at the core of learning to sustain their fisher identity and subsistence (section 4.2.2; section 4.4.1). Communities of practice form, and are the building blocks of, social learning systems that are complex in their social, cultural and historical setting (Wenger, 2000). Culturally, the Covie fisher folk, through an active social learning system facilitated by intergenerational learning (section 5.4), sustain their enterprises through operating as a community of practice.

There is a long history of traditional fishing practices in Covie (section 4.4.1) which has made fishing an integral and significant part of the Covie community members' lives; they identify as traditional fishers and depend on fish as a source of sustenance (section 4.2.2).

With fishing as a shared practice, a fishing identity and subsistence as enterprises, and a way of doing and knowing that have been established over time (sections 4.2.3), the Covie fisher folk indeed operate as a community of practice as per Wenger's (1998) and Eckert's (2006) descriptions in section 2.7.1. The success of a community of practice is sustained when it operates as a social learning system through enhancing and transferring their traditions of knowing (Wenger, 2000). Covie fishers create opportunities for all community members to engage and participate in their fishing practices, even if they cannot fish yet (section 4.2.1). Wenger (1998) describes these created opportunities as 'enabling engagement' which allows members to mutually engage and thus learn within the social learning system to develop competencies. The study found that, coupled with creating opportunities to engage in the fishing practice, older and more competent Covie fishers taught apprentices⁵ about their ways of doing and knowing, the Covie fishing code of conduct, to ensure that their legacy as the fishers of the Tsitsikamma area endures (section 4.2.3).

Diversity in their community of practice makes the pursuit of their joint enterprises more efficient. This diversity also developed levels of hierarchy among the Covie fishers and members contributing and fulfilling different roles, such as collecting and preparing bait, catching bigger fish, being informants, and preparing and cooking fish (section 4.2). Evidently, competent fishers are considered core members of the practice and therefore receive due respect as can be seen in section 4.2.1, where Covie fishers respect Ernest because of his fishing competencies.

Communities of practice are essential learning platforms in the construction of members' identity (Eckert, 2006). The Covie fisher folk work toward sustaining their identity as fishers through active engagement and developing the competencies of fishing apprentices to strengthen their belonging in the Covie community of practice. Older Covie generations encourage apprentices to actively engage in their fishing practices to ensure the formation of their identity as Covie fishers. Keenun remarked how happy it makes his grandmother, Avice, when he goes fishing with his grandpa, Ernest. A community of practice develops their own ways of knowing and doing, their power relations and values (Eckert 2006), just as the Covie

⁵ Here, I use the word apprentice to refer to younger generations of Covie fishers who are still in the process of becoming competent fishers. This is linked to Lave and Wenger's (1991) work on apprenticeship as a situated learning process towards competent engagement.

fishing code of conduct has developed over the years and has been passed from generation to generation (section 4.2.3).

Furthermore, members of the Covie fisher folk have a deep sense of responsibility for assisting each other in their day-to-day survival (section 4.2.2), which is in line with Wenger's (1998, p. 81) argument that "accountability becomes an integral part of the practice". This accountability creates stronger bonds in the community, but also makes the pursuit of their joint enterprises more efficient. Evidence of mutual accountability among the Covie fishers is displayed in terms of safety when the Covie fishers go fishing, and when they bring fish back for members who cannot actively go and catch fish themselves (section 4.2.2).

The study showed that the Covie fishers operate as a community of practice to sustain their two main enterprises: (1) their identity as the fisher men and women of the Tsitsikamma area, and (2) supporting the subsistence and thus survival of the community. This community of practice enables learning through participation in all aspects of their fishing practices, always guided by a specialised code of conduct that has developed over many years.

5.3 Analytic Statement 2: The 2001 TMPA policy changes have influenced the Covie members' identity as fishers and changed how they learn about historical fishing practices

The TMPA has gone through various changes in terms of access to marine resources since its inception and was completely closed for fishing in 2001 (section 1.2.2). This closure, juxtaposed with the new democratic South African move towards community conservation, was considered unconstitutional (section 2.4.2). Since the Covie community's existence, they have used the marine environment, which became the TMPA in 1964, for their traditional fishing practices, which included their fishing identity and subsistence (section 4.4.1). It is evident from this study that the policy changes and complete closure of the TMPA in 2001 influenced the Covie fisher folk (section 4.4).

The Covie community's historic fishing practices included spending most weekends fishing at the beach below Covie, camping, and bonding as one big family (section 4.4.1). All the older research participants remembered spending weekends and school holidays at the beach,

learning how to fish. Helen remarked: “We always went down to Covie’s beach and camped there during weekends. There where the Bloukrans huts are now, there, exactly on that spot. We went to camp there and so they taught us to catch fish” (section 4.4.1). Furthermore, section 4.4.1 provides evidence that older generations in Covie had more frequent and longer exposure to the fishing practices and thus more active engagement and participation. Learning about the fishing practices while being engaged in the practices, or situated learning as Lave (1991) calls it, enabled individual learning about the fishing practices through participation in the community of practice, which assists identity formation and cultivation of a sense of belonging (Handley, Sturdy, Fincham & Clark, 2006). Through prolonged situated learning, older Covie generations thus formed their identity as fishers over a shorter period, compared to the current apprentices of Covie fishers. Wenger (1998, p. 4) posits that “participation, being both action and a form of belonging, shapes not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do”.

After 2001, the Covie fishers lost access to their traditional fishing sites (section 2.4.2), which were approximately two kilometres from the community (section 1.2.1). The closest legal fishing sites then became the Nature’s Valley beach, between eight and 12 kilometres from the Covie community. Consequently, the distance to legal fishing sites, predominantly Nature’s Valley, limited participation in fishing for quite a few of the Covie fishers, particularly apprentices (section 4.4.2). Participation was further limited due to the dangers of getting to the Nature’s Valley beach. Evidently, Covie apprentices received less exposure to traditional fishing practices and core members started moving away from fishing practices. Furthermore, the limited fishing sites produce less variety of fish and consequently less variety of fish dishes prepared at home, and fewer opportunities to teach apprentices how to prepare these different fish dishes – a vital and direct link to their identity as fishermen and women.

A continued shared identity is enhanced through learning across different generations (Behrens, 2012), but when this intergenerational learning is limited or ceased, it influences the formation of an individual’s identity. With limited participation and thus limited situated intergenerational learning about traditional fishing practices, Covie apprentices’ identity formation as fishers is protracted and thus threatens the Covie fisher folk’s shared fishing identity. Limited participation also prolongs learning processes about the Covie fishing code of conduct and the development of fishing competencies to become active members of the

Covie community of fishing practice. It is now more difficult and takes longer for apprentice fishers to form their identity as fishers, compared to their grandparents.

Ernest noted that he does not take his grandchildren fishing anymore because they must first learn to respect their natural surroundings, something that was instilled in his generation through the frequent and prolonged participation in their traditional fishing practices (section 4.4.4). This indicates that there has been a *fundamental* change in how they learn about their fishing practices. Previously, young fishers would first learn about fishing practices and, through that, they would learn to respect nature. Currently, elders find the need to first teach young fishers to respect nature before they can be fully inducted into fishing practices.

5.4 Analytic Statement 3: Intergenerational learning plays a significant role in developing the knowledge, skills and values necessary to become a competent fisher who, after attaining a certain level of competence, feels a true sense of belonging to the Covie community of fishing practice

In Covie, a competent fisher is associated with a strong sense of belonging to the community of fishing practice and community members thus strive to become competent fishers (section 4.5.3). Wenger (1998; 2000) argues that competence is a sign of knowledge about a practice. For the Covie fishers to form their fishing identity and a sense of belonging, they have to learn about the ways of knowing and doing of their community of practice. These ways of knowing and doing, which equate to being a competent fisher, are facilitated through a process of situated intergenerational learning at the beach and at home (section 4.5).

Most of the research participants recalled the learning process they had to follow to become a competent fisher. In Covie, older and competent fishers share their knowledge and expertise with young apprentice fishers by following the same learning process they went through to become competent Covie fishers. This process started by firstly just being able to accompany their parents, the competent fishers, to the beach and watch them catch fish. Subsequently, apprentices are guided by competent fishers to start catching fish in small rock pools with a '*stok en draad*' and taught about safety and environmental cues to watch out for while fishing (section 4.5.3). Once able to catch fish on their own, they can meaningfully contribute to their

enterprise and can thus be classified as competent fishers belonging to the community. Sections 4.2, 4.4 and 4.5 presented evidence that intergenerational learning is the main medium in the process of becoming competent fishers, who then feel a sense of belonging to the Covie community of fishing practices.

Various authors have argued that intergenerational learning processes are fundamental to sustaining the identity, culture and tradition of communities (see section 2.5.2). Intergenerational learning involves the transfer of knowledge, skills and values about sociocultural, social-ecological, and economic aspects of a particular context across different generations and age groups (section 2.5.1). Knowledge, skills and values can be transferred from older to younger generations and vice versa (Hollingshead et al., 2014), although it has been reported that these transfers sometimes only occur from older to younger generations and not vice versa (Osano & Adam, 2014). Section 4.5 presented evidence that, as apprentices developed to become competent fishers in the Covie community of fishing practice, the transfer of knowledge, skills and values was mostly from older to younger generations and not vice versa. More specifically, the study found that although competent fishers are developed through the transfer of knowledge, skills, and values between families and over generations, the transfer occurs from competent fishers to apprentices, or from apprentice to apprentice but not from apprentices to competent fishers.

Wenger's (2000) three modes of belonging (engagement, imagination and alignment) contribute to the formation of one's identity and inspire learning in a community (Au, 2002). Learning to master fishing practices requires regular involvement and participation facilitated by competent fishers to guide apprentices from the periphery to the core of the practice. Lave (1991) calls this process of moving from the periphery to the core of a practice legitimate peripheral participation, and argues that it is necessary in the process for an apprentice to belong to a community. Legitimate peripheral participation is facilitated through situated intergenerational learning processes at the beach and at home, and includes active engagement by apprentices by going fishing with competent Covie fishers (section 4.2.1; 4.4.1), images of themselves becoming competent fishers and imagining their children also fishing (Keenun in section 4.5.3), and aligning to the Covie fishing code of conduct (section 4.2.3).

Considering the two apprentice fishers in this study, Marquin and Keenun, it is evident that their current level of competence was developed through learning about the Covie fishers' ways of knowing and doing directly from their grandfathers (section 4.5.3). Further evidence of Michael teaching Marquin how to catch fish with his hand in a rock pool and Keenun imagining becoming a competent fisher like his grandfather (section 4.5.3) infers that these two apprentice fishers are still in the process of learning to become competent fishers and developing a sense of truly belonging to the Covie community of fishing practice.

Intergenerational learning processes about fishing in Covie are thus integral to the transfer of knowledge, skills and values, from older to younger generations, to become competent fishers. Furthermore, once a certain level of fishing competence is developed, through intergenerational learning about fishing, apprentices start developing a stronger sense of belonging to the Covie community of fishing practice because they can meaningfully contribute to their enterprise.

5.5 Analytic Statement 4: The role of Covie women in intergenerational learning of fishing practice was significantly altered after the 2001 TMPA policy changes

All the members of the Covie fisher families were included in the fishing practices and had different roles to fulfil (section 5.2). The Covie women fulfilled the roles of collecting bait for the men to use when fishing and informing the men about where the fish were in abundance to catch based on their observations while on the shoreline (section 4.4.5). It was the Covie women's responsibility to teach apprentices, particularly girls, about these aspects of their fishing practices. However, the 2001 policy changes required fishers to purchase an annual fishing permit to legally have access to marine resources in demarcated legal fishing sites (section 4.4.5). Due to the impoverished socio-economic conditions of the Covie community (section 1.2.1), they could not afford to purchase permits for all family members. Consequently, fishing families decided to purchase one fishing permit for the most competent fisher in the family since their identity and preferred source of subsistence depends on the practice (section 4.4.5). This highlights a key challenge within the robust and highly sophisticated environmental policy framework enshrined in the South African Constitution: despite its focus on a holistic, inclusive and community approach to conservation, it is not yet implemented at grassroots level (Sunde & Isaacs, 2008; Sowman et al., 2011; Sunde, 2014).

Policy-making processes in the environmental sphere of South Africa still privilege ecological aspects and neglect full consideration and inclusion of the social, cultural and economic dimensions of communities around the marine ecosystem (Sunde, 2014), as evidenced in the Covie community with the 2001 TMPA policy changes.

It is evident that the permit system introduced in 2001, coupled with the distance of walking eight to 12 kilometres to the new fishing sites, significantly reduced the women's participation in fishing practices (sections 4.4.2; 4.4.5; and 5.3). There has been a clear shift in the role of Covie women within their community of fishing practice from being core members who participated actively as fisherwomen, bait collectors, forerunners and signallers, to now being on the periphery of the practice by just preparing fish at home (section 4.4.5). Khan (2000) argues that there is a disconnect between the theorisation of environmental policies and implementation in South Africa. This disconnect predominantly influences marginalised groups, like the Covie women, in already poor communities and ultimately their roles, identity and traditions. Responsibility for the roles traditionally played by the women in the community has been passed on to the men, which requires them to invest more time and effort in the entire fishing process. This shift also significantly influenced intergenerational learning about fishing and women's roles in it, since the women have largely been removed from the process of teaching apprentices, particularly girls, about their specific roles in the community.

5.6 Analytic Statement 5: Socio-cultural values in different communities of practice can potentially create a misalignment of knowledge and understanding of fishing practices

In recent years, different forms of knowledge and different perspectives on people-nature relations and environmental management approaches have created tension between the TMPA and the Covie community, whose fishing rights were completely taken away (Attwood et al., 1997). Faasen (2006) describes Covie as a self-sufficient and content community that shares their resources with each other. My own observations and interactions with the research participants confirmed the same, for example, sharing fish with community members who cannot go down to the beach to catch fish themselves (sections 4.2.2). Since the Covie fisher folk depend on the surrounding marine environment to sustain their identity and sustenance (section 5.2), there is an undeniable connection between the community and

the ocean. This reflects Makwaeba's (2004) insight that there is an inextricable link between South African communities' cultural heritage and their contextual biodiversity. This link is evident in the case of the Covie fisher folk through their lineage of fishing, with families spending weekends and school holidays at the beach (section 4.4.1), and forming their identity as fishers by engaging with the marine environment (section 4.2). Knowledge about fishing and caring for the local environment has traditionally been acquired through intergenerational learning, and it is commonly understood in Covie, also through intergenerational learning, that there are plenty of fish in the area, particularly in the TMPA (section 4.4.3). Thus, the Covie fishers find it hard to trust TMPA management when they announce that fish stocks are declining, especially as they are not allowed to fish in the TMPA anymore.

The TMPA is guided by, produces, and disseminates knowledge about coastal ecology and fish stocks that is quite different from the local knowledge circulating in Covie. South African National Parks (who manage the TMPA) are mandated to protect the country's national biodiversity and, because MPAs are internationally known to be good management strategies to replenish overexploited oceans (section 2.2.1), they implemented the no-take zone in the TMPA in 2001. The decision was taken in the light of scientifically-generated evidence of declining fish stocks, and was based on the hypothesis that the no-take zone would replenish local fish populations and not negatively affect the livelihoods of the surrounding communities (Hanekom et al., 1997).

Wenger (1998) warns that engagement in one practice can hinder relations and connections with other practices and communities. This is evident in the case of the Covie fishers and the TMPA management because the local, traditional knowledge of the community and the scientifically-generated knowledge of the TMPA, for the most part, do not cross boundaries (section 4.4.3). Each of these communities of practice (the Covie community of fishing practice and the TMPA management) has developed their own ways of knowing and doing, mostly siloed, creating a misalignment of knowledge and understanding about the health and resilience of fish populations in the area.

Akkerman and Bakker (2011) argue that there are boundaries to learning within and between different communities of practice. These learning boundaries exist because of socio-cultural differences in values and can cause fragmentation and isolation if 'boundary crossing' is not

enabled within and between institutions (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011), in this case the two communities of practices. This study was not designed to investigate the TMPA and Covie relationship, but nevertheless found indicators that inadequate communication between these two communities of practice may have further polarised their understanding of each other's knowledge systems and socio-cultural values (section 4.4.3).

The concept of boundary crossing refers to an individual's ability to move across the learning boundaries created by their institution to interact and participate within another institution (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011). Boundary crossing creates opportunities and platforms for community members to learn in a different socio-cultural context to enrich themselves, as well as the larger community of practice. Akkerman and Bakker (2011, p. 5) posit that "interactions across sites are argued to affect not only individual but also the different social practices at large". This study found one explicit example where communication and cross-boundary processes of knowledge and learning occurred. Anwill moved across the boundaries of the Covie community of fishing practice and the TMPA staff, for his training as an eco-guide (section 4.4.3), and thus developed a better understanding of each of the different value systems. In this way, Anwill bridged the gap between the differences in the socio-cultural context of these two communities of practice rather than using their differences as fuel to their tenuous relationship.

5.7 Analytic Statement 6: The community members' place attachment to Covie and the surrounds appears traceable to their relational ties to the place more than to their actual fishing practices

Various authors broadly describe a 'sense of place' or place attachment, as I am using it in this study, as a relational connection to an actual place and people (section 2.6). Using Cross' (2001) relationship to place analytic framework (section 4.3), I investigated the relationship the eight interviewees have to Covie and how that contributes to their attachment to the place. Low (1992) notes that one's experiences coupled with socio-political-economic and ecological dynamics are all integral in the development of relationships and attachments to place.

As summarised in Table 4.1, a biographical relationship with Covie was the strongest influence on the interviewees' attachment to the place. Cross (2001) argues that biographical relationships with places develop because of an extended time spent in a place, which creates a history and thus an identity with a place. This was evident in the data as all the interviewees have lived in Covie for most of their lives (section 4.3). Cross (2001) argues that this relationship helps individuals and groups identify with a place, and Low (1992) posits that lifelong experiences in a specific area create a culturally meaningful bond with the place. The Covie community members' lifelong experiences and interactions with Covie and the surrounding area have moulded who they are as a community and formed their identity as fishers. Living in the area for most of their lives, and thus developing a biographical relationship with Covie, has contributed to the Covie fishers' place attachment.

The second strongest relationship was a commodified relationship with Covie and the surrounding area. This relationship seemed to change over time in relation to the Covie community members' personal preferences of what they expect from a place. The interviewees' three main preferences were (1) *feeling safe* in Covie from both anthropogenic and natural threats, (2) the *quiet nature* of the place compared to other communities where they work and socialise, and (3) the *peacefulness* of Covie, evidenced in their experience of living as 'one big family' (section 4.3). Interestingly, fishing practices were only part of a secondary set of commodified traits which Covie and the surroundings offered the Covie fisher folk (section 4.3). That said, as Farrington (2006) suggests, sustaining a cultural identity through traditional practices is fundamental to maintaining a sense of place. The Covie community members' traditional fishing practices, even as a secondary trait, is central to their attachment to Covie and the surrounds.

Their commodified relationship further strengthened their attachment to Covie because they have the power to make the choice to stay in Covie based on these preferences. Even after their fishing rights were limited to areas outside their traditional fishing sites, they chose to stay in Covie because of these preferences and would adapt to purchasing fish in supermarkets if they could not catch it themselves (section 4.3). Bonaiuto et al. (2002) noted that a community's attachment to a place can intensify when their identity is threatened by the loss of access to their place. Similarly, it appears that the Covie fishers' attachment to the place grew stronger when their fishing rights were taken away, as they would rather buy fish elsewhere but will not move anywhere else (section 4.3). Cross (2001, p. 7) argues that a

commodified relationship “is based on the match between the attributes of a place and what a person thinks is an ideal place”. This was evident when interviewees compared Covie to other local places in terms of their preferences and defined Covie as an ideal place for raising children, safety, and a healthy lifestyle (section 4.3).

A spiritual relationship to Covie is recorded as the third strongest relationship. This relationship develops from something more than the material, but from intangible feelings and connectedness with a place. The interviewees reported feelings of belonging and freedom in Covie (section 4.3). Feelings and emotions are a central part of forming a sense of place (Low & Altman, 1992). The interviewees struggled to describe this relationship and their attachment to Covie because of its intangible nature; instead, they expressed it by saying they would die in Covie or that it is nice living in Covie or that even in their impoverished conditions, they won’t move away (section 4.3).

The study thus found that the Covie fishers’ attachment to their place is strongly connected to the three place relationships (biographical, commodified and spiritual) they have developed over time and that their fishing practices only contribute in a small commodified way to it. It was also evident that this place attachment is passed on from generation to generation in the Covie community of fishing practice. Both Marquin and Keenun, the two youngest research participants, described the exact same relationships to Covie as the older participants did (section 4.3), which suggests transfer of these relationships through intergenerational learning.

5.8 Analytic Statement 7: The Covie fishers’ sense of care and responsibility for the natural environment appears to be directly influenced by their affective and socio-material connections to the place

As presented in section 4.6, environmental care in the Covie community manifests in several ways and is based on various socio-cultural complexities. These complexities are apparent in the Covie fishers’ actions and understandings of the natural environment and their care for it. Their sense of care for fish and their consciousness of a healthy local environment are two prime examples of the socio-cultural complexities of caring for their natural surroundings.

The Covie fishers' care for fish and for their natural surroundings in general appears to be nuanced in two distinct ways. Firstly, their care is manifested based on their fisher identity and their sustenance. For example, Covie fishers would catch and release fish that are considered inedible according to their fishing code of conduct and, at the same time, would be offended if other fishermen catch and release fish which Covie fishers consider edible (section 4.6.1). Similarly, the Covie fishers take care in ensuring that their homesteads and community surroundings are healthy, clean and neat, and yet, during three of the observation days, some of the Covie fishers left some of their rubbish in their fishing spots. These juxtapositions emphasise the complexities of manifestations of environmental care in Covie. Secondly, the Covie fishers' care for the environment is displayed through an inherent affection for fish as living creatures and for their environmental surroundings because of its natural traits (section 4.3) and the relationships they have with their surroundings.

These nuanced manifestations of environmental care can be recognised as extensions of people's socio-material connections to the environment (Petersen, 2013) as well as their affective connections to the environment (Hinds & Sparks, 2008). A socio-material connection infers that the social domain cannot be separated from the material domain (Bansal & Knox-Hayes, 2013), meaning that the Covie community members will not be able to perform their fishing practices (social) without the natural environment (material). When considering human practices and how they shape our actions toward the environment, Petersen (2013) argues that the material world is integral to our interactions with the natural environment. An affective connection with natural surroundings can develop through past and present interactions with the environment, creating an emotional bond with the place (Hinds & Sparks, 2008). This affective connection is evident in the Covie fishers' place attachment to their surrounds, because they have lived there for most of their lives and feel safe, protected, at peace, and free in Covie (section 5.7). The influence of these socio-material and affective connections to the natural environment is evident in the Covie community of fishing practice through (i) the links between their fishing practices and environmental care, and (ii) the links between their place attachment and environmental care. These links are the focus of the rest of this discussion.

Links between fishing practices and environmental care: Sections 4.2 and 4.4 present evidence of a long history of traditional fishing practices within the Covie community along the Tsitsikamma coastline. Situated intergenerational learning about fishing practices, which

is significantly dependent on the natural environment, enabled Covie fishers also to learn about their natural surroundings and the natural factors and indicators that influence their traditional fishing practices (section 4.6.2). Low (1992) argues that a relationship with a place arises from important cultural experiences within that place, and Stedman (1999) further suggests that caring for a place also arises from the dependence on that place to sustain traditions and cultures. These perspectives are congruent with evidence presented in section 4.6.2 which highlights that the Covie fishers developed a sense of care for their local environment through actively participating in their fishing practices. The material dimension of the environment is therefore closely interwoven with the socio-cultural dimensions of the community of fishing practice: the Covie fishers' cultural identity could not be sustained without the physical environment. The socio-materiality of fishing practices appears to promote a sense of responsibility, respect and care for the environment within the Covie community of fishing practice. Farrington (2006) argues that ongoing practices of a cultural and traditional past are central to developing a sense of place. There is thus a strong link between cultural and traditional fishing practices and a sense of care and responsibility for the natural environment where these practices occur.

Case study data suggested that participation in fishing practices instilled in the fishers a sense of care for and connectedness with the natural environment. This care manifested variously as respect for the wonders of nature (for example, when Michael appreciated tiny succulents growing on rocks), and an understanding and appreciation of natural signs (for example, seeing gannets diving for fish, interpreting that as an indicator of the presence of certain fish species), and appreciating how that contributes to the success of their fishing practices (section 4.6.2). A sense of care and protection for the environment was further enhanced through affective connections stimulated by their fishing practices. These affective connections (such as Helen's emotional ties to Covie because of her explorations to the rock pools, and Clive's attachment to Covie because of what they received from it [section 4.6]) developed from the intimate connections between the Covie fishers' fishing identity, their fishing practices, the pressure of daily subsistence, and environmental protection.

Links between place attachment and environmental care: From the discussion so far, it is evident that the Covie fishers' place attachment also directly influences their sense of care for the environment (sections 4.3 and 5.7). The eight research interviewees reflected three predominant forms of attachment to Covie and the surrounds: biographical, commodified and

spiritual (section 5.7). All of these forms of attachment are affective and socio-material in nature. The Covie fishers' biographical and commodified relationships with their surroundings connect their socio-cultural context with the ecological (material) aspects of the environment. Therefore, because they have lived in Covie for most of their lives and depend on certain characteristics of the place to sustain them as a fishing community, they have developed a sense of care and responsibility to protect the area because of what it offers them in return (section 4.6). This is congruent with Faasen and Watts' (2007) findings that Covie community members are attached to the place because of the familial and geographic history they have with the place. People who were born in the Tsitsikamma area have a stronger attachment to the place (Faasen, 2006), and, similarly, community members of Macassar in Cape Town felt a deep sense of connectivity to the dunes because of their traditional and cultural activities there (Ferketic et al., 2010). This shows that communities who have lived in a certain place for a long time and have practiced traditional activities in that place have a strong connection to and sense of care for that place.

The Covie fishers' experiences in the environment through their fishing practices, as well as their feelings and emotions toward the place (Low & Altman, 1992), are evidence of an affective connection towards their immediate natural environment (section 4.6.2). Their spiritual connection to Covie and the surrounds is an intangible connection that brings a sense of freedom and enjoyment for the fisher folk and which manifests in environmental care (section 4.3). Stedman (2003, p. 672) elaborates that a sense of place is a "field of care", an idea that is supported by Ferketic et al.'s (2010) argument that an attachment to place, coupled with an emotional connection to that place, creates a relationship of care for the place. The reasons why the Covie fishers care about the environment are directly linked to the reasons why they are so attached to the place. These reasons include the quietness, safety and healthy lifestyle that Covie offers, as well as the fact that they can fish in the area (section 4.6).

Hinds and Sparks (2008, p. 110) link affective connectedness to the environment to an environmental identity, that is, "how people see themselves in relation to the natural world". To them, this environmental identity refers to modernised manifestations of environmental care such as recycling, signing environmental petitions, and using public transport (to name but a few). However, in this study, environmental identity and environmental care amongst the Covie fisher folk did not manifest in the 'conventional' sense of these concepts, but rather

through their direct dependence upon the natural environment for their identity, subsistence, and place attachment.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has strengthened the argument that the Covie fishers operate as a community of practice in pursuit of their enterprises, which includes sustaining their fishing identity and preferred form of subsistence. That said, the 2001 TMPA policy changes have altered intergenerational learning processes about fishing practices and the different roles in the Covie community of fishing practice. This change in learning about fishing practices has additionally resulted in apprentice Covie fishers taking longer than their forefathers to form their fishing identity. Against this backdrop, it became evident that intergenerational learning about their fishing practices is integral to the process of moving from the periphery to the core of the community of practice to become competent fishers. Developing these competencies creates a sense of belonging to the community and thus helps with the formation of their identity. Furthermore, this chapter highlighted the difference between the socio-cultural values of the TMPA and the Covie fisher folk in terms of the marine environment and its resources. These differences created misunderstandings about marine resources, which further polarised the on-the-ground indigenous knowledge of the Covie fishers and the scientific knowledge about fishing sustainability of the TMPA. The Covie fisher folk's fishing practices are not the biggest contributor to their attachment to the place, but only a part of the relational ties they have to Covie. However, their fishing practices and place attachment form an affective and socio-material connection to the environment which stimulates a sense of care and responsibility towards the natural environment.

In the next chapter, I synthesise the findings presented in this chapter to respond to the study's overarching research question which asked "What is the relationship between intergenerational learning about fishing and environmental care in the Covie fishing community?". I also make recommendations to strengthen intergenerational learning about fishing practices in the Covie community and conclude with recommendations for further research. Further research could investigate the collaboration of indigenous knowledge, passed from generation to generation, about how fishing and sustainability can be used with scientific knowledge to make decisions about policy development of protected areas.

Chapter 6: Recommendations and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

Drawing on all the preceding chapters, this chapter presents a summary of the research and concluding insights in relation to each research question. The chapter also makes recommendations for strengthening learning interactions within the Covie community of fishing practice, in line with each of the questions and their main findings. Lastly, I reflect on the research process and suggest areas of interest for further research based on the limitations of this study.

6.2 Summary of the study

The main goal of this research was to investigate the relationship between intergenerational learning about fishing practices and environmental care in the Covie fishing community. The study was underpinned by Etienne Wenger's theory of Communities of Practice. I conducted a focus group discussion with the Covie fishers to gain insights into their traditional fishing practices, the intergenerational learning processes about these fishing practices, their attachment to Covie and the surrounds, and how environmental care is manifested. A subsequent mirroring workshop enabled me to present my interpretation of the data generated from the focus group back to the participants, and thereby solicit more in-depth responses. From these two initial data generation methods, I selected eight key participants for semi-structured interviews to gain further insights to learning about their traditional practices. I also conducted five naturalistic observations, three of which were on the Nature's Valley beach while some of the participants were fishing, and two that were conducted in Covie, observing participants' informal learning interactions at home.

All the participants signed a consent form which allowed their individual contributions to be recorded through video, audio and photographs, and used in this research project. Elsabè and Avice respectively signed the consent forms for their grandsons, Marquin and Keenun, as both were under the age of 18. The focus group discussion, mirroring workshop and semi-structured interviews were all conducted in Afrikaans, as it is the Covie fisher folks' mother tongue, and were translated into English at the stage of producing the six analytic memos. This research process was firmly guided by the Rhodes University's Ethical Approval from its inception to the final write up.

6.3 Concluding insights of research findings

Chapter Five presented the findings as analytic statements that responded to all the study's research questions and discussed them in some detail in relation to relevant literature, contextual background, and previous research in the Tsitsikamma area. I now present concluding insights into these research findings and make recommendations for strengthening intergenerational learning processes and the cultivation of environmental care in Covie.

6.3.1 Sub-question 1: How have the TMPA policy changes in 2001 influenced fishing practices and shaped intergenerational learning about these practices in Covie?

There is a long history of traditional fishing practices that stretch back over many generations in the Covie community. These practices have been passed on through intergenerational learning to, firstly, sustain the Covie community members' fishing identity, and, secondly, to sustain the community's livelihood. Since the implementation of the 2001 TMPA marine resource access changes, there has been a clear change in the Covie community of fishing practice, most especially in terms of proximity of fishing sites, increased time and effort invested in the practice, particularly from the men, and changing roles and contributions, particularly the women's. Furthermore, these changes in their traditional fishing practices limited, and in some cases completely terminated, participation of a range of members in the community. Consequently, Covie's younger generations spend less time engaged in the practice of fishing and thus it takes them longer than their forefathers to learn about the Covie fishing code of conduct. The Covie women have moved from the core to the periphery of the practice, and some of the men have completely stopped actively participating in the practice. In terms of environmental care, intergenerational learning interactions about fishing practices have been altered to now first teach younger generations about caring for the environment before they can fully participate in the practice.

Recommendation

I recommend that the TMPA management allows traditional fishing communities who cannot afford more than one permit per family to purchase *family* fishing permits. The recommendation is based on this study's clear evidence that the current individual permit system has severely compromised community participation in traditional fishing practices which has, in turn, compromised intergenerational learning about fishing practices. Wenger

(1998) explains that, in a community of practice, learning occurs through participation and that participation contributes to individuals' identity formation and sense of belonging in their community. In line with South African National Parks' mandate to promote community conservation and the preservation of cultural and natural heritage, it is important to remove barriers to community-oriented fishing in Covie, such as the individual fishing permit system.

6.3.2 Sub-question 2: How is intergenerational learning about fishing practices mediated by older generations for younger generations to become competent fishers?

Operating as a community of practice has created a platform for Covie fishers of all ages to interact and engage in their traditional fishing practices through intergenerational learning. These intergenerational learning interactions are facilitated by competent fishers in the community to guide the identity formation of young fishers on the periphery of the practice. There is evidence of a process of steps that younger generations must follow to become competent fishers to belong to the Covie community of fishing practice. This process is facilitated through intergenerational learning from competent fishers to apprentices, and takes place both at the beach while they are fishing and at home when they engage in other aspects of the practice. Knowledge, skills and values are transferred from competent fishers to apprentices or from apprentice to apprentice but not from apprentice to competent fisher. Older generations guide, demonstrate and provide examples in the learning interactions to prepare and teach younger generations about the ways of knowing and doing. Through watching and learning from older generations, younger Covie fishers envision becoming competent fishers and even imagine their own children as fisher folk.

Recommendations

I recommend that the TMPA and competent older Covie fishers cross the knowledge boundaries of their respective communities of practice to create an informal curriculum based on intergenerational learning processes that develops the competencies of Covie's fishing apprentices. Such an informal curriculum can enable indigenous knowledge and traditional practices to be passed from generation to generation *alongside* contemporary scientific research about marine ecosystems and the state of the oceans. These learning processes can be facilitated through fishing open days at legal fishing sites, with the issuing of family

fishing permits, and stronger collaboration and knowledge sharing between Covie and the TMPA employees.

6.3.3 Sub-question 3: How is a ‘sense of place’ constituted through intergenerational learning about the Covie fishing practices?

It is evident that the fishers have a strong attachment to Covie and the surroundings. This attachment, or ‘sense of place’, has developed over years of living in and from their natural surroundings. All eight interviewees individually identified three strong relationships to the area which constituted their attachment to the place. These three relationships are (1) biographical, because most of them have lived in Covie for most of their lives and thus have a history with the place, (2) commodified, because of certain preferable traits, fishing included, that the area holds, and (3) spiritual, because of the profound feelings towards and connectedness to the place. It is thus evident that the Covie fisher folks’ attachment to their place is traceable to these relational ties and less so to their traditional fishing practices. Additionally, being able to fish in the area is one of the preferable traits that constitute the fishers’ attachment to Covie.

6.3.4 Sub-question 4: How is environmental care, in relation to fishing practices, manifested in the Covie community?

The case study data indicated that environmental care in the Covie community arises from multi-layered socio-cultural complexities. Through their fishing practices, the Covie fisher folk have, over generations, interacted with their natural surroundings on a constant basis. Through participation and learning about their traditional fishing practices, which are situated within the environment, they have developed affective and socio-material connections to their natural surroundings. Covie fishers cannot sustain their fishing identity or their preferred subsistence without the environment, and have thus developed a sense of care and responsibility towards the environment. Through these connections, environmental care manifests in the respect they have for the environment because it sustains their identity and social survival through sustaining their fishing practices. It also manifests in their awe of the wonders of nature and interpreting the signs from nature about their fishing practices. Case data also indicated that their sense of care for the environment manifests in the attachment they have to Covie and the surrounding area.

Recommendation

Considering older Covie generations are now teaching younger generations to first care about the environment before they can fully participate in the fishing practices, I recommend that the younger generations be encouraged to cross boundaries into other communities of practice. This boundary crossing, as suggested by Akkerman and Bakker (2011), will create an opportunity to encounter different perspectives and learn from other communities' fishing practices. Collaborative education and training initiatives, like the eco-guide training Anwill was a part of, between TMPA and the Covie community could broaden the knowledge, skills and values of young Covie fishers about sustainable fishing practices and frequent participation in fishing practices to strengthen a sense of care for their natural environment. The extension of new knowledge from other communities would create an opportunity for the young fishers to transfer knowledge to older fishers in Covie as opposed to just the other way around. Another possibility for collaborative initiatives between these two communities of practice is citizen science projects where Covie fishers partake in research about local fish populations which contribute to the management of the area. Broadly, Van Wyk (2015) describes such citizen science projects as platforms where normal citizens can engage in conversations and learning processes with scientists, and these projects as being able to take different forms. Francis et al. (2002) state that when communities feel empowered by being actively involved in the management of their natural environment, they have a bigger sense of care for the place.

6.3.5 Main research question: What is the relationship between intergenerational learning about fishing and environmental care in the Covie fishing community?

Reflecting on the main question of this research project by synthesising all the above findings, and drawing in particular on analytic statement 7 in *Chapter Five*, there appears to be a direct link between intergenerational learning about fishing and the Covie fishers' environmental care. Furthermore, it is evident that the Covie fishers' place attachment contributes to their sense of care and responsibility for the environment. Active engagement in traditional fishing practices is integral to the process of learning about the fishing code of conduct and becoming competent Covie fishers. Active engagement, as a process of situated learning, is thus directly linked to caring for the environment as per the Covie fishing code of conduct. This study has found that there is a relationship of interconnectedness, interdependence, wellbeing, integrity, and respect between intergenerational learning about

Covie traditional fishing practice and the community members' sense of care for the natural environmental.

6.4 Reflection on the research process

This research process has contributed greatly to my growth as a researcher and educator as well as to my sense of self. It was filled with moments of enrichment and inspiration which led me to some personal life-changing decisions. The literature review broadened my knowledge about how environmental frameworks in South Africa are developing and how indigenous communities have been, and continue to be, influenced by these developments.

The existing relationship I had with the Covie community, through my work at the Nature's Valley Trust, ensured a smooth introduction of the research to the community. In light of the on-going debates about opening the TMPA to local fishermen, there was an initial expectation that my research, because it investigated intergenerational learning about fishing practices, would aid the communities in their fight to 'open the sea'. This was the first challenge of the process, which came with the fear of losing interested participants due to the disappointment of their initial expectations. However, after speaking to the community to clarify exactly what this research aims to achieve, all the participants I approached still agreed to be part of it.

I deliberately selected a small sample of 12 participants which represented the range of Covie community members and members who still actively fish. This small sample enabled me to spend more time with the individual participants to get depth and quality of data to understand the learning interactions within their community of practice. Further research could thus include a bigger sample size of members who no longer fish at all. One of the gaps in this research was that my observations of older competent fishers teaching young apprentices fishers at the beach were limited to one day. This is due to the limited opportunities for engagement in fishing practices as a result of the 2001 policy changes. Even on the day of observation when Michael and Marquin went fishing together, they had to cross the Groot River mouth in Nature's Valley to get to the fishing sites.

One of the challenges for me as a researcher was the fact that I did not know much about fishing practices and am allergic to shell-fish and thus don't consume a lot of seafood. This

made it harder for me to relate to the fishing practices, their techniques, the names of the fish, and the excitement when the fishers spoke about catching their first fish. I thus spent extra time speaking to colleagues who fish recreationally to understand the terminology and process of fishing, but also asked the research participants to explain certain aspects of the practice that I did not understand. During observation days, the Covie fishers took time to explain certain processes, the names they have given different types of fish in the area, which ones are edible and not, and anything else I asked about while they were fishing.

Reflecting on the process and findings of this research, I suggest further research to investigate how indigenous or local knowledge about fishing and sustainability can complement scientific knowledge to make decisions about policy development of protected areas. Furthermore, in the wake of modernity, climate change, and declining fish stocks internationally, it is important to gain better understandings of how younger generations such as the boys and young men in Covie are able to draw on indigenous epistemologies as they construct their fishing identities whilst navigating various social, economic, and ecological trajectories.

6.5 Conclusion

This study has shown that learning to belong to indigenous communities of practice is influenced by the wider context of conservation policies that privilege an eco-centric approach to protected areas management. This influence, as seen in the Covie fisher folk, can have detrimental effects on local indigenous communities' identity. This case study about the relationship between intergenerational learning about fishing practices and environmental care found that, for the Covie fisher folk, intergenerational learning plays an important part in sustaining their fishing identity, through developing the competence of the next generation of fishers. It further found that situated intergenerational learning about fishing, coupled with their place attachment, influence their sense of care, respect and responsibility towards the natural environment.

In the process of sustaining a community of practice in which apprentices become full participants, Lave (1991, p. 74) argues that the tension created through 'continuity' and 'displacement' forms a platform where learning can take place. This means that newcomers (Covie apprentice fishers) learn from and will eventually replace the old-timers (competent

and older Covie fishers) to sustain the Covie community of fishing practice. With cross-boundary transfer of knowledge, skills and values, the Covie apprentice fishers can bring different insights and perspectives on marine ecosystems and global sustainability challenges back to the community. Coupled with intergenerational learning about traditional fishing practices, this new knowledge can empower the Covie community to respond to socio-ecological issues and ensure the success of their community of practice.

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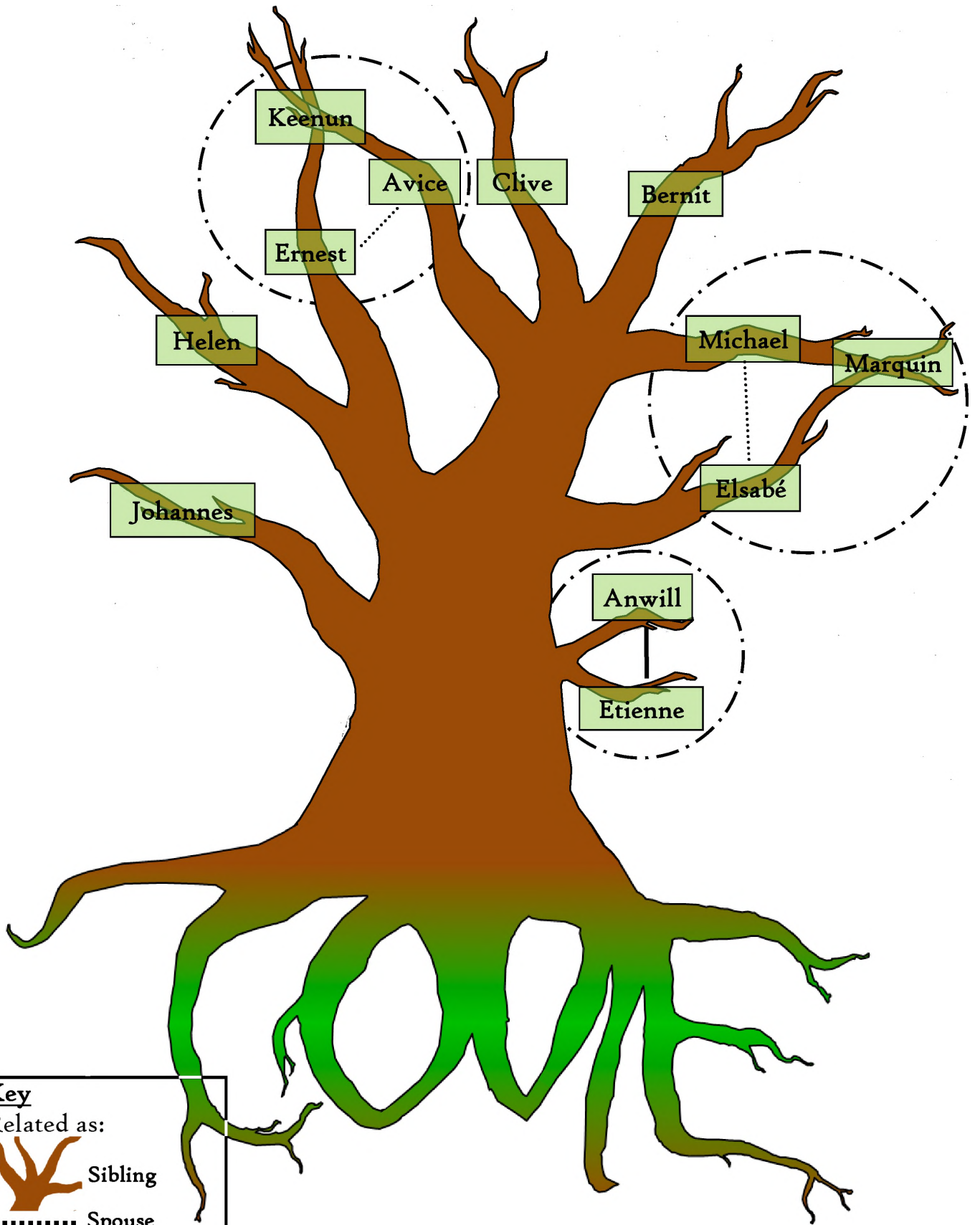
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8. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:
Research Participant Family Tree



Key
 Related as:

-  Sibling
-  Spouse
-  Cousin
-  Grandchild
-  Household

APPENDIX 2:
Data Generation Plan

Data Generation Tools / Plan

Data Generation Method	With whom / what	How many	Tool	Related to question and sub-questions	Validity & Ethics	Theoretical Lenses	Data collection instruments
Focus Group	2 fishing families from the Covie community	Approx. 8 participants (4 from each of the 2 participating families)	FG Discussion with discussion points: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How have they learned about fishing practices? • Who taught them about these practices? • Who have they taught about these fishing practices? • How do you feel about the area? • Why? • What has these fishing practices taught you about the environment? • How do you feel about the area you are fishing in? 	Main question How does environmental care in relation to fishing practices manifest?	Permission to record and take photos. How they want their contribution to be acknowledged	<u>CoP</u> Engagement, Imagination, alignment Enterprise, Mutuality, Reperoire Situated Learning LPP <u>CoP</u> What is the relationship / bond to the area? What process let to this bond / relationship?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Video recorder • tripod • camera • note book • research journal
Mirroring Workshop	Same 2 families I did the FGD with	Same participants (FGD)	Presentation of data: Identify main themes and threads to mirror data back to participants	Main question How does environmental care in relation to fishing practices manifest?	Permission to record and take photos. How they want their contribution to be acknowledged		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • white board • flip chart paper • video recorder • camera • note book • research journal
In depth Interviews (semi-structured)	2 members (from different generations) of each family	4	Semi-structured interviews	Main question How does environmental care in relation to fishing practices manifest?	Permission to audio record Anonymity	<u>CoP</u> Engagement, Imagination, alignment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Audio recorder • Note book • Interview questionnaire – (1 for the older generation participant and 1

Data Generation Method	With whom / what	How many	Tool	Related to question and sub-questions	Validity & Ethics	Theoretical Lenses	Data collection instruments
						<p>Enterprise, Mutuality, Reperoire</p> <p>Situated Learning LPP</p> <p><u>CoP</u> What is the relationship / bond to the area? What process let to this bond / relationship?</p>	for the younger generation participant)
Observations	<p><u>1st set</u> Fishing families of covie at home and on the coast fishing to identify 2 participant families.</p> <p><u>2nd set</u> 2 key informant fishing families</p>	7 days of observations	Observe	<p>Main question</p> <p>How does environmental care in relation to fishing practices manifest?</p>	<p>Participant observer remaining in the social background. Thick descriptions</p>	<p><u>CoP</u> Engagement, Imagination, alignment</p> <p>Enterprise, Mutuality, Reperoire</p> <p>Situated Learning LPP</p> <p><u>CoP</u> What is the relationship / bond to the area? What process let to this bond / relationship?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Camera • Note book • Research journal • Systemic observation schedule (abductive)

APPENDIX 3:
Index and Inventory of Data Sources

Appendix 3: Index of Data Sources

Source number	Index	Index Code
1	Focus Group Discussion	FGD
2	Observation Day 1	OD1
3	Observation Day 2	OD2
4	Mirroring Workshop	MW
5	Observation Day 3	OD3
6	Community Member Interview 1 (Marquin)	CMI1
7	Community Member Interview 2 (Clive)	CMI2
8	Community Member Interview 3 (Michael)	CMI3
9	Community Member Interview 4 (Anwill)	CMI4
10	Community Member Interview 5 (Elsabe)	CMI5
11	Community Member Interview 6 (Avice)	CMI6
12	Community Member Interview 7 (Helen)	CMI7
13	Observation Day 4	OD4
14	Community Member Interview 8 (Keenun)	CMI8
15	Observation Day 5	OD5

Inventory of Data Sources

Data set	Data Source	Purpose of data source	Dates	Recording method
1	Focus Group (FG) with 2 families in Covie	To discuss the history, learning and changes of fishing practices within the community.	10 March 2016	Video recorder, audio recorder, photos, transcribed
2	Observations of fishing practice at Nature's Valley beach	Observing Michael, his grandson Marquin and Anwill fishing and learning each other about fishing. Looking for environmental care evidence.	12 March 2016	Photos, video, field notes, transcribed
3	Observations at Salt River fishing rocks	Observing 3 brothers (Michael, Clive and Bernit) from Covie. Fishing practices, learning and competence. Environmental care evidence.	16 March 2016	Transcribed, only 1 bad photo because it was night, field notes
4	Mirroring Workshop with the same 2 families for the FG	First phase of analysis (inductive & abductive) of the data generated at the FG. To mirror their perspectives, views and stories at them for confirmation as well as to open up further discussions.	20 March 2016	Video recorder, audio recorder, transcribed
5	Observations at Salt River fishing rocks (Michael, Bernit and Ernest)	Observing fishing practices, learning and competence. Environmental care evidence.	10 April 2016	Photos, field notes, transcribed

Data set	Data Source	Purpose of data source	Dates	Recording method
6	Semi-structured interview with Marquin (14 years)	To explore his participation in the community of practice, the development of his identity, the care / love he has for Covie and how it developed and his process of becoming competent.	10 April 2016	Audio recorded, transcribed
7	Semi-structured interview with Clive	To explore what their fishing practices have taught them about nature and his relations with nature and Covie. How environmental care is manifesting itself within the community. His journey to full participation and competence in the practice. How things have changed since 2001 and how this has shaped intergenerational learning, the identity of the community and him individually and their relationship with the place.	12 April 2016	Audio recorder, transcribed
8	Semi-structured interview with Michael	To explore what their fishing practices have taught them about nature and his relations with nature and Covie. How environmental care is manifesting itself within the community. His journey to full participation and competence in the practice. How things have changed since 2001 and how this has shaped intergenerational learning, the identity of the community and him individually and their relationship with the place.	12 April 2016	Audio recorded, transcribed
9	Semi-structured interview with Anwill	To explore what their fishing practices have taught them about nature and his relations with nature and Covie. How environmental care is manifesting itself within the community. His journey to full participation and competence in the practice. How things have changed since 2001 and how this has shaped intergenerational learning, the identity of the community and him individually and their relationship with the place.	25 April 2016	Audio recorded, transcribed
10	Semi-structured interview with Elsabe	For the narrative analysis of the Covie women's participation in the fishing practices and to help answer sub-question 2	27 April 2016	Audio recorded, transcribed
11	Semi-structured interview with Avice	For the narrative analysis of the Covie women's participation in the fishing	14 May 2016	Audio recorded, transcribed

Data set	Data Source	Purpose of data source	Dates	Recording method
		practices and to help answer sub-question 2		
12	Semi-structured interview with Helen	For the narrative analysis of the Covie women's participation in the fishing practices and to help answer sub-question 2	17 May 2016	Audio recorded, transcribed
13	Observations in Covie at Michael and Elsbè's house	Process of triangulating data in cross-checking practices at home and what have been recorded through other data generation methods – also to confirm data	05 June 2016	Field notes, pictures, transcribed
14	Semi-structured interview with Keenun (12 years)	To explore his participation in the community of practice, the development of his identity, the care / love he has for Covie and how it developed and his process of becoming competent.	24 June 2016	Audio recorded, transcribed
15	Observations throughout Covie and at a few participants' homes	Process of triangulating data in cross-checking practices at home and what have been recorded through other data generation methods – also to confirm data	25 June 2016	Field notes, pictures, transcribed

APPENDIX 4:
Observation Schedule – Day 1

Appendix 4: Observation Day 1 Schedule

Category / Concepts of CoP	Field notes
Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All 3 fishers were actively engaged in the fishing practice • Marquin is limited to his competence as an apprentice / young fisher • Anwill tells 2 men on the beach about their fishing history
Imagination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marquin playing around with fish in the rock pool
Alignment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anwill spoke of the “beleid van Covie”
Enterprise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fish for subsistence and Identity – teaching Marquin • Fished for most of the day, from morning till afternoon. Effort of half a day put into their fishing practices • Michael tells Anwill that they should wait for the tide to go out before they go to the rocks further in the ocean to fish • Michael also tell Marquin to stay and fish from the shoreline • They help each other right throughout the fishing day
Mutuality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each of the three fishers fulfil a different role. Marquin looked after the fish. Michael as a competent fisher where the furthers on a rock. Anwill teaching Marquin about the different types of bait and fishing closer to the shore • Opportunity created for Marquin to fish – even with the danger of crossing the Groot River mouth • 3 generations of fishers - Close social relation between Michael and Anwill
Repertoire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They all fish in a similar style • Michael let Marquin use the fishing gear in his fishing box • They all carried fishing their own fishing bags • Had assigned names for certain fish species • Michael showed Marquin the trick of how to catch a fish in a rock pool and how to fillet a Strepie
Environmental Care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upset when other fishermen catch and release Elf [Shad] • Care for the fish – Marquin even fed the fish his grandfather caught • Marquin explored the rock pools – removing fishing line from the seaweed • Awareness of sharks and that they are not allowed to catch them

APPENDIX 5:
Detailed Narrative of Observation Day 1

Appendix 5:

Observation Day 1 (12 March 2016) – Nature’s Valley Beach

Participants: Michael, Marquin and Anwill

09h00

As I arrived at the Nature’s Valley beach and go over to Michael and Marquin where they sit on a long rock, he tells me that they got so wet crossing the mouth because they didn’t know that it was open and that it was running out to sea rather strong. I enquired about Marquin crossing and Michael said he was fine. Michael was already preparing his fishing rod and getting ready to start the fishing day.

I think my presence made Marquin a bit shy because for the first few minutes after my arrival he didn’t do anything until Michael (his grandfather) told him he should start because he knows what and how to do it. As Michael gets up to cast his first for the day, Marquin picks up his fishing rod and starts preparing it. Marquin works through his grandfather’s fishing bag and gear as he’s preparing his rod. Marquin takes one of the swivel in a container but is not sure if it is the right one – so he calls his grandfather from where he is sitting to where he was casting and shows him the size of the swivel to ask if it’s the right one / size. Michael looks at the swivel and says that that one could be used because of the types of fish they’ll possibly catch at this spot.

09h30

Anwill walks up to us with his fishing rod and fishing bag. Anwill is also a Covie resident and he lives with Ettienne but he wasn’t a participant in the Focus Group Discussion. I reckon Anwill in his late 20’s. Michael welcomes him and asks if he had any difficulty crossing the mouth. Anwill says no, but that he is just wet now – and he shows us the water mark of how high the water was just underneath his belt. Anwill prepares his rod and Michael shows him where they should go and cast, pointing at a rock further into the surf, but saying that they should wait for the tide to out a bit more because the water is still too rough which makes it dangerous.

About 50m to the right of the rock where Michael, Marquin and Anwill set up fishing camp is another fisherman fishing from the beach. Michael notices that the man caught something and he shouts out; “daar vang daai man weer ‘n vis – ‘n elf (shad) nogal in daai vlak water. Ek wonder of hy dit sal weer terug gooi?” Marquin responds by saying; “hy is mal as hy dit terug gooi!!” Michael then tells Marquin that the reason why he doesn’t want the man to throw the fish back is because it is injured now. Marquin has a puzzled frown on his face ... Michael

continues by saying that the hook might have hurt the fish and that that is why it's not good to throw back the fish

Michael tells Anwill that the same man caught fish the other day and then just took them off the hook and threw them back into the ocean. With some frustration, Michael said; "Ek weet nie waarvoor hy vis vang nie – dit is 'n sport vir hom!"

Michael goes to the rock he pointed out to Anwill earlier. The one that they should wait for the tide to go out so that they can go there. The tide is still moving out slowly. Anwill is ready to go and he also walks over to the rock that Michael is on. [competence]. Marquin finished preparing his rod and walks to the end of the rock we are sitting on to cast. He knows that he can't go to the rock further out where his grandfather and Anwill is. His grandfather said "die water is nog hoog" and Marquin understood what that means and stayed behind. There was an unspoken understanding between Michael and his grandson as he said that the water was still high.

As the man on the other side catches his third fish, Michael calls out to Marquin from the rock he is fishing on to tell him he should look at how the man reels in the fish and also shows him where the fish is. Marquin is fishing from the edge of the rock where they set up camp.

Marquin caught a fish!!! I'm so excited for him! It's a small fish and he reels it in but when the fish gets to him, he looks at it and calls his grandfather to show him. He calls out to his grandfather; "dis 'n diktril" (thick-penis) and then carefully unhooks and releases it into a pool to swim back into the ocean. I ask him why he released it in the light of his comment when his grandfather thought the other fisherman would release the fish. He said; "dis 'n piktril – 'n mens eet nie 'n dikpiël nie. Ander mense eet dit maar my oupa sê ons mag dit nie eet nie". I ask why they are not allowed to eat it and he responds "my oupa het nog nie gesê nie".

He puts another worm on his hook and casts again. As Marquin sits with his fishing rod, he plays in the pools and discovers a piece of fishing gut entangled in some seaweed (picture). He immediately tends his focus / attention to it and pulls the fishing gut out of the seaweed and throws it to the one side.

10h50

Michael caught 2 fish (kolstert and Steenbras) and an octopus and brings it over to the rock where Marquin is. There is a pool of water on the rock which Michael puts his catch in. Marquin explains to me that the reason his grandfather puts the fish in the pool is to ensure that they stay fresh. He says; "my oupa sit hulle hier in sodat hulle nie pap word nie – want as hulle pap word dan kan ons nie lekker die skubbe af krap nie."

Marquin looks at the Steenbras – he inspects it and tells me “hy is nog lewendig”. He looks at all the fins of the Steenbras and at the mouth ... kind of like he is studying it for a big test. After he thoroughly inspected the Steenbras he puts it back into the pool.

He is now not fishing anymore but stays by the pool where his grandfather’s catch is in – like he is guarding them. The octopus starts moving and Marquin jumps up and moves towards the kolster which swimming around in the pool. He says; “die seekatte eet sommer die visse”. It seems like he went to go look where the kolstert was to protect it against the octopus but also to make sure he keeps his grandfather’s catch safe. He says that he is scared of octopus because “daai goed op sy bene suig vas aan ‘n jou”. He was referring to the suckers of the legs of the octopus. I ask him if he likes eating octopus and he says yes and that you can only eat the legs. He then explains how his grandmother cut the head of the octopus off first before she cooks the octopus with its skin.

He takes a few worms that his grandfather uses as bait from a Styrofoam cup and throws it into the pool for the kolstert to eat but it doesn’t eat the worms. Something grabs his attention and he says, “Nou sien ek wat eet die wurms” as he points to a shrimp. I ask him what it is and he says he can’t remember their name but that it reminded him of something else because it looks similar.

11h30

Looking at the 3 Covie fishermen – I realise that there are 3 generations of fishermen present here today. Michael is still fishing on the same rock further out, Anwill l moved and is now fishing on another rock on his own and Marquin is sitting at the fishing camp by the pool that holds his grandfather’s catch.

12h00

Marquin explores on his own – playing in the sand and digging trenches. In his participation in the practice, he creates his own experiences and learns. Like the worms and the shrimp – he made a connection that the it is not just the fish that eats the worms or that the fish actually don’t like the worms that much. As he further explores he picks up some redbait and calls his grandfather to show him his discovery. He runs over to the rock where his grandfather is and for the first time I see him jump from rock to rock as he makes his way to where his grandfather is fishing from. It looks like his grandfather is not too keen to use the rad bait and Marquin comes back to the camp. I asked him what his grandfather said about the red bait and he just says that he’s grandfather said that we don’t fish with that now. Anwill, who came back to the camp to fetch something from his bag, explains to Marquin and I that they don’t use red bait in the summer months but rather in the winter months and that’s why Marquin’s grandfather won’t use that now. Marquin says “oohh – net met wurms nou?” Anwill says “ja – en met strepies in die somer”.

As Marquin explores the pool where we're sitting (at their fishing camp) he asked himself, "die is seker ook Steenbras want hulle het ook swart streppe" referring to the small fish in the pool. I ask him why and he responds, "hulle het ook swart streppe soos die Steenbras. Die kolstert het 'n kol op sy stert en dis hoekom hy 'n kolstert gesê word. En 'n strepie het orange strepe op sy lyf".

The fisherman about 50m away from us catches something and Marquin notices it. He jumps up in a kind of excited manner and says, "kyk wat vang hy!!!" I look over and ask Marquin what it is. He struggles to get to the name and I ask him why he's so excited about this catch. He says, "Hy mag hom nie vang nie – 'n mens kan dit nie eet nie". He runs over to his grandfather and comes back to me and shouts, "dis 'n sand haai".

Michael caught a strepie and brought it back to the camp. The strepie was very active and it looked like it wanted to jump out of the pool. It went a bit too far and got stuck in some shallow water and was lying on its side, not moving. Marquin went over to it, picked it up and put it deeper into the pool. This is a behaviour that I've picked up from him all day – a care for the fish that his grandfather caught (kolstert and strepie).

12h50

The guy gave Anwill 2 elf for him and Michael. Michael and Anwill comes back to their fishing camp. They are moving camp because the man 50m away packed up and moved somewhere else - so the Covie fishing team are now moving to where he was in the hopes to catch some elf too. Michael tells Anwill 1 to put on a bigger hook because Elf normally bites the small ones off. And I got a sense he was speaking from experience.

Michael tells Marquin to catch the strepie in the pool and bring it to him. Marquin is concerned that the pool in the middle is a bit too deep for him to put his hands in. So Michael shows him how to catch the strepie by getting into the pool and then walking the fish to a more shallow area and then catch it. Michael catches the strepie with ease using this technique. Michael fillets the strepie he caught to use it for bait to catch some elf at the new spot and Marquin is surprised at this. He says, "maar oupa hou dan so baie van strepie". Michael shows Marquin that he is only using a certain section of the strepie to use as bait and he will keep the rest to take home. But in order for him to catch some Elf which is much bigger than the strepie, he has to sacrifice a piece of the strepie.

Michael tells Marquin to pack all the fish in the bag and then come to the new fishing camp. Marquin uses the technique his grandfather just used to try and catch the kolstert in the pool. He is at it for a bit more than 5min but the kolstert is a tough one to catch. He decides to pack all the other fish that are not so active or that are dead first and then return to the kolsters. He struggles for another while before he decides to give up and move to where his grandfather and

Anwill are now fishing from the beach as his grandfather had already called him to bring the bag because he'd already caught an Elf at the new spot.

As Marquin packed the fish, fishing gear and picked up his fishing rod to move across to the new spot, I noticed he left behind loose small pieces of gut and the Styrofoam glass. When we got to the new fishing camp, I looked back and saw 2 adults and 1 juvenile kelp gull exploring the area we had just come from.

Marquin did not catch anymore but was fulfilling another part in the practice. He kept watch over the catch and helped with packing and moving. He also observed a lot.

Another local from Kurland Village came to say hi and spoke about how long Michael and Anwill have been fishing and Anwill said – “dis mos die beleid van Covie”. The local responded by saying “vis en patat”. The local asked Anwill how many Elf he was allowed to catch to which Anwill answered “net vier (4)”. The local laughed and said but you have 5 to which Anwill said that he was taking them all. Both Michael and Anwill cleaned the Elf and removed the scales from their elf, Michael 3 and Anwill 5.

14h00

As the tide was coming in, Michael and Anwill decided to go back to fish on the rocks and move camp to their first camping spot. Marquin packed the 3 elf in his grandfather's bag and moved to the first fishing camp. I went home for lunch, Michael went to the restaurant for a quick job the owner asked him to do and Marquin and Anwill stayed on the beach.

15h00

When I got back from lunch, Michael was still at the shop, Anwill was fishing and Marquin was sitting at the camp. At first, it looked like he was just hammering away at the barnacles on the rock with his grandfather's bait hammer thingy but when I took a closer look – he was actually putting bait on his hook from what he was collecting.

Not long after, Michael returned and they packed up to go home. As they left, I returned to the first rock they set up camp and saw that they left behind the Styrofoam cup, an empty chips packet and some small pieces of fishing gut line. I took a picture of it and also went home.

APPENDIX 6:
Focus Group Register

APPENDIX 7:
Focus Group Discussion Transcript

Appendix 7: Focus Group Discussion Transcript

10 March 2016 – Covie Community Church Hall

Participants: Ernest Barnardo, Bernit Alexander, Clive Alexander, Johannes, Michael Alexander, Ettiene Plaatjies, Elsabe Plaatjies and Marquin Plaatjies. Video and photos: Marco Barnardo

Cindy: Ok, so hierdie is net 'n registrasie vorm of 'n attendance register vir almal wat hierso is – net bewys van almal wat hier is, so net u naam en u van en u selfoon nommer. En dan is daar 'n vraagie wat vra hoe lank bly u al in Covie, of u kan skryf my hele lewe of 20 jaar of whatever en dan vang u gereeld vis met die kinders van Covie, en dan kan u net sê ah miskien een keer 'n maand of so.

Bernit: Stombol toe getrek in 1994 en het laas jaar terug kom trek weer Covie toe.

Ernest: van wanneer af bly ek al in Covie – lewens lank

Michael: maar dit is so eintlik, lewens lank

Cindy: lewens lank

Ernest: Vang U gereeld met die kinders vis? Ek vang nie nou meer so gereeld meer vis met my kinders nie. Ek sal jou se hoekom, as ons by die see kom en die vis wil nie byt nie dan is dit maar net so 'n paar minute dan sien jy daar le 'n vis stok en 'n riel en hulle het elkeen 'n klip en elke voel wat daar kom word doodgegooi met 'n klip. Nou se ek hulle moet nou eers 'n bietjie luister – hy is een van hulle, vra hom. [Ernest wys na Marquin toe en Elsabe lag]. Hulle weet wat ... hulle straf is nou om te leer om nie die voeltjies te gooi nie ...

Bernit: (kyk vir ernest) een keer 'n maand

Ernest: nee -dis nie een keer 'n maand nie

Bernit: nou een keer in ses maande [Bernit wil he Ernest moet klaar skryf sodat hy kan die vorm kry]

Ernest: nie gereeld nie

Cindy: ja – nie gereeld is reg

Cindy: so terwyl die lysie omgaan, sal ek solank begin ... so ek wil bietjie van die geskiedenis van visvang spesifiek in Covie, wanneer het dit begin, hoe onthou julle visvang? Was dit altyd in Covie gewees of is dit maar nou 'n ding wat nou net begin het en het dit verander oor die tyd?

Ernest: Toe ons ons kom kry – toe ons nog kinders was toe kom kry ons die oumense en ons pa's en goed vang vis. Of met die boot in Nature's Valley of hier by die rotse hier by Covie en by die see hierso. En hulle het baie malle einde van die jaar daar waar die Bloukrans hut nou is, kamp plekke gehad daarso vir elkeen van die families dan gaan kamp ons daar – hulle het ons soentoe geneem dan gaan bly ons daar.

Cindy: Ok, oh so sommer gaan bly?

Ernest: Ons het gaan bly daar – vra hulle

Johannes: Vir die hele Desember maand

Ernest: Ons het gebly daarso toe kom Park en hulle kom bou hutte en hulle sit ons uit daar.

Bernit: ja – ons het elke vakansie tyd gegaan. Sommer so vir 'n week.

Clive: Selfs june se vakansie ook.

Cindy: So toe julle gebore word toe vang julle ouers en oupas en oumas alreeds vis?

Almal: JA

Cindy: so is visvang 'n groot deel van Covie se geskiedenis?

Johannes: Ja dit was 'n groot deel gewees.

Bernit: Dit was die grootste gewees!

Ernest: Dit was 'n groot deel. Dit en houtkap. Kyk hulle was mos houtkappers gewees en vis gevang, als. Daai 2 goete. En plant ook, so die oumense het ook geplant ook as daar niks anders was nie

Cindy: so as julle se dit was die grooste gedeelte van Covie gewees, is dit dan om kos op die tafel te sit
Manne: om kos op die tafel te sit

Bernit: Onse ouers – hulle het by bosbou gewerk, dan is dit hierdie tyd, wat die somer tyd is wat die roofvisse, die rooisandters en goed – dan het hulle uit die werk uit gebly, daai tyd was dit nie so wat jy weggejaag nie, jy word net nie betaal vir die dae wat jy nie in die werk is nie. Dan het hulle gegaan

en vis gevang die dae wat hulle nie in die tuin kon wees nie en as dit tuinmaak tyd was het hulle ook dae afgevat en tuin gemaak want dit was die lewe. Die geldtjies wat hulle by Bosbou gekry het was maar vir 'n kleding stuk en so aan.

Ernest: Hulle het maar net R1,05 'n dag gekry – of nee dit was 60c 'n dag

Johathan: ja dit was 60c 'n dag

Ernest: of 75c, daar rond. Daai tyd, onthou my pa het gewerk, nee hyt nie by bosbou gewerk nie hyt by Whitcher gewerk dan kry hy R1 toe ek my nou by kom – by bosbou het hulle nog minder betaal, toe kry hy R1,25 'n dag – nou moet jy weet vir 'n week is dit R6-iets vir 'n week lank. Nou moet jy weet ons was 13 kinders gewees wat van daai af moet leef. Nou dis te min, so outamaties moet hulle plant en visvang en goed om by te sit.

Cindy: So die bosbou ding was glad en al nie, kan nou nie se nie die belangrikste nie maar die was nie die grootste deel gewees nie.

Ernest: nee, hiertie so baie mense by bosbou gewerk nie – hulle dit maar hier en daar en baie mense het nie gewerk nie.

Bernit: ja die werk was maar meestal vir klere maar kos soos ek se hulle het die werk laat staan om tuin te maak.

Cindy: Toe Michael ook groot word was die visvang maar deel van die familie gewees?

Michael: Ja

Cindy: Nou vandat julle groot geword het – antie Elsabe, het jy ook in Covie groot geword?

Elsabe: ja

Cindy: Nou wat was die vroue se deel van visvang?

Al die mans: jissou - nee jong die vroue het vis gevang.

Michael: die vrouens het n spannetjie opgemaak dan gaan hulle see toe alleen – nie hier naby nie, hulle gaan Bloukrans toe en dis ver hoor

Bernit: Ja die dae wat die mans nie kon gaan nie wat hulle nou in die werk moet wees om geld te verdien het die vrouens gegaan

Michael: maar jy sien hulle gaan vang vir die mans aas eintlik, klein vissies – so as die manne in die aande uitval dan gaan hulle nou weer see toe

Clive: en ja die mans het ook baie mal by die vrouens inligting gekry – die rooisanter byt en die dit byt, so more, dan bly daai man by die huis om te gaan vis vang. Dit is mos nou as die roofvis hier is, daai rooisanters – dis amper so jy gaan haal vir jou 'n drag – kyk hys nie gereeld hier teen die kus nie dis net met koue water, so maar wanneer hy kom met die koue water uit die diepsee uit dan is hy hier en hy is gulsig – so die vrouens was amper die voorlopers gewees.

Ernest: Hulle gee die sein. Onthou hier was nie yskaste gewees nie, die mense wat see toe gegaan het, dan word daai vis ge-fillet

Cindy: sommer daar by die see

Ernest: partymaal daar by die see partymaal bring hulle dit huis toe, kom vlek hulle, hy word gesout en dan word hy vir so 'n dag of 'n nag gele en die volgende oggend word hy op die heining gehang om uit te droog.

Cindy: oh ok – dan bak julle hom?

Ersnest: Nee jy bak hom nie – hy word gesteam / stoom

Johannes: of jy maak hom net warm op die kolle dan is hy baie lekker

Cindy: en as julle nou so kyk na hoe dinge gewees het in die verlede, het julle visvang praktyke verander?

Mans: nie rerig nie!

Clive: Al hoe dit verander het is die reëls en die bewaring wat ingekom het – so toe kon ons mos nie meer so ... [clive se foon lui]

Bernit: Die vis is ook nie meer so volop soos dit gewees het nie want as ek kan onthou, ek het skool geloop dan het my ouer broer het by bosbou gewerk, dan het ons mos nou miskien 'n akker bone om te skoffel – as ek uit die skool uit gekom het dan skoffel ek, want ek weet as hy kom, dan gaan ek en hy see toe. Maar dan gaan haal ons eintlik net.

Johathan: jyt net gegaan om te gaan haal en vroeg aand is jy terug by die huis. 8uur is jy terug by die huis.

Cindy: en nou, hoe is dinge nou?

Bernit: neewat, hier gaan ek vir 'n vol dag

Ernest: hiers nog genoeg vis – kyk, die spesifieke sort wat jy gaan van baie vang nou hulle is nie meer so baie nie of soos die rooisanter, hulle kom net een maal 'n jaar in dan vang jy nou baie van hulle maar nou kan jy nie baie vang nie want hulle het mos nou toe daar waar hulle byt, daar is nou toe gemaak jy kan nie meer daar gaan vang nie.

Michael: maar jy sien wat ons eintlik opgemerk het hier by die see soos een keer hier gewees waar die rooi Steenbras so gebyt het ne, dis nou al 'n paar jaar daai goed byt nie meer daarso nie – nie een meer nie. Jy kan maar maak net wat jy wil, hy byt nie meer daarso nie.

Johathan – ja hys uitgeroei

Michael: dit lyk my hulle het getrek

Johathan: ja maar ... disi laat hulle het getrek nie, hulle het nie getrek nie want ek het baie daar by 'helpmekaar' gaan vang. Die ouens met die bote, hulle trek hom tot na aan die klip, die groot bote, hulle trek hom tot na aan die klip en dan spring daai ouens af en dan kom skiet hulle. Daai ouens het die vis so kom uitgeroei, die groot vis, want hulle spring van die bote af dank om skiet hulle die vis hier langs die klip.

Cindy: nou hoekom skiet hulle hom?

Johathan: hulle het mos hierie, daai pyl-gewere – nou kom skiet hulle daai vis want baie keer is ons daar by helpmekaar dan kan jy sien daai string vis wat hulle daar insleep na die boot toe. Die "poenskop" ook – hys ook baie skaars hy was volop, hys ook skaars.

Michael: ja hys ook nie meer so volop nie

Cindy: so dinge het definitief verander van die verlede af tot nou?

Ernest: maar soos ons se, dit is nie die mense wat hier bly wat dinge laat verander het nie, dis ander mense wat van buite af kom

Bernit: wat ook miskien bydra is die feit dat die vis het mos kos gekry op 'n sekere plek en die mense wat daar gaan vang, en nou hulle kom, soos die rooisanters, hulle kom maar dan kry hulle nie genoeg kos nie, en dan volgende jaar kom hulle weer maar hulle sal nie 'n 3de jaar kom nie want

Cindy: want hulle leer ook

Bernit: Ja – dis nie die moeite werd om hier te kom krap nie. Ek dink maar dis een van die redes ook.

Ernerst: hier is, soos ek se Bernit, nog baie vis – onthou ek het saam met die navorsing mense wat vis getag het gegaan, en ons het baie daar gaan visvang tot 3 dae 'n week. As hulle kom, partymaal op 'n saterdag oggend sal ons ook gaan visvang. In die park – dan tag ons dan laat ons hulle loop weer. Nou ons het eendag by Bloukrans gaan visvang, en daai spesifieke tyd, daai hele ruk wat hulle hier was – toe byt die vis verskriklik swak. Toe se hulle, hulle wonder is hier dan nou nie meer vis nie of wat gaan dan nou aan? Toe die eendag gooi hulle ook weer daar rond – ha a, en daai ouens besluit toe daai tyd, Rob hulle, hulle gaan duik maar liewer. Hulle het so 10min in die water en so 'n kwart uur se kant kom hulle weer terug en hulle se 'weet julle, julle sal ons nie glo nie'. Hy se hier is 'n klomp vis maar nie een van hulle wil byt nie – hulle se toe is daar baie vis daar onder maar hulle byt net nie. So byvoorbeeld, jy kan hom nie uittrek as hy nie byt nie – daar is party dae wat jy niks se vis vang nie, dan gaan jy weer die volgende dag dan vang daar 'n ander ou 'n klomp vis waar jy gister was – nou wat se dit vir jou? Jy sal, wat 'n hengelaar is met sy stoke n riel sal nie die vis uitgeroei kry nie.

Bernit: maar kom marco, volgens parke raad raak die vis skaars, hulle raak skaars.

Marco: navorsers se daar is vis, maar die vis wil maar net nie die aas meer vat nie. Hulle weet nie of dit iets met klimaats verandering is of wat nie

Michael: dit kan wees

Johathan: ek het al baie by Riley hulle by meetings het ek vir hulle photos gebring. Ek het hier in sout rivier het ek n vis gevang maar jy kry hom nie hier rond nie, jy kry hom net in Durban, toe is hy getag toe het hy daai pyltjie. Toe het daai vis al so n grootte gaat hierso, op sy rug so n grootte gaat. En ek

het al in die diepsee gevang en dan is die vis ook getag – toe vra ek is dit nou mooi want as dit mos tussen die skere gaan dan word dit mos al hoe groter

Ernest: hy daar so in, daar is altyd 'n gaatjie waar daai ding is, ek het ook nou al opgemerk – is mos daai recatches wat jy vang. Party van hulle breek af, daai pennetjie, en party van hulle maak daai gatjie dan is daar sulke mos'erige goed wat op daai tag groei. Nou as hulle die vis tag ne, dan gee hulle hom n inspyting, ek weet nie waste goed mee spuit hulle hom in nie, nou n vis is mos nie gewoont om ingespyt te word nie – hoekom maak hulle n gaat in hom. Hulle druk daai ding deur sy vleis en dan haak hulle hom om n been. Nou hy kan nie uitkom nie, hy moet nou draai of hy moet afbreek. Ek het nog nooit gesien dit is n goeie ding nie, ek weet nie.

Johathan: dis nie 'n goeie ding nie.

Michael: ok, maar ek het nou seker so 4 jaar terug, toe het ek n withaai gevang. Daai withaai was getag toe ek gebore was, weet jy dit? In 1961. Toe isit al 'n groot withaai hoor, en daai pennetjie wat in hom was, hy was al vol seegras al gegroei.

Ernest: het hy die ronde tag gehad?

Michael: ja, die ronde een.

Ernest: ja hulle tag hom mos nou met daai ronde een, hulle knip hom hier bo by die dorsal vin

Michael: ek het daai ding so gekrap ek sien 1961 ek se mense ... kan dit wees? Maar toe is dit so hoor. 1961

Marco: dit hang ook af van watter mense die vis tag, want sommige mense maak die vis seer en ander weet wat hulle doen.

Ernest: ek sal liever so se Markie, as hulle die vis tag ne, as hulle die haai tag, dan moet hulle daai ronde tag aan die boonste dorsal vin sit. As hulle so n ronde ding kan maak, soos vir die haai, en hulle sit hom bo aan die vin van die vis, Daai ding breek nie sommer af nie, hy sal baie lank daar sit want hy sit teen hom, hy skuur nie teen iets nie en daar kom nie n gat in die vis nie

Michael: ok maar daai ding was hierse langs die vis ingeweest hoor, sien jy so langsaan hom

Ernest: ok maar hulle tag hom nie op sy vleis nie, die haai, hulle tag hom op sy vin – gewone visse tag hulle in die vleis

Michael: maar ek se watse graas groei daar op die haai en toe ek dit afkrap toe sien ek dit se 1961, ek se 1961, kan dit wees.

Cindy: so daai vis van so oud soos jy – as nie ouer want hys seker gevang toe is hy alreeds bietjie groot.

Bernit: toe is hy al 'n paar jaar miskien

Ernest: nou wat se dit vir jou, hoe oud raak hy? Hoe oud raak n vis rerig

Michael: hy was taamlik lank gewees – hy was so 'n ding man. Nou dit wil se hy was maar n klein gewees daai tyd toe hulle hom getag het.

Cindy: oom Ernest is die mens wat ek die meeste sien visvang in die Valley, maar ek het nog nooit Covie se vrouens sien visvang nie. [ek kyk na antie Elsabe]

Ernest: hulle vang nie nou meer vis nie.

Michael: jy sien Cindy, hulle sal saam – maar dis nou die permit storie nou sien jy wat jy moet koop. Sien jy waar kom dit nou in – kyk hulle sien nie kans om dit te betaal nie, die vroumense. Ok ons wat die mans is, jy kanit vir jouself een maak, jy kan nie nog vir 'n ander een ook maak nie.

Johathan: en hys te duur, R170 vir een mens

Cindy: so dis nie dat die vrouens nie meer wil vis vang nie

Michael: nee, ek het dan nou die keer toe sien ek daar in die valley 2 van die crags se vroumense vang vis – en hulle het permit hoor

Bernit: Nee die vroumense wil graag gaan – maar hulle se wat baat die om n R170 betaal. En dis deesdae so ongemaklik om daar te kom en as jy nou dink die vis byt ook nie meer so lekker soos wat dit gebyt het nie dan se my vrou, ag nee, maar sy wil graag gaan.

Michael: nee daar is baie vroue wat nog wil gaan maar dis die permit storie eintlik. Want jy wat man is jy kan nie nog vir die vrou ook een saam maak nie, dit werk nie so nie – elkeen moet sy eie he, en die kind moet syne ook alleen het.

Ernest: ja kinders moet van 12 jaar af he

Elsabe: karools het ook een

Cindy: so toe julle kinders was het julle gereeld met jul ouers gegaan, maar deesdae gaan jul kinders nie meer so gereeld met julle nie, wat is die rede vir dit?

Michael: Ja want jy sien ons mag mos nie meer hier af gaan nie – nou dis bietjie ver om te loop valley toe sien jy. Nou die kinders wil nie so ver loop nie, hulle gaan maar een keer, 2 keer so saam verstaan jy, dan wil hulle nie meer so ver loop nie. Hulle raak moeg.

Ernest: en wat die vis nie byt nie dan tel hulle klippe op en hulle vang nonsense aan.

Cindy: so die hoeveelste geslag is julle in jul families wat visvang? [Almal lag]

Bernit: ek ken tot by my oupa en ek weet hulle het by die see gele nog erger as ons, so ek ken nie daai geslag voor dit nie – maar hulle het natuurlik ook vis gevang

Ernest: Kyk as die groot oupas en goed nie visgevang het nie, dan sal die ander ook nie vis gevang het nie. Want dit is in die familie – van geslag tot geslag.

Johathan: Kyk toe ek beginne visvang toe is daar nie so n ding soos skiboats nie. Ons het met roei-skuite by sout rivier, met Ernest se oupa, sout rivier was ons se poort daai waar ons met roei-skuite vis gevang het. Ons het daar gaan bly, ons het n net gehad wat ons gesleep het daar in sout rivier. Dan vang ons daar klomp vis as ons gesleep het – en klomp kleintjies vir bait vir die volgende dag as ons diepsee toe gaan met die skuite, toe is daar nie so 'n ding soos engins nie.

Cindy: by wie het julle alles van die see en visvang geleer?

Ernest: man jy leer by jou ouers en dan leer jy by jouself want jy wat visvang jy leer wat daar aangaan sodat jy kan weet. En nou met die kinders ook, dan se jy – daai ding is so en so maar hy was nie altyd so nie so jy moet nou kyk vir dit. Laat hy weet waarvoor moet hy kyk.

Cindy: so julle is geleer maar julle het ook julle eie ervarings van hoe dinge werk – en toe julle begin visvang, het julle daarvan gehou of is dit maar net iets wat die ouers gese het julle moet doen?

Johannes: dit was eintlik n sport.

Michael: jy sien cindy, visvang se ding is eintlik so man – as jy nou een keer saamgaan, wel jy gaan miskien nie baie van dit hou nie, jy gaan maar so 1,2,3 gooie maak – nee ek het ook nie meer lus nie. Maar gaan net meer maal saam, dan gaan jy uitvind visvang is n lekker lekker storie. Jy raak al hoe meer gewild in dit, op die einde van die dag wil jy nie meer wegbly van die see af nie

Bernit: toe ek nog kan onthou wat ek nog so n luitetjie was, eers met jou stoke n draadjie (lag) ek het altyd so gewens vir my eerste rioletjie, al was dit nou ook n wat – tot ek hom gekry het – daarvandaan kon ek nie meer wegbly van die see af nie.

Marco maak n opmerking oor n koffieblik as 'n riel

Ernest: nee daaiyd was daar nie koffie blikke nie

Johathan: en daai senter pen, daai senter pen – jy moet jou rug drai om te gooi. Jy kan nie net so gooi nie (wys die normale gooi).

Bernit: da wil jy by die see wees want jy het nou 'n rielletjie gekry.

Cindy: so dinge was nie altyd maklik nie

Alle manne: dit was maklik gewees nie

Clive: nee dit was nie maklik gewees nie want kyk ons het mos nou soos ons se by die see groot geword. So solank die ouers daar visvang, karing ons hier in die dammetjies en hierdie klein klipvissies swem mos hier in die dammetjies rond – so jy prober hom daar vang op jou manier met jou stukkie lyn en jou rioletjie aan – en soos jy sterker word, gaan jy ook maar dieper in met 'n stokie n draad later en jy vang jou eerste strepie ... Ag en dan wil jy visvang.

Michael: ja jy wil altyd 'n groter een vang, altyd groter

Clive: en dit groei so saam met jou – het dit in ons ingegroei

Johannes: soos daar in sout rivier – die jare toe ons daar gebly het, maar nie nou meer nie – want ons het nou al 'n paar keer weer daar gaan oorbly, jy hoor nie meer daai ou mense daar gooi nie as hulle daar gooi nie – jyt gehoor hoe gooi daai mense met daai senter penne. Daai tyd was daar nie so 'n ding soos sinkers nie, as die manne see toe gaan, hy loop en voel sy sinkers hierso – 'n klip. Daar was nie so 'n ding soos loot en goed nie, dis klippe. Dan gebruik ons 'n twaksakkie, daai klip word daar ingegooi, dan draai jy jou rug laat jou rug na die see toe wys en dan gou jy

Cindy: so swaar is daai ding?

Johannes: dan maak hy hooooooooooooerrrr

Ernest: hys nie so swaar nie

Bernit: Dis die riel eintlik.

Michael: ek weet nie waar dit nou by ons inkom nie – ons se nou sommer nee ek kan nie see toe gaan nie want ek het nie sinkers nie. Ons het met klippe gegooi

Almal lag soos hulle onthou

Bernit: Ons het nie eers ysters nie, dis klippe

Almal lag

Michael: maar nou deesdae se ons ons kani see toe gaan nie want ons het nie sinkers nie. Maar dit was ons se sinkers gewees daai, klippe wat ons by die see wat jy optel daar.

Almal lag oor hoe die klippe nou uitgespoel word van die see

Michael: ons het dan met klippe vis gevang

Bernit: ja maar daai tyd, daai soort klippe het gebly daar ... vandag se klippe spoel uit (almal lag)

Ernest: maar 'n ronde klip, 'n ronde klip hy bly nie in die see nie, hy kom uit – die see rol hom uit. Hy rol hom aanhou en aanhou en aanhou onderlangs totdat hy buitekant is. Want ek gesien nou hier 'n paar jaar terug toe ek nog gewerk het by park as die see so rof was, ek het gesien daar by die staanplek, die tweede caravan park – jy moet gesien het hoe groot sement bloke rol die see rond daar – dis grote goed mense. Hy rol hom rond net soos 'n klein dingetjie wat hy daar op en af rol.

Michael: daai is niks by/vir die see nie.

Cindy: die see is 'n sterk ding se hulle

Almal stem saam (hy is sterk man)

Cindy: Wie in die gesinne in Covie het deelgeneem in visgevang en was daar verskillende rolle gewees wat elke mense in die gesin gehad het vir visvang? So die een mens doen een ding en die ander doen iets anders? Het almal deelgeneem of wie het deelgeneem end an wie het wat gedoen vir visvang?

Ernest: daar is nie eintlik iets spesifieke wat jy gedoen het nie. Ons gaan die dag vir hengel, dan begin maak julle aas – julle almal maak aas. Die een kan nie daar sit en die ander moet vir julle aas maak nie. Almal maak aas – as julle klaar as gemaak het, hier en daar sal daar iemand 'n aliekriekel uithaal of so – en as julle nou klaar is met al daai goed dan begin julle nou te visvang. Dan vang almal vis en hier vanaand se kant voordat dit beginner donker word, dan pak julle op

Bernit: wat ek ook sal se is – die vrouens het mos maar amper gesorg vir die bait, vir die aas. Bedags as die manne in die werk moet wees, dan het die vrouens gegaan en die strepies gevang want dis die aas wat die rooisanters daaityd gebyt – dan vang hulle die strepies in die middag. In die somer, 5 o'clock dan sit die son hoog – dan gaan hulle af en kry die strepies, of die vrou is al by die huis met die strepies end an gaan hulle met die strepies gaan groot vis vang.

Cindy: en wie het die vrouens geleer visvang en geleer aas vang?

Johannes: hulle het hulle self geleer

Bernit: hulle het ook maar by hul ouers geleer

Elsabe lag

Cindy: watter ander dinge van die natuur het julle geleer deur jul visvang praktyke? So julle gaan af vir visvang, maar is daar iets anders wat julle geleer het terwyl julle visgevang het?

Clive: kyk jy, baie maal as jy afgaan see toe, dan sien jy baie maal die voels, die sterretjies

Ernest: die malgasse

Clive: ja die malgasse, hulle val so, so nou weet jy die roofvis is daar. Want daar is sardiens daar, so waar die sardiens is is die groot vis loop – net onderkant hulle. Dit was 'n baie kenmeek gewees ook – van die natuur se kant af. En dan het die weer mos nou maar sy rol gespeel

Johannes: en ook baie van ons mense was van die rotse af geslaan – as jy bo op die kop kom dan kyk jy eers, dan lees jy eers jou water. Want die see, hys nie elke dag dieselfde nie – baie kere dan le jy plat dan tel hy die swelsel somer net hier by jou op en dan druk jy jou plat. Dan kom hy nie met daai rowe see daar van agter af nie hy tel hom somer net hier by jou op. Nou dis als goed daai wat jy moet aan kyk voor jy by die kop afgaan om te gaan visvang.

Ernest: daar is nog n ding wat ons opgelet het as jy se toe gaan – jy kry ‘n see wat rof is, en dan kry jy hom wat hy ‘n ander soort rof is. Hy is nes hy kook, hy kom asof hy so omkeer, soos die see die branders oplig. Nou as die see so is, dan kan jy maar omdraai die vis wil nie byt nie – as hy daai kook manier aan hom het. Dan kry jy niks, hier langs die klippe, jy kan maar los jy kry nie vis nie.

Bernit: die ander ding wat hulle ook gou gou uitgevind het, die grootmense, is die medisyne by die see. Ja, daar is amper vir elke kwaal, by die see of teen die koppe of waar, daar is ‘n iets, ‘n raad vir dit. Dit het ons ook maar weer by onse ouers geleer. Hier is nou kruisbessie – dis nou vir maagpyn, so ons ken dit ook nog tot vandag se dag.

Michael: en dan nog ‘n ding ook Cindy, jy sal by die see was vandag heel dag ne, dan sal jy voel maar wat trek die water so hier na die namiddag se kant toe – dit trek taamlik terug see se kant toe. Nou daai trek dan moet jy weet die see is besig om rof te raak. Hys besig om rof te raak- hy sal hom hoor vanaand hoe stamp hy, more oggend kom jy by die see dan is die see nie meer soos hy was gister nie. Nou ons weet dit al.

Clive: en nog ‘n ding – ons hier in Covie, ons het amper soos n uitkyk punt gehad as jy by die kop kom – dan kyk jy aan Robberg se punt, jy weet onmiddelik die see is mooi of hy is nie lekker nie dit hang af hoe hy breek daar op daai punt by Robberg. Dan kan jy jou besluit daar maak vir waarna toe jy gaan. Ek kan nie meer daaikant toe gaan nie, ek moet nou ander kant toe gaan. (die see is nie lekker nie – so ek wou soontoe gaan maar nou gaan ek maar daikant toe)

Cindy: so deur julle visvang gewoontes het julle ook geleer hoe om dit weer en die see te lees?

Almal se ja

Michael: ja want kyk as die see rof is dan kan jy nie op enige plek gaan nie, daar is gevaarlik plekke by die see.

Bernit: as die see so rof is dan weet jy naastenby, ok as ek daai kant afgaan gaan ek daai sort vis vang – maar gaan ek hier af, gaan ek waarskynlik niks vis vang nie.

Cindy: en die dinge wat julle so aangeleer het het julle jul kinder aangeleer? Die wat belang gestel het.

Michael: ja maar nog altyd

Clive: kyk daar kom mos nog by, so jy leer dit vir hulle. Want as hulle ook nie daai kennis het nie, dan hardloop hulle maar ook net hier af en hy weet niks nie. So jy moet daai kennis moet jy het.

Cindy: Hoekom is julle so life vir Covie?

Bietjie van ‘n pause – en ‘n lagie

Ernest: hoekom is ons so life vir Covie (lag)

Clive: kyk Covie ne – is nog een van die rustigste plekke, amper in die hele land sal ek maar se. hier kan n mens nog met oop deure slap, jy kan hier met oop venster slap – jy hoef nie buglar bars voor jou venster te he nie en al daai tipe goed, so Covie is ‘n baie velige plek, alhoewel dit in die bos is, Covie is baie veilig.

Bernit: Covie se mense is amper soos een groot familie. Almal is na aan mekaar

Ernest: en almal ken mekaar

Bernit: die een wil die ander een help – as daai een in die nood is, jy gaan hulp kry van die ander. En dis ‘n ding, as jy bevoorbeeld in ‘n lokasie gaan bly, jou buurman worry nie eens met jou nie. Jy gaan vandag hier by jou huis weg en as jy vanaand terug kom dan is dit ingebreek en jou buurman weet nie wat het gebeur nie.

Michael: hulle weet nie wie daar ingebreek het nie

Bernit: maar hierso, jy kan jou deur oop los, die huise is nie op mekaar nie maar wees verseker daar gaan niemand daar in nie – en die mense sien jy is weg so hulle hou ‘n oog daar by jou

Ernest: veral nou met al die paar tikkoppe wat nou hier is, die tikkoppe is nie reg nie.

Cindy: En die natuur hier rondom Covie?

Michael: jy weet waarvoor ons nou eintlik versigtig was wat hier naby n die bos bly was net die ape en die bobbejane. Want ek los my deur ook oop as ek daar in die bosse hout saag en hout kap. Ek sit net die draadloos aan da thy net speel. Ok so die bobjaan sal dink wie praat daar binne maar hy sal nie sommer nader kom nie. Sien jy. Maar my deur staan wa-wyd oop.

Clive: dit is al die sulke goed – kyk ek het maar ook al baie rondgetrek in my leeftyd, maar ek is weer terug in Covie. Omdat in Covie dis maar net ... Ok dit is nou jou geboorte plek, maar jy het daai rustigheid hier. Ok jy het die ongerief ook 'n bietjie hier. Soos ons hoop en bid mos maar net dat dit sal ook een of ander tyd verby wees. Maar jy het daai rustigheid hier. Ek het op baie plekke, klein lokasies, groot lokasies, gebly, Ag nee wat, soos ek se – elkeen leef vir hieself daar. En hier. Soos nie.

Cindy: hier. Soos is julle 'n gemeenskap? En hoe voel julle oor die natuur as ek mag so vra?

Clive: ja ons is vir die natuur eintlik net so lief soos wat ons vir see lief is – en ons leer ook onse kinders om nie ... is amper soos n deel van bewaring. Ons bewaar die natuur want hys mooi – so as die kinders nou die goed gaan rineweer dan isit nie so mooi nie. Nou ons kyk aan dit en die natuur hier rond beskerm ons – in die sin, hier gaan baie rowers en goed hier verby maar hulle weet nie van ons nie – so eintlik, kyk ons sit hier in die middel van die natuur. mense gaan hier verby, ons weet hoeveel mense gaan verby en mense se hulle weet nie eers waar Covie is nie of dat hier n woongebied hier binne is nie. So die natuur, ons moet hom bewaar en hy bewaar vir ons aan die ander kant. Die natuur, ons kry nie veel uit die natuur uit op die oomblik nie – maar tog het die natuur ons aan die lewe gehou want ons het die hout gaan optel en gebruik die bosse – en self nou nog, jy wil n stukkie vleis braai – dan gaan kyk jy vining vir 'n stukkie yster hout of kers hout wat omgeval het – want kyk groen goed brand nie so ons gaan hom nie afkap nie – ons tel dit op. ek meen dan braai jy vir jou n lekker stukkie vleis want hy het n baie goeie kool. So die natuur beteken vir ons ook baie

Ernest: jy kan nou kyk ook in die bos hier rondom Covie – hoe min groen bome afgekap is en goed – die mense gaan nie met n byl in die bos nie – ek my self ook nie want ons soek nie daai nie. Die kinders word ook nie in die bos in gestuur met 'n byl nie.

Cindy: is daar 'n spesifieke rede hoekom nie?

Ernest: vir sommer nie – hie is nie meer hout in Covie nie – ek huur liewer iemand en ek gaan maak by platbos vir my hout voordat ek in die natuur – ek het geloop daar in die natuur bos en daar staan n hele paar bome wat droog is – is ek wil nou snaaks was dan kon ek gegaan het en hulle gaan afsaag en niemad sou weet dit was ek nie – maar hoekom moet ek nou daar goed gaan afsaag? Daar staan n plantasie droe bome by platbos – ek huur iemand, saag die hout op dat ek dit kan huis toe bring. Dit spaar my om in die bos goed te gaan af maak. Sulke goete.

Cindy: so daar is definitief n gemeenskap liefde vir hierdie plek

Almal: ja

Cindy: min mense het daai verhouding met daai plek waar hulle bly. Is dit net omdat julle hier groot geword het?

Clive: kyk ek sal nie se dis net dit nie maar ja, dit is n deel daarvan

Johathan: kyk jy kry n permit by park om vir jou n stukkie hout te gan optel maar net nie n byl of n saag saam vat nie. Bome wat omgeval het, jy kry n permit om hulle te gaan optel dan stuur hulle net 'n wagter saam met jou – jy mag net nie n byle en sae saamneem nie. Jy het nog daai voorreg.

Clive: kyk as ons nou kyk aan die natuur en die fynbos hier rondom ons- die inheemse bos help ons wat brandhout aan betref, hy beskerm ons. die fynbos weer op sy kant – dit is baie mooi en daar is baie benutbare goete daar wat die gemeenskap kan en waarmee ons nou te doen is. Ons wil nou te begin nenu – so dit wat daar is gaan vir ons kos op die tafel sit want ons kan nou iets doen. Sien so, dis hoekom dit baie belangrik is dat n mens moet kyk na die goed – as ons nie self bewaar nie dan het ons op die einde van die dag mos niks nie. So dan gaan Covie nie meer mooi wees en lekker wees nie. En dis altyd lekker as daar mense wat van buite af kom en hulle praat met jou oor Covie. Hulle se vir jou hoe mooi hoe mooi die plek is, weet ons wat besit ons hier in covie. Sien ek meen dis iets lekker en net om die naam te hoor, jys deel van die gemeenskap hier in Covie en dis van jou plek wat so mooi van gepraat word.

Cindy: so amper soos n trots

Almal se jaaaa

Clive: jy voel trots ja, jy voel deel van die wat hier kan bly.

Bernit: [On]gelukkig kan nie almal hier bly nie, so (lag)

Cindy: lag – ons wil nie almal hier he nie

Ernest: want dan gaan dit nie meer reg wees nie

Cindy: noem julle juis ook as die vissermanne en vroue van die Tsitsikamma area. Ook, nadat park toe gemaak het hierso, was dit moeiliker vir julle om die kinders te leer van visvang?

Almal se ja baie

Ernest: ja want jy kon nie meer hier afgaan nie. Jy moet nou met hulle loop nature's valley toe wat, soos Michael gese het, baie ver is. Hy sal vandag saam loop maar dan sien hy nee maar hy moet nou weer daai hele pad loop, en hy moet sy sak saam dra en hy moet hom terug want jy gaan sy sak dra nie – hy moet sy eie goed dra.

Johathan: maar nou moet julle weer dink aan die gevaar vir daai kindertjies by die lagoon, want baie keer is daai lagoon so dan kan jy nie deur daar nie. Nou ja dan is daai kindertjies by jou dan sit jy nou met daai gevaar om deur die lagoon te gaan.

Ernest: ons sal altyd die vissermanne en vroue van Tsitsikamma bly.

Michael: altyd, altyd

Cindy: inplaas van net van jou eie gesin leer, het julle as 'n gemeenskap saam geleer?

Almal se ja

Cindy: is daar n voorbeeld van hoe julle saam geleer het?

Clive: ja kyk dit kom ook maar van vroer jare af – daar sal n paar huisgesinne gaan saam, hulle gaan vir die dag saam see toe, so en nou leer julle mos maar ook by mekaar – jou ondervinding wat jy het leer jy vir dinges, so dit is nie net die familie homself nie.

Ernest: nee hier het n paar huisgesinne gegaan het. Op een tyd ook in die vakansie tye afgegaan en daar vir 'n paar dae gebly. Dan kuier hulle weer daar so oor en weer – van een kamp na die ander kamp.

Clive: kyk soos nou nog is daar nog see toe gegaan word, dan vra ek “kyk hier man, ek gaan saterdag weer n bietjie see toe – hoe luk dit”, ja-nee ek gaan saam. So daar gaan maar meestal een uit n huis uit of twee uit n huis uit. Maar julle is op die ou end 6/7 bymekaar en julle is verskillende families. So dis n gemeenskap ding ook.

Cindy: en so leer julle van mekaar af

Almal se – van mekaar af.

Johathan: Dit was dieselfde geval met die plantery – met die plantery was dit dieselfde. Vandag gaan ons miskien by se pa – die hele Covie. Dit word geplant en geoes en alles – dan doen hulle dit die naweek daarso, volgende naweek is dit weer by iemand anders, so het dit die heelyd gegaan in Covie. So plantery – almal is op een plek, daai man is nie alleen in sy plek nie – oestyd ons is almal daarso. So het dit gegaan.

Ernest: as ons patatjie ploeg, dank om almal help. Mielies afplok en aanry en op hope gooi. En miskien more is vrydag, dan saterdag aand dan word daar nou besluit ons gaan nou daai mielies afplok, mielie bolle het ons hulle gese.

Bernit: en dit was nie van betaal daai oom my of betaal nie – as my pa gese het julle 2 gaan daai oom help more middag na skool. Ons praat nie tee nie, ons gaan - en ons verwag niks want die ou man het gepraat.

Cindy: en dan is dit n gemeenskap ding want almal het gekry

Ernest: almal help

Cindy: ja so wat ek kan sien is die gemeenskap het saamgestaan om die gemeenskap te support

Clive: Dis net jammer vandag is dit baie moeilik want as jy nou iemand vra om daar my vir my n stok te gaan optel dan wil hy betaal word (almal lag en stem saam) ..

Comments van almal af: wat gaan jy my betaal wat gaan jy my gee

Cindy: nou hoekom is dit so?

Michael: ja want die goete verander! Ek weet nie. Dit verander.

Bernit: ja die lewe word seker duurer en al daai klas dinge.

Johathan: en die ander ding is daai jare as ons so baie geplant het was daar nie 'n probleem gehad met bobbejane nie. Hier was n bosbouer wat jou gehelp het. Jy kan maar op n saterdag, op n sondag kan jy hom net se die bobbejane is hier – hy kom onmiddelik. Maar toe hy nou eers pad gegee het en

toe park oorgevat het, jy kan maar nou plant in jou tuin – as jy net gedraai het dan het hulle skoon gemaak.

Bernit: die ander ding is – daai tyd was dit so gewees ne, as ek daar onder – ok ons kinders was ook altyd stout – waar gaan kinders nie stout wees nie – miskien n vrugte boom, dan het ons paartjies hier besluit maar daai peertjies is te lekker, ons gaan steel by daai oom n paar pere, dan slaan enige oom of enige antie slaan jou. En daar is nie van huistoe hardloop en gaan se en jou pa of ma gaan nou af na daai oom toe nie. Want jy gaan net nog pak kry. So maar wat ek nou deesdae sien – jy kan nie hard praat met n ander een se kind dan kom daai ouers nou en jou kom invlee – maar daai jare was dit regtig nie so nie.

Michael: en dis hoe die goed verander

Bernit: dit verander ... rook en drink

Michael: dis soos ek se – in die vroeer jare, as ons daar in die teerpad staan en hike, die man sal sommer stop en jou n lift gee – baie vriendelik ook en so. Maar deesdae kry jy dit nie meer reg nie. As daai man gestop het dan vra hy het jy geld. En as jy nie het nie – dan ry daai man. Maar dit was nie gewees nie – ek weet nie waar kom dit nou in nie.

Clive: baie het al vir my gese, ek het nie vir jou gestop nie, ek het vir jou geld gestop. Want ek sien jyt geld.

Almal oor hike: Jy moet geld wees, as jy nie het nie, jy sal staan daar in die pad. Jy kani met dit in jou sak staan nie.

Clive: maar dis maar met mense wat dit in gekom het. Dit het eintlik met die swart mense begin. Swart mense het so met geld, n R10 gaan hike. Nou deesdae is al die mense so gewoont jy moet geld wys. Baie van die families ook, hulle laai jou ook nie op nie as jy nie geld het nie. Maar nou is van ons mense ook nou nog weer so- sodra dit n bekende mense is dan steek jy maar die geld weer in jou sak – pleks gee dit maar vir die mense. Die perol is duur. Baie families gaan se ag nee man, moenie. Want jy weet nie wie kom daar aan nie so jy moet met die geld staan. Maar dit kom van die swart mense af

Cindy: ok en waar bly hulle?

Clive: toe ek in stormsriver en goesa gebly het – toe het ek swart mense opgetel – dan force hull eek moet die geld vat. En dit was nie in my nie. Maar nou kyk ek ook maar as daar iemand staan of hy n geldjie het (lag).

Johathan: baie kom nog aan dan wys hy so (geld) jy kom nog aan – dan moet jy solank uithaal.

Clive: gestry oor R10 en R15 gesprek. – hoe dinge verander het Hike met geld kom van swart mense af. Baie wit mense hike nie met geld nie want hulle help mekaar.

Ernest: maar dis ook gevaarlik want wit mense wil ook nie eens mee witmense oplaai nie.

Gesprek gaan dan na 'n ou wat n gun gehad het in natures valley.

Cindy: Marquin, hou jy ook van visvang.

Michael: ja die man van vis – hy het op 'n keer n kolstert gevang, toe van ons niks.

Johathan: ja hy het eers daar gesit en gesit – toe het hy later n stukkie gut opgetel en hy las die stukkie gut vir hom, en hy kry by Michael n hook. Nou ons sit ons goo ions vang niks nie. En hy het net hier afgegooi toe vang hy net so n groot kolstert – ons vang niks (lag). Hy vang dit hier by ons, hier teen die klippe.

Elsabe: en hy mag toe amper nie geeet raak nie (almal lag). As hy kon in die middae dan kyk hy in die yskas of sy vis nog daar is.

Cindy: my laaste vraag aan julle dan – sal julle ooit op n ander plek gaan bly?

Almal – neewat

Bernit: jy gaan end an kom jy maar net weer terug.

Michael: nee ek Sali gaan nie – ek sal doodgaan hier. Dis te lekker hier

Bernit: ek het terug getrek nadat ek klaar gemaak het by park laas jaar augustus. Daar kan ek nie see toe gaan nie, hier kan ek elke dag gaan.

Cindy: bedank almal – maak afspraak vir mirroring workshop en sluit focus group af.

APPENDIX 8:
Interview Schedules

Appendix 8: Interview Schedules

Adult Interview schedule

Interviewee: Michael Alexander; Clive Alexander; Anwill; Covie women

Date:

Bly in Covie: _____ Hoelank vang jy al vis? _____ Het jy 'n vaste werk? _____

1. Hoekom was dit so belangrik vir jul ouers om julle oor visvang te leer? Wat sou gebeur het as hulle julle nie oor visvang geleer het nie?
2. Op watter soort maniere het jou ouers jou geleer oor visvang?
3. Wat het jul ouers jou geleer van hoeveel vis om op een slag te vang?
4. Watse siening van die natuur het jy gekry deur die visvang lesse wat jou familie jou geleer het?
5. Is daar iets wat jy geleer het oor visvang wat jou lief vir die natuur gemaak het?
6. Hoe lewe julle volhoubaarheid in Covie?
7. Hoe het die opening van die Park (MPA) jou en jou gesin persoonlik beïnvloed?
8. Wanneer is iemand in die gemeenskap (wat geleer word om vis te vang) goed genoeg om op hom / haar eie vis te vang?
9. Wat is Covie se visie? Hoe pas visvang daar in? En met jou visvang gewoontes, hoe dra jy by tot hierdie visie?
10. Volgens jou, hoe sien mense van buite vir Covie – spesifiek met betrekking tot visvang?
11. Hoe dra jy by tot hierdie aansiening wat mense van buite oor Covie het?
12. Toe die Park (MPA) geopening was, het dit jou verhouding met die plek geaffekteer?
13. Hoekom vang jy nie meer vis hier onder in die park nie?
14. Hoekom het julle nou nuwe tegnologie nodig om vis te vang terwyl julle in die verlede gebruik gemaak het van klippe ens.? Vertel bietjie meer oor klip.
15. Wat kry jy van Covie af?
16. Kan jy vir my jou verhouding met Covie beskryf?

Children Interview schedule

Interviewee: Marquin Alexander; Keenun Jones

Date:

Bly in Covie: _____ Hoe lank vang jy al vis? _____ Het jy 'n vaste werk? _____

1. Wat het jy al geleer oor visvang?
2. Hou jy daarvan om saam met jou oupa te gaan visvang? Hoekom?
3. Sê nou jy gaan met oupa see toe, en jy vang nie vis nie – wat maak jy?
4. Wat moes jy eers kon doen voordat jou oupa vir jou 'n visstok gekoop het?
5. Hoekom vang jy vis?
6. Wanneer het jy jou eerste vis gevang? Hoe het jy gevoel om jou eerste vis te vang?
7. Hoeveel vis mag jy vang op een dag?
8. Wat van die natuur hou jy van? [By die see en in Covie.]
9. Hoekom dink jy het daai man daai sandhaai terug in die see in gegooi?
10. Wat weet jy van die park hier onder?
11. Maak jy altyd skoon as julle klaar vis gevang het?
12. Hou jy baie van Covie?

APPENDIX 9:
Example of an Interview Transcript

Appendix 9: Example of an Interview Transcript

Interview Transcript – Interviewer: Cindy-Lee Cloete

Interviewee: Clive Alexander

Date: 12 April 2016

Hoelank bly ja al in Covie? Lewenslank

Hoelank vang jy al vis? Ek kan maar sê al my jare want soos wk mos gesê het, ons het mos maar daar groot geword daar vakansie tye by die see. En as ons ouers geloop het dan is ons daar. Sommer so met 'n lyntjie begin en so het ons ouers ons maar geleer van katrolle en goed en hoe om te maak – so ek kan amper sê al my jare.

Het jy 'n vaste werk? Kyk nie rerig nie want hierdie werk (NV) is 'n vaste werk maar ek is nie in die boeke geskryf nie. Kyk die hou het my permanent gevra maar ek is nie rerig op die system nie. Die skool sal ek sê is nou soort van permanent want dit is mos nou vir die hele jaar.

1. Hoekom was dit so belangrik vir jul ouers om julle oor visvang te leer? Wat sou gebeur het as hulle julle nie oor visvang geleer het nie?

As hulle ons nou nie geleer het nie, ek meen dan was ons nog 'n stapie agtertoe. Want die visvang is deel van ons se voedsel. So baie maal gaan ons see toe en dan het ons miskien nie werk nie dan is dit amper 'n moet, ek moet see toe gaan dat daar vanaand darm iets kan wees by die stukkie brood. So ek dink as hulle ons nie geleer het nie sou ons nog 'n bietjie agter toe in die lewe gewees het want ons sou swaarder gekry het. So die visvang help ons mos nou om iets op die tafel te sit. En so dit was nogal baie belangrik vir ond gewees. Vir almal, kyk ek praat nie nou net van myself nie, kyk baie mense sê 'jy, ek het nie vanaand iets nie so ek moet see toe gaan'.

2. Op watter soort maniere het jou ouers jou geleer oor visvang?

Hulle het ons mos nou eers saam geneem en dan het ons gesit ek kyk - nou soos wat hy werk, verduidelik hy. Toe hulle nou vir ons self, of vir myself, goete aanskaf toe het, het my pa my geleer. Gesê nee man jy moet hom so vat of jy moet so maak. So hy het my al die basiese punte geleer. Selfs wanneer die vis dan nou byt – kyk het baie mal vir my gegooi. Party plekke is ongemaklik, so dan gooi hy self en dan gee hy die stok vir my. En hy hou my mos dan maar dop. En as die vis byt, kyk baie maal as jy begin en dan pik hy (die vis) dan wil jy ruk – dan sê hy 'nee nee nee, nie nou al nie' ... 'so wag hom, wag hy gaan sak – hy moet so sak met die stok, dan se hy, 'nou!'. So het hulle ons geleer. Ons het baie, kyk ek het, by die see geleer – want kyk ek leer baie gou iets aan. Maar baie mense leer by die huis. Ek het selfs my kinders by die huis geleer. Met die katrol. Die een en die ander. Hulle kan eintlik nie met klein katroletjies gooi nie want hulle het met hierdie groottes geleer. Nou ek leer hom by die huis net dat hy darm iets weet voordat hy daar (see) kom. Kyk hy kan hom nie heeltemaal dom daar kom nie.

3. Wat het jul ouers jou geleer van hoeveel vis om op een slag te vang?

Destyds was daar nie 'n kwota nie. Die kwota storie het maar nou 'n paar jaar ingekom So jy kon vang soveel as jy kon dra. Jy gaan mos maar nou nie meer kan vang as wat jy kan dra nie. Daar was nie 'n spesifieke getal nie.

4. Watse siening van die natuur het jy gekry deur die visvang lesse wat jou familie jou geleer het?

Kyk toe my pa my geleer het, het hy my ook gesê, daai tipe wind gaan waai of die wind gaan te sterk wees of – ek ‘n visserman luister altyd die weer berig. Dis nou een ding, as ek more wil see toe, gaan ek doodseker maak vanaand ek mis nie daai weer berig nie. So laat ek kan weet, want onthou die weer berig gaan vir my al se waarnatoe kan ek gaan – verstaan want daar is sekere punte teen die kus wat die wind jou mos nou nie kry nie, of hy pla jou nie so erg nie. En dan is daar sekere punte, baie mense weet dit nie, as die ooste wind waai daar teen die kus by helpmekaar – hy kan amper storm sterk waai maar hy pla jou nie. En tog sit jy kaal in die ooste maar hy pla jou nie – hy is in die riviermonding en dan het hy so ‘n bak. Jy sit daar kaal maar hy pla jou visvang nie – jy voel hom miskien.

5. Is daar iets wat jy geleer het oor visvang wat jou lief vir die natuur gemaak het?

Ja – want ons loop mos deur die natuur en jy weet dis altyd so lekker as jy dink ek gaan nou – dis koud in die more, jy gaan by die huis weet/voel – en as jy, ons maak baie maal van die natuur bosse gebruik want dis altyd warm in die bos, dis nooit so koud in die bos. So dit maak jou lief vir die natuur, en dis hoekom ons kyk aan die goed, ons verbreek nie die natuur nie en so aan. Nee daar is baie dinge wat rondom die visvang met die natuur gepart gaan. Want jy is in die natuur en in die natuur is die rivier water is goed vir ons – lekker koud as jy van die see af terug kom. So dis die natuur wat dit doen. Kyk as hier nou ‘n stroompie hier verby loop (NV), hy is nie so lekker nie. Maar as hy daar uit die berg uit kom en hy is daar in die koelte van die bos – en ons het ook geleer daai bruinigheid is mos maar net die plante se blare wat dit bruin maak – hy is nie vuil nie, hy is eintlik meer gesond – want jy neem dadelik iets anders ook in van die natuur.

6. Hoe lewe julle volhoubaarheid in Covie?

Kyk, wat ons doen, soos ek gese het, in die eerste plek vang jy maar net wat jy kon. Nou bly ons op die kwota stelsel. En selfs daar waar dit bly onder bewaaring is nie, as jy ‘n te klein vissie vang, dan sit jy hom terug. So ons se ook, ‘groeï jy maar nog, raak jy maar nog ‘n bietjie groot’ vir iemand anders of vir myself. So ons roei hom nie heeltemal uit nie. En wat e kook geleer het agterna toe ek by parke raad gewerk het – in die boeke het ek gesien, sekere visse soos die rooi roman – almal is mannetjies, onder 28cm is hy ‘n mannetjie en dan verander sy geslag na ‘n vrou toe. So as ons of ek kyk nou nog daarna – as dit hierdie jong romans is, as jy nog nie veel het nie, dan vat jy so tweetjies. Maar kyk hulle byt ook in skole, en as jy dan nou meer vang dan sit jy maar terug van hulle. So as hulle so klein is dank an hulle nog nie babas kry nie want hy is nog ‘n mannetjie – so jy gaan hom uitroei en dis hoekom bewaaring oor die goed is en so belangrik is want jy kan hom uitroei. En jy kom baie maal op ‘n skool van hierdie af, so hy is onder 28cm so wat doen jy nou, jy roei hom nou eintlik uit nie as jy hulle vang.

7. Hoe het die opening van die Park (MPA) jou en jou gesin persoonlik beïnvloed?

Dit het ons baie beïnvloed en ek dink dit het die hele Covie gemeenskap beïnvloed. Dit is hoekom kyk soos ons in die begin gese het en as jy terug gaan kan jy alles so bymekaar sit. Ons het van kleins af by die see groot geword – nie groot nie maar ons se nou maar, vakansie tye want daar het nie ‘n vakansie om gegaan nie. En dan het ons as die skole aan is het ons nou maar so naweke gaan visvang. En toe hulle nou dit toemaak – outomaties toe stoot hulle e ons mos nou terug – so toe kan ons os dit nie meer doen nie. So die behoefte het grootter geraak in die hele familie – ons het die mos genoem die soutpunt in die huis – want ons het gereeld vis gehad. Daaityd toe is die yskaste en goed nie so bekostigbaar nie, maar ons het

hulle gevlek oopgesny, gesout en gepepper en op die draad gehang – so die vis het gehang soos wasgoed – en hy het droog geraak jy kon vir jousef droe vis maak, soos biltong. Maar toe hulle nou kom, daai goed is nou uit. Ek meen jy kan nie nou soveel vang dat jy nog kan sulke goete maak nie. So daai is alles we gen dit het die hele Covie beïnvloed. Omdat die jong kinders van vandag hulle verval in drug en dwelms en daai tipe goete was nie daar nie. Want hulle het mos nou nie dit wat ons gehad het nie – so baie mense kan nie verstaan hoekom drink die jong kinders so, maar hulle het dan nie sulke sport nie, iets om hulle besig te hou nie. Daar was daai tyd ook mense wat gedrink het, maar onthou – hy het gestil. Iemand bring vir hom ‘n bottle wyn of 2 of wat – daai tyd toe maak hulle die ou ‘karrie’ en goede. Maar hulle maak hulle goed so, vanaand as hy van die see af kom dan het hy ietsie gedrink. Maar hy het see toe gaan. Hy hoef nie van vanoggend 7uur af tot vanaand 7 uur te drink nie. So dis hoekom ek se dit het die hele Covie beïnvloed – tot nou toe want dan is mos nie ‘n ander ding nie. Miskien besef almal dit nie so nie maar dit is so. Hulle het nooit gedink hulle sal dit doen nie en soos ons se Covie is so agter gedrewe nou kom daai ook in – so hou?? Dit gaan nooit maklik regkom?

8. Wanneer is iemand in die gemeenskap (wat geleer word om vis te vang) goed genoeg om op hom / haar eie vis te vang?

Sodra hy of sy die see leer ken. Jy moet jou see ken – wanneer is hy reg wanneer is hy nie reg nie. En hy kan himself goed sy vis gereedskap hanteer, dan kan hy op sy eie.

9. Wat is Covie se visie? Hoe pas visvang daar in? En met jou visvang gewoontes, hoe dra jy by tot hierdie visie?

Ek sal nie regtig se hy is deel van dit nie. Want kyk Covie se visie- ons kyk meer in die natuur in, so ons is meer bewarings bewus omdat ons wil in toerisme in gaan. Dit is waarna ons kyk. Selfs almal weet in Covie ons moet nie die blomme vernietig nie, ons moet nie dit nie – dis hoekom ek se visvang is nie deel daarvan nie want dis nie deel van toerisme nie. Die visvang is maar meer deel van ons se bron. Om te leef in Covie, is dit so baie mense se, jy ek wil terug kom Covie toe want ek wil gaan visvang. So visvang speel sy rol ook daar.

10. Volgens jou, hoe sien mense van buite vir Covie – spesifiek met betrekking tot visvang?

Kyk vroeër jare het die vis baie baie goed in Covie gebyt. En voordat heirdie natuur bewaring die kus toe gemaak het, het daar baie mense van buite af (vriende en so) gekom en saam met die mense gegaan. En hulle weet hoe het die vis hier gebyt. Dis hoekom hulle vra altyd as hulle iemand kry (van Covie) se vir my ‘hoe byt die vis nou daar, hoe gaan dit daar. Hulle het ‘n goeie seining. Hulle weet Covie se manne is goeie vissermanne, hulle het kennis van visvang. So as hulle se daar byt nie – hulle het daai geloof, hulle glo in die vissermanne van Covie.

11. Hoe dra jy by tot hierdie aansiening wat mense van buite oor Covie het?

Hulle weet die Covie mense het feitlik by die see groot geraak en hulle het die kennis van die see. Kyk dit was onse voorouers maar hulle het ons mos maar daai kennis en daai kennis gegee, so ons het kennis wat baie van die vissermanne nie het nie. So hulle praat met ons en ons praat met hulle.

12. Toe die Park (MPA) geopening was, het dit jou verhouding met die plek geaffekteer?

Nee dit het nie. Nogsteeds is ek net so lief vir dit. Want ons weet presies waar die vis goed byt. Onthou, ek het al baie gese – as ek net nog eenmaal kan in bloukraans kan gaan gooi – want veral sekere tye van die jaar, dan weet jy nee nou is dit bloukraans. Hier in die winter

byt die galjoen verskiklik goed in bloukraans – so dis nie laat jy (Clive se phone lui). So dit het nie rerig my verhouding met die kus verander nie. Dit het definitief die gemeenskap beïnvloed, sien alles pas mos maar so in. Dis hoekom hier nie meer so baie mense visvang nie. Ek meen jy kan nie alles verniet darm wil he nie nie. Die een wat ry, ry met petrol - daar moet darm 'n ietsie kry. Die een wie se voertuig dit is en jy is gelukkig, al het hy iets gevang, gee jy hom maar 'n ekstra enetjie want dis mos nou – maar almal kan moes nou nie. Dit het nie ons verhouding met Covie verander nie. Kyk ek het al baie op ander pleke gebly wat my werk aan betref. Ek het in Keurbooms gewerk, Rivier mond toe ek vir Park gewerk het. Maar ek het later bedank want dit is nie my plek nie. Verstaan. Toe het ek gebly in Goesa, en die stormsrivier, en ek het selfs daar gehad – maar ek het daai huis verkoop en ek het terug gekom Covie toe. Jy wil wees waar jy gebore was – so daar sal niks my verhousing met Covie verander nie. Kyk as die geld daar is, dan moet jy maar die vis dan koop (as jy nie kan visvang nie). Ons eet feitlik elke week vis – so as ek hom nie kan vang nie, dan koop ek hom. Ons het netnou gepraat, ek het nou nog daar vis so ons gaan vanaang vis maak. In plaas van hoender en die rooi vleis kan jy nie bekostig nie. So visvang, as jy hom kan een of twee maal 'n week eet dan doen jy dit so.

13. Hoekom vang jy nie meer vis hier onder in die park nie?

Ag ons moet mos maar ook gehoorsaam wees en die wete gehoorsaam. En omdat ek het meer kennis as baie mense van die bewaring gedeelte. En ek leef maar saam met dit ook en ek is in elk geval lief vir die natuur. So dit is maar my rede. As ek kan, as ek rerig waar kan dan sal ek ook weer daar gaan vang – maar andersins gaan dit maar daarvoor om gehoorsaamheid en gee jou samewerking tot daar waar dit wel gestop gaan word, want sodra Covie se grondsake afgehandel word gaan daar iwets moet gebeur. Of hulle gaan ons toelaat by die see of hulle sal glad nie daai stuk Otter kan gebruik nie. Want daai Otter loop op baie plekke op ons se grond. En waar hy op ons se grond loop kan hy nie verder skuif nie. Die land is ons sin tot op die hoogwater merk – en ons gaan dit prober oopkry net vir die Covie mense. Want ons gaan ons self in die voet skiet as ons almal gaan toelaat – so as ons dit doen gaan dit net vir ons wees en ons gaan self kyk daarna.

14. Hoekom het julle nou nuwe tegnologie nodig om vis te vang terwyl julle in die verlede gebruik gemaak het van klippe ens.? Vertel bietjie meer oor klip.

Kyk jy doen dit maar nou net op die maklikste manier. Want as jy by die see sit end it wat jy het raak miskien op dan gebruik ons die ou goed. Net nie so gereeld nie. Dis maar net vir gemaklikheid en baie mal luigeid. Want daar is mos nou weer werk ook daaraan. Jy moet 'n spesifieke klippe loop en soek, en dan het hy sekere maniere wat jy hom meot bind om seker te maak dat hy nie afval nie. So maar as jy nou n sinker koop dan sit jy hom net aan.

15. Wat kry jy van Covie af?

Dit gaan maar meer oor jou veiligheid. Die tye van vandag het maar baie verander. En in Covie, Covie is nog een van die pleke waar jy met n oop deur kan slaap. As ek in NV kom werk dan kan ek net my deur aantrek Verstaan jy. Dit maak jou mos nou se dat hier sale k nie weg gaan nie. As ek nou op die crags of coldstream moet gaan bly, ek kan noun a my buurman toe - iemand my sien daar gaan hy en daar is nou niemand nie en daar gaan hy na my huis toe. Ons kyk selfs aan mense wat wil kwaad doen en sy 'nee nie so nie'. Maar in 'n lokasie, as jy kinders het wat jy moet opvoed – jy wat ouer is verkies om in Covie te bly. Want dis stil en daai dinge is nie daar nie. En dis hoekom die een wat wil uithaak, ons praat en keur hom. En dit is hoe die kinders opgroei. Jy gaan nie nou op hierdie stadium 'n better plek as Covie kry nie. Baie mense se nee hulle wil nie daar in die bos bly nie maar hulle weet nie watse voorreg dit is om in die bos te bly nie.

16. Kan jy vir my jou verhouding met Covie beskryf?

My verhouding met Covie se gemeenskap – omdat ons is amper soos ‘n familie wat saam bly en met my rondgaan en kennisse wat ek van buite af bring ek terug – ek is amper soos ‘n leier. En die meeste mense verwys mense wat van buite af kom na my toe. En ek doen baie vir die gemeenskap in die sin want as iets verkeerd is dan praat ek daaroor. So dis my verhouding met die gemeenskap. En hulle sien my met respek – ek se altyd, as jy moet nie net vir ‘n grootmense respek het nie jy moet selfs vir die kind ook vir die kind ook respek het. Want as jy nie daai kind ‘n respek het nie – hy kan nie verwag “more oom hoe gaan dit” maar jy doen dit nie. En dis hoekom almal vir my respek het. Dis ‘n gawe wat ek gekry het van die Here af so ek moet praat. En ek moet iemand help. En ek doen dit. Want as jy in jou gemeenskap iets doen dan gaan dit met jou goed – jou pad vorentoe, daar gaan net altyd deure oop.

APPENDIX 10:
A Coded and Highlighted Transcript

1 **Hoe lank bly jy al in Covie?**

2 Marquin: Ek weet nie hoe lank nie

3 Cindy: Vandat jy klein is? Of het jy eers op die Craggs gebly en toe kom jy Covie toe?

4 M: Ha a – toe ek klein was toe het ek hier gebly

5 C: so jy bly al jou hele lewe lank hierso?

6 M: skud sy kop om ja te sê.

7 C: Hoe oud is jy nou?

8 M: 14

9 **Hoe lank vang jy al vis?**

10 C: hoelank vang jy al vis? Wanneer het jy begin see toe gaan met jou oupa?

11 M: Toe ek 11 of 12 was.

12 **Het jy ‘n vaste werk? Gaan jy skool? Graad hoeveel?**

13 M: Graad 7

14 **1. Wat het jy al geleer oor visvang?**

15 M: Ek het by my oupa geleer hoe om my aas aan te sit. En hoe om my stok vas te hou om in die see in te
16 gooi (IL).

17 C: Gooi jy by ander plekke ook? Miskien by die lagoon?

18 M: mmm – ja ek gooi by die lagoon ook partykeer.

19 C: nou moet jy hom (die stok) verskillend hou as jy by die lagoon ingooi as wat jy by die see ingooi?

20 M: Nee, dieselfde manier.

21 **2. Hou jy daarvan om saam met jou oupa te gaan visvang? Hoekom?**

22 M: Ja, want hy leer my baie goed.

23 C: soos wat?

24 M: soos wat die visse se naam is en of ‘n mens dit kan eet (IL).

25 C: ok, soos daai een keer wat jy daai dingetjie gevang het toe sit jy hom terug toe sê jy jy kan hom nie eet
26 nie? Wat is daai ding se naam nou weer?

27 M: dis ‘n blaas-oppie.

28 **3. Sê nou jy gaan met oupa see toe, en jy vang nie vis nie – wat maak jy?**

29 M: Ek sit partykeer daar, of ek haal perikyle uit. Of ek kyk vir seekate (LTEEES).

30 C: Daar by die klippe?

31 M: Ja (skud sy kop)

32 C: Toe ek saam met jou daar op die klippe gewees het, toe sien ek as jou oupa die vis terug bring dan kom
33 sit hy hom miskien daar in ‘n pooletjie in – dan kyk jy altyd na die vis? Of sit jy maar net daar? Of maak jy
34 seker dat die voels nie die vis kom vat?

35 M: Party keer kyk ek dat die voels dit nie vat nie (PCF).

36 **4. Wat moes jy eers kon doen voordat jou oupa vir jou 'n visstok gekoop het?**

37 M: Hy het gesê ek moet eerste leer om die visstok vas te hou en my goed aan te sit (PCF).

38 C: So toe jy die eerste keer saam met hom gegaan het, het jy 'n visstok gehad?

39 M: Ha a (nee) – my pa het met my visstok gevang en dan leer hulle my elke keer 'n bietjie (PCF).

40 C: so as julle nou gaan visvang dan los jou oupa jou op jou eie – en jy sit self jou goed aan en jy gooi self
41 in?

42 M: Skud sy kop (ja)

43 C: En in die verlede toe jy eerste saam met hom gegaan het toe los hy jou nog nie alleen nie.

44 M: nee

45 C: toe wys hy jou eers?

46 M: Ja

47 C: Maar nou kan jy?

48 M: ja

49 **5. Hoekom vang jy vis?**

50 M: want visvang word baie lekker vir my (WF).

51 C: Hoekom is dit so lekker?

52 M: Ek hou van leer van visse en oor die water – wanneer dit vol of leeg is (LEFIF).

53 **6. Wanneer het jy jou eerste vis gevang? Hoe het jy gevoel om jou eerste vis te vang?**

54 M: ek kan nie onthou nie?

55 C: Is dit lank gelede? En het jy weer gevang na daai?

56 M: nee

57 M: Ek was bly gewees (CFF)?

58 C: het jy jou oupa geroep toe jy die vis inriël?

59 M: Ek het nie met 'n stok gevang nie – die eerste keer toe het ek met 'n handlyn gevang (PCF). My eerste
60 vis.

61 C: sonder die stok?

62 M: ja

63 C: het jy al een gevang saam met 'n stok?

64 M: ha a (nee)

65 C: net daai blaas-oppie wat jy weer ge-laai gaan het – met jou stok?

66 M: hmmm (ja)

67 C: Hoeveel het jy al gevang met die handlyn?

- 68 M: Ek het al 'n paar gevang met die handlyn
- 69 C: Dan vang jy waar?
- 70 M: daar by die soutriver
- 71 C: ok so jy sit daar by die klip dan gooi jy in?
- 72 M: Ja
- 73 C: maar jy het nog nie met die stok gevang nie?
- 74 M: nee
- 75 C: en toe mag niemand jou vis eet nie?
- 76 M: ha a (nee)
- 77 C: Hoekom nie?
- 78 M: **Ek wil hom alleen eet** (CFF).
- 79 **7. Hoeveel vis mag jy vang op een dag?**
- 80 C: Wat leer jou oupa jou van hoeveel vis jy mag op een dag vang?
- 81 M: Seker net 10 of iets soos daai.
- 82 C: en weet jy hoekom hy so sê?
- 83 M: **want as jy meerder as dit vang, miskien, en jy het nie 'n permit nie dan gaan hulle jou vang** (CRTMPA)
- 84 **8. Wat van die natuur hou jy van? [By die see en in Covie.]**
- 85 M: Ek hou van die bome
- 86 C: Bome hier in Covie of by die see?
- 87 M: In Covie. En die diere.
- 88 C: watter is jou gunsteling dier?
- 89 M: 'n bok
- 90 C: 'n bosbokkie? Hoekom?
- 91 M: **ek weet nie want hulle lyk mooi** (CintV).
- 92 C: So as ek wil 'n bokkie skied sal jy my stop?
- 93 M: Ja
- 94 C: hoekom
- 95 M: **omdat ek van hulle hou** (CintV)
- 96 C: en as jy so met jou oupa gaan visvang, is daar iets van die natuur wat jy geleer het as julle daar sit, of wat
- 97 jou oupa jou vertel het wat jou baie van die natuur laat gehou het?
- 98 M: **Hy het my baie vertel van verskillende medisyne by die see** (LEWF).
- 99 C: van die maagbossie?
- 100 M: lag – ek ken nie medisyne daar nie.

- 101 C: maar hy leer jou as julle daar is en dan sê hy jou watter een is watter een?
- 102 M: ja – en my ma sê my watse medisyne ek moet pluk by die see
- 103 C: Ok, so dan wys jou oupa jou watter een jy moet saambring?
- 104 M: ja
- 105 **9. Hoekom dink jy het daai man daai sandhaai terug in die see in gegooi?**
- 106 M: mens kan hom seker nie eet nie en sy binne goed lyk ook seker nie soos ‘n vis sin nie, sy vleis nie.
- 107 **10. Wat weet jy van die park hier onder?**
- 108 M: Ek weet niks omtrent dit nie?
- 109 C: het jy al daar gaan visvang?
- 110 M: Ek het nog nie daar gaan visvang nie, ek het nog net saam met my oupa gegaan.
- 111 **11. Maak jy altyd skoon as julle klaar vis gevang het?**
- 112 M: ja as ek chips eet dan sit ek my pakkie in my sak (EC conflicting actions in Obs. Day 1).
- 113 C: En as daar goedjies rondlê as julle daar gekom het dan tel jy hulle op?
- 114 M: daar waar ons sit? As daar papiere le wat ander mense daar gelos het (Very contextual care – only where we sit).
- 115
- 116 **12. Hou jy baie van Covie?**
- 117 M: Ja
- 118 C: Hoekom?
- 119 M: Omdat dis ‘n stil plek en hier gebeur nie so baie goed soos in ander plekke nie. Soos hier is nie mense wat mekaar doodmaak of mekaar se goed steel nie (PA).
- 120
- 121 C: en die natuur van Covie?
- 122 M: die natuur beskerm ons teen wilde diere of mense wat ons wil kom doodmaak (PA – protect).
- 123 C: ok. En hoe dink jy, wat kry ons nog van Covie se natuur af?
- 124 M: suurstof en vrugte ... medisyne en ek weet nou nie meer nie (CinsV).
- 125 C: so gee jy om vir Covie se natuur en dink jy ons moet dit beskerm?
- 126 M: Ja – omdat ons baie van Covie hou en ons moet nie dat ander mense hier kom bly nie (PA – protective).
- 127 C: en wat het jy nog geleer by die see.
- 128 M: oor verskillende visse wat in die see voorkom en die soorte aas wat jy moet gebruik vir die visse en watse tye die visse byt (LEFIF).
- 129
- 130 C: en sal jy ooit uit Covie uit trek?
- 131 M: ha a (nee) – dis te lekker hier (PA).
- 132 C: wat maak dit so lekker hier?
- 133 M: die stilte en die natuur (PA)

Appendix 10: Example of a coded and highlighted transcript

- 134 C: het jy alles wat jy nodig het hier in Covie
- 135 M: ja – maar nou net die winkels (PA – even in challenging circumstances)
- 136 C: winkels wat ver is. En hoe gereeld eet jy vis?
- 137 M: Ons eet nie gereeld vis nie (WF).
- 138 C: in die begin, hoe het jy vis gevang en hoe vang jy nou vis?
- 139 M: in die begin het ek gesukkel om vis te vang en nou sukkel ek nie meer nie (PCF).
- 140 C: so as jy nou see toe gaan dan kan jy visvang sonder dat jou oupa jou sê hoe jy dit moet doen
- 141 M: ja
- 142 C: maar in die begin het hy jou eers geleer toe jy 11/12 was

APPENDIX 11:
Inductive Analytic Memo Sub-Q1

Appendix 11: Analytical Memo – Inductive Analysis

Sub-Question 1: How have the marine access regulation changes in 2001 influenced fishing practices and shaped intergenerational learning about these practices in Covie?

Categories	Evidence / Comments	Source
Cat. 1: Historic and Current Fishing Practices - HCFP	<p>Apart from fishing, Covie families also planted a lot of crops to supplement their subsistence.</p> <p>”Dit en houtkap. Kyk hulle was mos houtkappers gewees en vis gevang, als. Daai 2 goete. En plant ook, so die oumense het ook geplant ook as daar niks anders was nie.”</p> <p>“That and woodcutting. Look, they were woodcutters, of course and they caught fish, both. Those two things. And planted too, so the old people also planted, too, when there was nothing else.”</p>	FGD, p. 2, l. 38 - 39
	<p>“Covie begin met visvang en plant.”</p> <p>“Covie begins with fishing and planting.”</p>	CMI4, p. 3, l. 104
	<p>The money they earned at their respective workplaces was not enough to sustain their families and thus they also fished and planted to put food on the table.</p> <p>”Nou dis te min, so outomaties moet hulle plant en visvang en goed om by te sit.”</p> <p>“Now it is too little, so automatically they had to plant and fish to add things.”</p>	FGD, p. 2, l. 53 - 54
	<p>“Kyk, die kos het uit die tuin uit gekom.”</p> <p>“Look, the food came from the garden.”</p>	MW, p. 2, l. 68
	<p>In the past the younger generations used to get involved in the daily practices, such as fishing and planting, on a daily basis after school.</p> <p>“Dan het ons mos nou miskien ‘n akker bone om te skoffel - want ek weet as hy kom, dan gaan ek en hy see toe.”</p> <p>“Then we, of course, maybe had a field of beans to weed – because I knew when he comes, he and I go to the sea.”</p>	FGD, p. 3, l. 92 - 93
	<p>Their fishing practices have changed in the way they catch fish these days with regards to the type of tools they now use. For example, in the past they used rocks as sinkers and currently they use lead sinkers.</p> <p>“Daai tyd was daar nie so ‘n ding soos sinkers nie, as die manne see toe gaan, hy loop en voel sy sinkers hierso – ‘n klip. Daar was nie so ‘n ding soos loot en goed nie, dis klippe. Dan gebruik ons ‘n twaksakkie, daai klip word daar ingegooi, dan draai jy jou rug laat jou rug na die see toe wys en dan gou [gooi?] jy”.</p> <p>“Those days there wasn’t a thing like sinkers. When the men walked to the sea, he walks and feels his sinkers here – a stone. There wasn’t a thing like lead and such, it is stones. Then we use a little tobacco bag, that stone is thrown in there, then you turn your back to the sea and then you cast.”</p> <p>“ek weet nie waar dit nou by ons inkom nie – ons sê nou sommer</p>	FGD, p. 7, l. 242 – 245 & 250 - 251

	<p>nee, ek kan nie see toe gaan nie want ek het nie sinkers nie. Ons het met klippe gegooi.”</p> <p>“I don’t know where this comes in with us – we simply now say, no, we can’t go to the sea because we have no sinkers. We used to cast with stones.”</p>	
	<p>“Die maklikste manier ... en dit wat jy het, raak miskien op dan gebruik ons die ou goed”. “Gemaklikheid en baie maal luigeid. Want daar is mos nou weer werk ook daaraan. Jy moet ‘n spesifieke klip loop en soek, en dan het hy sekere maniere wat jy hom moet bind om seker te maak dat hy nie afval nie. So maar as jy nou ‘n sinker koop, dan sit jy hom net aan.”</p> <p>“The easiest way... and what you have is maybe used up then we use the old things.” “Convenience and often laziness. Because it is work on it again. You have to go look for a specific stone and then it has certain ways that you have to tie it to ensure it doesn’t fall off. So, but if you now buy a sinker, you just tie it on.”</p>	<p>CMI2, p. 4, l. 140 - 144</p>
	<p>“Hy is klaar – kan hom net aan sit”. “vasmaak met ‘n stuk gonnabos – jy moet dit soek”. “As jy daar by die see kom dan moet jy n klip loop en uitsoek want hulle is mos nie ewe groot nie”. “dis eintlik better, dit is ‘n vinnige metode sal ek sê maar dit is die duurder metode”. “Ek vang nou nog met yster vernaam as dit rof water is, galjoen water – as ek galjoen wil vang, dan sit ek sommer so ‘n stuk aan net dat hy kan afsak. Met rof water, ek vat nie sommer n gewone sinker wat ek koop nie, want jy gaan hom nou afbreek. Daai ystertjie en daai klip, jy kan hom afbreek want daar is klomp, sien jy. Ek sal maar sê dit is maar n makliker manier, vinnige manier en metodes.”</p> <p>“He is ready – can simply tie it on.” “Tie on with a piece of gonnabush – you have to look for it.” “When you get to the sea then you have to go choose a stone because naturally they are not the same size.”</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 4 – 5, l. 174 - 184</p>
	<p>“Dit was maklik met die klip. Maar die klip het nou weer ‘n ander dingens ook, nou kry jy ‘n klippie, miskien ne, met ‘n skerp puntjie – nou dink jy hy gaan better vir jou gooi. Maar dan gebeur dit nie so nie, dan verloor jy jou klippie daar onder, hy skuif af as jy hom nie reg vasmaak nie. Dan skuif hy uit – die water beweeg hom mos, dan skuif hy uit. Nou die sinker is mos nou ‘n nuuste tegnologie sal ek maar nou se. Hy het mos nou ‘n gatjie wat jy die gut deurdruk en jy maak hom so vas. Al haak hy, dis nie altyd wat hy haak en daar bly nie. Maar die klip is nou ‘n bietjie van ‘n probleem. Die water skuif mos nou die gut af. Maar hulle het sekere maniere gehad hoe hulle die klip vasgemaak het.”</p> <p>“It was easy with the stone. But the stone also has another thing again, now you find a little stone, okay, with a sharp point – now you think that it will be better to cast. But then it doesn’t happen that way, then you lose your stone down there, it shifts off if you don’t tie it properly. Then it shifts out – the water moves it, of course, then it shifts out. Now, the sinker is, of course, the newest technology, I can say. It naturally has a little hole through which you press the gut and then you tie it up. Even if it gets stuck, it is</p>	<p>CMI7, p. 6, l. 236 - 242</p>

	<p>not always that it gets stuck and stays there. But the stone, now, is a bit of a problem. The water, of course, now pushes the gut off. But they had specific ways of tying the stone.”</p>	
	<p>The reason they changed their fishing practices, as mentioned above, is because of the change in the water and climate and they had to adapt to the changing ocean and times “Die water dryf daai klip, daai klip hy soek jou vis op.” “Die water is ook anderster – klip werk net nie meer nie. Die klip bly net nie meer daar binne nie.” “Alles het verander man, seestrome en goed.” “The water drives that stone, that stone it finds your fish.” “The water is also different – stone doesn’t work anymore. The stone just doesn’t stay in there anymore.” “Everything changed, man, sea currents and things.”</p>	<p>MW, p. 5, l. 179 - 182</p>
	<p>“Onse seisoene het verander, onse strome het verander – visse byt nie meer soos wat hulle gebyt het in die ou tyd nie.” “ Our seasons have changed, our currents have changed – fish don’t bite like they used to bite in the olden days.”</p>	<p>CMI4, p. 4, l. 154 - 155</p>
	<p>Similarly, to the CoP for the fishing traditions, there was the same sense of community for planting crops. “Dit was dieselfde geval met die plantery – met die plantery was dit dieselfde. Vandag gaan ons miskien by se pa – die hele Covie. Dit word geplant en geoes en alles – dan doen hulle dit die naweek daarso, volgende naweek is dit weer by iemand anders, so het dit die heelyd gegaan in Covie. So plantery – almal is op een plek, daai man is nie alleen in sy plek nie – oestyd ons is almal daarso.” “As ons patatjie ploeg, dan kom almal help. Mielies afpluk en aanry en op hope gooi. En miskien more is Vrydag, dan Saterdaggaand dan word daar nou besluit ons gaan nou daai mielies afpluk, mielie bolle het ons hulle gesê.” “ It was the same with the planting – with the planting it was the same. Today perhaps we go to [this one’s] father – the whole of Covie. It is being planted and harvested and all – then they do it there on the weekend, next weekend it is at someone else’s place. This is how it went all the time in Covie. So, planting, everyone is in one place, that man is not alone in his place – harvesting time all of us are there.” “When we are ploughing sweetpotatoes, everyone comes to help. Picking maize, throwing them on heaps. And maybe tomorrow is Friday, then Saturdaynight then it is decided: we are going to pick that maize, we called them “mieliebolle.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 12, l. 425 - 432</p>
	<p>They can’t plant in Covie anymore because of all the wild animals and they don’t get support from TMPA in protecting their crops – so all they have to rely on now is the ocean. “Kyk jy kan nou nie meer plant hierso nie – die wilde diere vreet als op.” – “Dis nou net see toe gaan.” “Look, you can’t plant here anymore – the wild animals eat up everything.” – It’s now going to the sea only.”</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 1, l. 13 - 15</p>
	<p>“Die probleem hier by ons is die bobbejane. Om groente te plant is</p>	<p>CMI4, p. 2,</p>

	<p>hoë risiko hier.”</p> <p>“The problem here by us is the baboons. To plant vegetables is high risk.”</p>	1. 74 - 75
	<p>Michael has a small veggie patch just outside of their yard and you can see that it does not get much attention. He also said that they only plant a few things and they normally don't plant in winter.</p> <p>“Michael showed me his fruit and veggie garden which is outside their yard. There were no veggies planted except for a few onions which Elsabe planted a week ago. Michael said they don't really plant in the winter, except for beetroot which they didn't plant this season”</p>	OD4, p. 1, 1. 9 - 11
SC. 1.1: Fishing Practices - FP	<p>Fishing was the biggest practice in the community and is still practiced to this day even if it is not the biggest anymore.</p> <p>“Ja, dit was 'n groot deel gewees.”; “grootste gewees.”</p> <p>“Yes, it was the biggest part.”; “[...] was biggest.”</p>	FGD, p. 2, 1. 36 & 37
	<p>“Die grootste in die voortyd, ja.”</p> <p>“The largest in the olden days, yes.”</p>	MW, p. 1, 1. 38
	<p>The Covie men used to stay home from work to go and fish when there were certain fish in the bay or the fish was biting good. The women used to tell them which fish were biting and where.</p> <p>“Dan het hulle uit die werk uit gebly.”</p> <p>“Then they stayed away from work.”</p>	FGD, p. 2, 1. 43
	<p>To this day, some of the community men call in sick to work when they hear the fish are biting just to go fish. This also shows how much they love fishing.</p> <p>“Soos nou nog 'n paar jaar gelede, hy is nie siek nie dan speel hy siek net om see toe te gaan.”</p> <p>“Nee, maar ek bedoel maar die visvang was so lekker - dis mos lekker om te gaan visvang, jy wil net by die see wees.”</p> <p>“Like now only a few years ago, he is not ill but he pretends he is, just to go to the sea.”</p> <p>“No, but I merely mean fishing was so pleasant – of course it is nice to go fishing, you just want to be at the sea.”</p>	MW, p. 3, 1. 106 MW, p. 3, 1. 109 - 110
	<p>The men who didn't have a money-earning job worked in the garden when they couldn't fish or fished when they couldn't work in the garden.</p> <p>“Dan het hulle gegaan en vis gevang die dae wat hulle nie in die tuin kon wees nie en as dit tuinmaak tyd was het hulle ook dae afgevat en tuin gemaak want dit was die lewe. Die geldjies wat hulle by Bosbou gekry het was maar vir 'n kledingstuk en so aan.”</p> <p>“Then they went to fish on the days they couldn't work in the garden and when it was time to do the garden they took days off to do work in the garden because that was the life. The little money they got from Forestry was only for some clothing or such.”</p>	FGD, p. 2, 1. 44 - 47
	<p>In the old days, when there were no modern appliances like fridges, the fish used to be filleted straight after it was caught on site.</p> <p>“Onthou hier was nie yskaste gewees nie, die mense wat see toe</p>	FGD, p. 3. 1. 78 - 79

	<p>gegaan het, dan word daai vis ge-fillet.” “Remember there were no fridges here, the people who went to the sea, then that fish was filleted.”</p>	
	<p>Because they had so many fishing sites in the past, they could catch a wider variety of fish which enabled them to then also prepare the different kinds of fish in different ways “Kom vlek hulle, hy word gesout en dan word hy vir so ‘n dag of ‘n nag gelê en die volgende oggend word hy op die heining gehang om uit te droog.” “Nee jy bak hom nie – hy word gesteam /stoom.” “Of jy maak hom net warm op die kole dan is hy baie lekker.” “Come [spread] them, it is salted and it is laid out for a day or a night and the following morning it is put on the fence to dry out.” “No, you don’t fry it – it is steamed.” “Or you only warm it up on the coals then it is very tasty.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 3, l. 81 - 86</p>
	<p>Despite the policy changes in 2001 the community thinks that their fishing practices have not changed and that only the rules changed “Al hoe dit verander het is die reëls en die bewaring wat ingekom het.” “The only way in which it changed is the rules and the conservation which came in.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 3, l. 89</p>
	<p>They do however realise that the fish is not in the abundance that it used to be in the past. “Die vis is ook nie meer so volop soos dit gewees het nie.” “Maar dan gaan haal ons eintlik net.” [?]vroeg aand is jy terug by die huis “The fish is not so abundant any more like it was.” “But then we simply only go and fetch.” [?]early evening you're back at home</p>	<p>FGD, p. 3, l. 91 & 93 - 94</p>
	<p>The permit system which was introduced after the 2001 policy changes has deterred women from catching fish anymore and the Covie men also struggle to pay the R170 fee to obtain an annual fishing permit. “En hy’s te duur, R170 vir een mens.” “And it is too expensive, R170 per person.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 6, l. 183</p>
	<p>In the past they used rowing boats to go out to sea to go fish from Salt River and they cannot do that anymore. “Ons het met roei-skuite by Sout Rivier, met Ernest se oupa, Sout Rivier was ons se poort daai waar ons met roei-skuite vis gevang het.” “We fished with rowing boats at Sout Rivier, with Ernest’s grandpa, Sout Rivier was our port, that, where we fished from rowing boats.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 6, l. 207 - 208</p>
	<p>One of the ways the community practiced their fishing together was during weekends and holidays when they would go camp at the ocean below Covie – multiple families at a time. “Ja kyk, dit kom ook maar van vroeër jare af – daar sal n paar huisgesinne gaan saam, hulle gaan vir die dag saam see toe, so en</p>	<p>FGD, p. 12, l. 413 - 414</p>

	<p>nou leer julle mos maar ook by mekaar.”</p> <p>“Yes, look, it also comes from earlier years – several families will go together, they go to the sea together for the day. So, and now you also learn from one another.”</p>	
	<p>“Dan gaan kamp ons daar van die Vrydagmiddag af tot die Sondag. Ons vang vir ons vissies die wat kan vang of so. En ons maak dit gaar en ons eet. Dit was baie lekker gewees.”</p> <p>“Then we go camping there from Friday afternoon till the Sunday. We catch some fish for ourself, those that know how to fish. And we cook them and eat. It was very pleasant.”</p>	CMI6, p. 2, l. 54 - 55
	<p>To this day the inherence [?] of the practice of fishing together as a community is still within the Covie community as they still go to fish together in places where they are allowed to and not allowed to fish. [where fishing is permitted and where it is prohibited.]</p> <p>“Kyk, soos nou nog is daar nog see toe gegaan word, dan vra ek ‘Kyk hier man, ek gaan Saterdag weer n bietjie see toe – hoe lyk dit?’ ‘Ja-nee, ek gaan saam.’ So daar gaan maar meestal een uit ‘n huis uit of twee uit ‘n huis uit. Maar julle is op die ou end 6/7 bymekaar en julle is verskillende families. So dis ‘n gemeenskap ding ook.”</p> <p>“See, like still now if there is going to the sea, then I ask: ‘Look here, man, I’m going to the sea for a bit on Saturday – what do you say?’ ‘No right, I am coming with you.’ So, there is mostly one person from a house or two from a house. But you are 6-7 people from different families together in the end. So, it’s also a community thing.”</p>	FGD, p. 12, l. 420 - 423
	<p>In the past they could catch as much fish as they wanted not because of the fact that there were a lot more fish but because no one policed them.</p> <p>“Jy kon vang so veel soos jy wil.”</p> <p>“You could catch as many as you liked.”</p>	CMI6, p. 2, l. 41
SC. 1.2: Fishing Sites - FS	<p>The Covie community used to have access to a variety of fishing sites where they could fish but with the 2001 policy changes, these fishing sites became few and far between.</p> <p>“Of met die boot in Nature’s Valley of hier by die rotse hier by Covie en by die see hierso. En hulle het baie male einde van die jaar daar waar die Bloukrans hut nou is, kamp plekke gehad daarso vir elkeen van die families dan gaan kamp ons daar.”</p> <p>“Either with the boat in Nature’s Valley or here by the rocks here at Covie and by the sea here. And many times they set up campsites at the end of the year, there where the Bloukrans hut is now, for each of the families then we go camping there.”</p>	FGD, p. 1, l. 24 - 26
	<p>Fishing sites like Nature’s Valley have a certain good fishing season and the rest of the year you can’t catch anything there. The restriction of fishing sites after the 2001 changes has led to a decreased amount of opportunities for the mediation of intergenerational learning about fishing [the intergenerational transfer of knowledge about fishing] (ultimately their identity) as well as their struggle for survival.</p>	MW, p. 9, l. 354 - 355

	<p>“Kyk, ‘n mens kan eintlik daar byvoeg nè, die seisoen, veral as jy kyk aan Nature’s Valley – NV se visvang seisoen is eintlik tussen Desember en Maart, daai 3 maande is dit goeie visvang tyd en plek.”</p> <p>“Look, one can actually add there, okay, the season. Especially when you look at Nature’s Valley – NV’s fishing season is actually from December to March, those 3 months are good fishing months and locality.”</p>	
	<p>Some of the Covie community members are of the opinion that there are still a lot of fish in the ocean and the only reason why they don’t catch so much anymore is because they have closed the ocean where they [the] fish bite.</p> <p>“Maar nou kan jy nie baie vang nie want hulle het mos nou toe daar waar hulle byt, daar is nou toegemaak, jy kan nie meer daar gaan vang nie.”</p> <p>“But now you can’t catch much because they have, of course, now closed where they bite, it is closed there. You cannot go and catch there anymore.”</p>	FGD, p. 3, l. 100 - 101
	<p>The new fishing sites they have to go to fish also have certain elements that deter [or let] the older generation from taking the younger generation to fish. One of these elements is safety. For example, crossing the Groot River mouth at Nature’s Valley to go fish in Nature’s Valley – and they never know how strong the mouth is running [flowing] out, or whether it is open or closed, it is something they can only see when they get to the river</p> <p>“He tells me that they got so wet crossing the mouth because they didn’t know that it was open and that it was flowing out to sea rather strong.”</p>	OD1, p. 1, l. 3 - 4
	<p>The older generation is much stronger and more experienced when it comes to these elements like crossing the Groot River mouth to go and fish – the example of Anwill crossing the Groot River mouth.</p> <p>“Michael welcomes him and asks if he had any difficulty crossing the mouth. Anwill says no, but that he is just wet now – and he shows us the water mark of how high the water was just underneath his belt.”</p>	OD1, p. 1, l. 16 - 18
	<p>It is interesting to see that Keenun actually prefers to fish in Nature’s Valley and not in the MPA where his grandfather used to fish because of the terrain. Could this be because he is not used to it [because he isn’t used to] or didn’t grow up in these fishing sites?</p> <p>“Ja, ek is hartseer, anderster sal ek sommer saam met Oupa hier afgegaan het. Maar daarso is dit te veel klippe en rotse, jy val. Dis hoekom NV is reg. As my oupa see toe gaan dan brag ek.”</p> <p>“Yes, I am sad, otherwise I would simply go down here with Grandpa. But there are too many stones and rocks there, you fall. That’s why NV is right. If my grandpa goes to the sea, I brag.”</p>	CMI8, p. 5, l. 167 - 168
SC. 1.3: Generations of Fishing - GF	The oldest generation of the participants remembers their grandparents and parents also fishing – creating generations of fishing families.	FGD, p. 1, l. 23-24

	<p>“Toe ons nog kinders was toe kom kry ons die oumense en ons pa’s en goed vang vis.”</p> <p>“When we were still children, we would find the old people and our fathers, and such, catching fish.”</p>	
	<p>They remember how much more their forefathers and mothers used to go to the ocean just below Covie to fish and just be</p> <p>“Ek ken tot by my oupa en ek weet hulle het by die see gelê nog erger as ons, so ek ken nie daai geslag voor dit nie – maar hulle het natuurlik ook vis gevang.”</p> <p>“I know my grandfather and I know they were constantly by the sea, worse than us. So, I don’t know the generation before that – but they, naturally, also caught fish.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 6, l. 203 - 204</p>
	<p>They know that their fishing practices have been passed on from generation to generation within Covie because if their forefathers and mothers way before them did not catch fish, that they would also not be catching fish now because one learns from your parents and their parents.</p> <p>“Kyk as die groot-oupas en goed nie visgevang het nie, dan sal die ander ook nie vis gevang het nie. Want dit is in die familie – van geslag tot geslag.”</p> <p>“Look, if the greatgrandfathers, and such, did not fish then the others would also not have fished. Because it is in the family – from generation to generation.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 6, l. 205 - 206</p>
	<p>If the forefather of a family did not fish, their families also did not.</p> <p>“Kyk ek sal jou sê, daar is baie mense hier in Covie wat nie belangstel in visvang nie – tot die jong kinders, groot mense, hulle kan nie visvang nie, hulle verstaan nie visvang nie. Dis net sekere.”</p> <p>Look, I will tell you, there are many people here in Covie that are not interested in fishing – even young children, adults, they can’t fish, they know nothing about catching fish. It is only certain ones.”</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 3, l. 120 - 122</p>
	<p>“Maar ek het al mooi gesien dat baie van hulle, as hulle voorouers nie visgevang het nie, dan vang hulle ook nie vis nie. Sien jy waar kom dit in? Maar nou die kinders wat se voorouers visgevang, hulle vang almal vis, hoor. Maar die wat nie visgevang het nie, hulle kinders vang nie vis nie. Want ek het nou al gesien, die wat ek mee visvang – hulle voorouers het vis gevang. Jy sal altyd sien dis net ons wat by die see sal kom – het jy al opgelet? Dit is hoe dit werk – hulle het nie gevang nie, toe leer hulle ook nie hul kinders vang nie.”</p> <p>“But I have noticed well, already that many of them, if their forebears did not fish, then they don’t fish either. Do you see where this comes in? But now the children whose forebears did fish, they all fish, hear. But those who didn’t fish, their children don’t fish. Because I have already seen now, those I fish with – their forebears fished. You will always see it is only we who will come to the sea – have you noticed? That is how it works – they did not catch and then they did not teach their children to catch.”</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 3, l. 128 - 133</p>

<p>SC. 1.4: Role of Women - RoW</p>	<p>The Covie women were actively involved in the fishing practice before the 2001 policy changes and certain roles they fulfilled in the practice. They were the bait collectors as well as the ‘signal’ for when the fish is biting. On the days that the men could not stay home and had to go to work, the women went to go fish.</p> <p>“jisou - nee jong die vroue het vis gevang.” “die vrouens het n spannetjie opgemaak dan gaan hulle see toe alleen – nie hier naby nie, hulle gaan Bloukrans toe en dis ver hoor.” Ja die dae wat die mans nie kon gaan nie wat hulle nou in die werk moet wees om geld te verdien het die vrouens gegaan”. “maar jy sien hulle gaan vang vir die mans aas eintlik, klein vissies – so as die manne in die aande uitval dan gaan hulle nou weer see toe”. “mans het ook baie mal by die vrouens inligting gekry”. “die vrouens was amper die voorlopers gewees”. “Hulle gee die sein” “Goodness – no, boy, the women caught fish.” “The women formed a team and then they went to the sea on their own – not near here, they go to Bloukrans and that is far, hear.” “Yes, the days that the men could not go when they had to be at work to earn money, the women went.” “But you see, they are actually going to catch bait for the men, little fish – so when the men come home in the evenings, they can now go to the sea.” “Men also often got information from the women.” “The women were almost forerunners.” “They give the sign.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 2 – 3, l. 66 – 78</p>
	<p>With the policy changes in 2001, fishermen and fisherwomen now have to have fishing permits to fish in and around the TMPA. This is one of the reasons that the Covie women have stopped fishing “maar dis nou die permit storie nou sien jy wat jy moet koop. Sien jy waar kom dit nou in”</p> <p>“But it is now the permit story, now you see what you have to buy. Do you see where it comes in?”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 5, l. 180 - 181</p>
	<p>The permit system along with the fact that they have to travel a lot further now, and that the fish are not so abundant anymore, the women decided to stop fishing although they still really want to “En dis deesdae so ongemaklik om daar te kom en as jy nou dink die vis byt ook nie meer so lekker soos wat dit gebyt het nie dan se my vrou, ag nee, maar sy wil graag gaan”</p> <p>“And it is so inconvenient these days to get there and when you now think the fish are not biting as well as they once did, then my wife says, no-oo, but she wants to go.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 6, l. 187 - 189</p>
	<p>“die vrouens het mos maar amper gesorg vir die bait, vir die aas”. “dan het die vrouens gegaan en die strepies gevang want dis die aas wat die rooisanters daaityd gebyt – dan vang hulle die strepies in die middag”</p> <p>“The women actually really almost saw to the bait.”</p> <p>“Then the women went and caught the ‘strepies’ [stripies] because that is the bait the ‘rooisanters’ went for those days – then they catch the ‘strepies’ in the afternoon.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 8, l. 276 - 278</p>
	<p>There has been a clear shift in the role of Covie women in the</p>	<p>OD1, p.2, l.</p>

	<p>community of fishing practice to where they are more on the periphery of the practice by just preparing fish at home while before 2001 they were the bait collectors, the forerunners and the signallers.</p> <p>“He then explains how his grandmother cut the head of the octopus off first before she cooks the octopus with its skin”</p>	68 - 69
	<p>“My Ouma en Ensley partykeer”</p> <p>“My grandma and Ensley sometimes.”</p>	CMI8, p. 2, l. 72
	<p>Despite the fact that they are not currently fishing anymore, the Covie women would love to be able to go fishing again</p> <p>“Maar wag, hier gaan ‘n man kom. Ek het gehoor die man was op die Craggs gewees, hier gaan ‘n man kom vir free permitte. Ek gat vir my ‘n permit kry! Ek gaan met my draad stok vang, ek gaan ook nie ver nie”</p> <p>“But wait, a man is coming. I heard the man was at the Craggs, a man is coming here for free permits. I’m going to get myself a permit! I will go fish with my wire rod, and I am not going far.”</p>	CMI5, p. 6, l. 242 - 244
	<p>“Ek stel belang, en ek het gesê ek gaan nou weer. Ek was lanklas by die see ... Ek stel weer belang aan die visvang goed”</p> <p>“I am interested and I said I am going again. I went to the sea a long time ago ... I am interested again in fishing and such.”</p>	CMI7, p. 4, l. 177 - 179
Cat. 2: Covie and MPA’s - CMPA	<p>During the MW I made a statement about the TMPA saying that the MPA is not actually working because they don’t catch certain fish there anymore, meaning that those types of fish also became extinct in this area. No-one in the MW responded to this and I could sense that they chose not to stay neutral</p> <p>“Niemand se iets oor die statement wat ek gemaak het nie / stem nie saam of is nie teen dit nie”</p> <p>“Nobody says anything about the statement that I made/nobody agrees or is opposed to it.”</p>	MW, p. 3, l. 141
SC. 2.1: Covie’s Perception on MPA’s - CPMPA	<p>In terms of MPAs, some of the community members argue that anglers will never be able to cause fish species to go extinct</p> <p>“So byvoorbeeld, jy kan hom nie uittrek as hy nie byt nie – daar is party dae wat jy niks se vis vang nie, dan gaan jy weer die volgende dag dan vang daar ‘n ander ou ‘n klomp vis waar jy gister was – nou wat se dit vir jou? Jy sal, wat ‘n hengelaar is met sy stok en riel sal nie die vis uitgeroei kry nie”</p> <p>“So, e.g. you cannot pull it out if it does not bite – there are some days that you do not catch any fish. Then you go again the next day and another guy catches a lot of fish where you were yesterday – what does that tell you? You, that is an angler with a fishing rod and reel, will never make the fish extinct.”</p>	FGD, p. 4, l. 133 - 136
	<p>Anwill was trained as an eco-guide and through his training he got an understanding of MPAs and why they are important</p> <p>“Maar toe, soos ek maar verder gegaan het in die ding in – het ek gesien waarom SANParke die plek toe gemaak het. Omdat dis die visse se plek waar hulle broei”</p> <p>“But then, as I progressed into the thing, I saw why SANParks closed the place. Because it is the breeding ground of the fish.”</p>	CMI4, p. 4, l. 140 - 141

<p>SC. 2.2: Covie's relationship with TMPA - CRTMPA</p>	<p>Families used to camp at the beach just below Covie but since the 2001 they feel that TMPA kicked them out of there historical land. “Ons het gebly daarso toe kom Park en hulle kom bou hutte en hulle sit ons uit daar” “We stayed there and then Park came and they come and build huts and evict us there.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 1, l. 30</p>
	<p>The community also have a good relationship with TMPA because of the permits they get to go and collect wood in the indigenous forest. They are only allowed to pick up dead wood on the ground and the community is very grateful for this privilege and arrangement “kyk jy kry n permit by park om vir jou n stukkie hout te gan optel maar net nie n byl of n saag saam vat nie. Bome wat omgeval het, jy kry n permit om hulle te gaan optel dan stuur hulle net 'n wagter saam met jou – jy mag net nie n byle en sae saamneem nie. Jy het nog daai voorreg” “Look, you get a permit from Park to go pick up a bit of wood but just not take an axe or a saw with you. Trees that have fallen over, you get a permit to go get them, then they send a guard with you – only, you may not take axes and saws with you. You still have that privilege.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 11, l. 381 - 383</p>
	<p>Conflict between the Covie community and TMPA also arose when the community asked for assistance to protect their crops from baboons and, according to them, SANParks placed more importance on the baboons rather than the crops that sustain the community. Planting crops have almost completely dies out in the community apart from a few families still having small veggie gardens in their yards “en die ander ding is daai jare as ons so baie geplant het was daar nie 'n probleem gehad met bobbejane nie. Hier was n bosbouer wat jou gehelp het. Jy kan maar op n saterdag, op n sondag kan jy hom net se die bobejanne is hier – hy kom onmiddelik. Maar toe hy nou eers pad gegee het en toe park oorgevat het, jy kan maar nou plant in jou tuin – as jy net gedraai het dan het hulle skoon gemaak” “And the other thing is those years when we we planted so very much, no problem was had with baboons. There was a forester that helped you. You could tell him even on a Saturday or a Sunday: the baboons are here – he comes immediately. But when he had moved and when Park took over, you could just plant now in your garden – as soon as you turned your back, they have cleaned it out.”</p>	<p>FGD, p. 13, l. 445 - 448</p>
	<p>There are certain tensions and treaties between the community and TMPA and they want to make sure that the relationship does not further deteriorate by giving the impression that they go to fish in the TMPA no-take zone if they do sometimes. So they are trying to maintain a better relationship “Daai is naby wat dit is ja, maar hierdie laaste sinnetjie "kan ons elke dag see toe gaan" moet nou net nie verkeerd verstaan word dat ons</p>	<p>MW, p. 1 l. 25 - 26</p>

	<p>hier af na die park toe gaan nie” “That is near what it is, yes, but this last little sentence ‘we can go to the sea every day’ must not be misinterpreted as if we go down to Park.”</p>	
	<p>The fishermen say that they are not sure if certain of the fish species are complete gone because they are not allowed to go and fish in ‘park’s ocean’ to see if they are gone. They must just believe what TMPA people tell them when they say the fish are dying out “Maar nou vandat ons nie meer by die park se see kan kom nie, nou kan ons nie se hy is uitgeroei nie want jy kom nie daar nie” “<u>But now since we don’t come to Park’s ocean anymore, we cannot say it is extinct because you don’t get there.</u>”</p>	<p>MW, p. 4, l. 146 - 147</p>
	<p>“ons kan nie se hy is uitgeroei nie want because ons kom nie daar om hom te vang nie want ek weet hierdie tyd van die jaar is die tyd wat hy byt hierdie tyd van die jaar. Hy byt net ‘n sekere tyd van die jaar en daarvanaf dan byt hy nie dan moet jy maar weer wag tot sy seisoen weer” “<u>We cannot say it is extinct because we don’t go there to catch it because I know this time of the year is the time of year it bites this time of the year. It bites only during a certain time of the year and from then onwards it doesn’t bite; you have to wait till its season again.</u>”</p>	<p>MW, p. 4, l. 151 - 153</p>
	<p>The relationship between Covie and TMPA has been passed on to the younger generations of Covie too. <u>I notice when they speak about the TMPA rangers, they refer to them as “they [hulle]” which expresses a tense relationship and I picked it up during Marquin’s interview too when I asked why they can’t catch a lot of fish – this relationship was also passed on through intergenerational learning</u> “want as jy meerder as dit vang, miskien, en jy het nie ‘n permit nie dan gaan hulle jou vang” “<u>Because if you catch more than that, maybe, and you don’t have a permit then they are going to catch you.</u>”</p>	<p>CMI1, p. 3, l. 83</p>
	<p>On some level, the community has some respect for TMPA “Ag ons moet mos maar ook gehoorsaam wees en die wete gehoorsaam ... maar andersins gaan dit maar daarvoor om gehoorsaamheid en gee jou samewerking tot daar waar dit wel gestop gaan word” “<u>Oh, we have to also be obedient, of course, and obey the laws...but otherwise it is just concerned with obedience and give your co-operation till when it can actually be stopped.</u>”</p>	<p>CMI2, p. 3, l. 128 & 131 - 132</p>
	<p>“Kyk jy kan dit nie bekostig om toe gesluit te word nie. Kyk dit is onnodig. Kyk parkeraad het hulle eie wette, kyk dis mos staat, hulle het hul eie wette. Nou vra jy nou – as jy nou moet hulle by die see kry ne, dit baat nie jy vra hulle sulke goedters nie – hulle doen maar net hulle werk. Sien jy. Gaan maar eerder daar waar jy weet jy mag gaan – want hoekom wil jy nou hier af gaan. Jy sit jouself in die moeilikhied en die probleem. Jy kry daai hoë boete, waar gaan jy geld kry om dit te betaal en jy werk nie. Nou gaan jy</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 4, l. 164 - 170</p>

	<p>toegesluit word. Gaan eerder daar waar jy eerder gaan niks vang nie en jy kom niks oor nie”</p> <p>“Look, you can’t afford to be locked up. Look, it is unnecessary. Look, Parks Board has its own laws, look, it is the state, of course, they have their own laws. Now you ask now – if you now must meet them at the sea, okay, it no good you ask them such things. You see. Rather, go there where you know you are allowed to go. You place yourself in trouble and in the problem. You get that high fine, where are you going to get money to pay it and you don’t work? Now you are going to be locked up. Rather, go where you probably are going to catch nothing and nothing will happen to you.”</p>	
	<p>“As Mikey ‘n perikyle bring dan bring hy net 5, want jy mag net 5 uithaal”</p> <p>“If Mikey brings ‘perikyle’, then he brings only 5 because you may only take out 5.”</p>	<p>CMI5, p. 5, l. 184 - 185</p>
	<p>“Jy moenie meerder as 5 het nie. Jy moet net 5 het. My Oupa het ook by Park gewerk, dis hoekom ek weet. Is hulle jou, Park mense, jou sien met klomp en jys net een. Dan vang hulle jou want jy moenie meerder as 5 het nie. Ek kry net 5”</p> <p>“You must not have more than 5. You must have only 5. My grandpa also worked for Park that’s why I know. If they, Park people, see you with a lot and you are only one person, then they catch you because you musn’t have more than 5. I get 5 only.”</p>	<p>CMI8, p. 4, l. 137 - 140</p>
	<p>When TMPA took over they can’t catch as much fish as they want to anymore because of the rules that came in 2001</p> <p>“Nou wat parkeraad mos nou oor gevat het is daar nou ‘n limit – en hulle het kom sê”</p> <p>“Now that Parks Board has now, of course, taken over there is a limit – and they came to say.”</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 2, l. 47 - 48</p>
	<p>No communication between TMPA and Covie as also caused a lot of tension between these two parties</p> <p>“Dit was nie persoonlik vir ons gesê nie – ons het dit maar op die radio gehoor. Van hoofkantoor van Pretoria af”</p> <p>“It was not told to us personally – we heard it on the radio. From Head Office in Pretoria.”</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 3, l. 94 - 95</p>
	<p>“Hulle het hom net toe gemaak, hierso. Hulle het niks goete uitgestuur nie, ek glo nie hulle het goete uitgestuur nie – ek weet nou nie daarvan nie maar ek kan nou nie onthou nie. Om te se die see is toe hier onder. Ons het maar by die werks mense gehoor die see is toe. Waar het hulle nou die reg gekry om die see toe te maak. En hulle het nog grond gevat ook. Daai grond behoort aan Covie”</p> <p>“They simply closed it here. They didn’t send anything out – I don’t now know about it but I can’t recall. To say the sea is closed here at the bottom. We only heard from the workers that the sea is closed. Where did they now get the right to close the sea. And they even took land, too. That land belongs to Covie.”</p>	<p>CMI7, p. 5, l. 223 - 227</p>
	<p>The community feels that TMPA took their playground away from them what they started to implement the 2001 regulations and</p>	<p>CMI4, p. 2, l. 80 - 82</p>

	<p>therefore the community resent them</p> <p>“waar kry park ‘n see dat hy nou sommer net als kan stop. Dis amper soos ‘n person vat jou speelterrein weg – jy het nou heeltyd hier gespeel nou kan jy nou nie meer daar speel nie en nou is jy ongelukkig so daar moet vrae nou gevra word”</p> <p>“Where does Park get a sea that they simply now can stop everything? It is almost like a person takes away your playground – you have now played here all the time now you can’t play there any more and now you are unhappy so there are now questions that have to be answered.”</p>	
	<p>“Dis nie lekker nie man. Park is nie reg nie”</p> <p>“It’s not nice, man. Park is not right.”</p>	CMI5, p. 4, l. 151
	<p>“Dit was lekker daai tyd Cindy man. Want as hierdie see oop is sê ek vir jou, daai mense sal karre huur van Coldstream af om hier af te gaan. Hier is lekker vis”</p> <p>It was nice that time, Cindy, man. Because if this sea is open, I tell you, those people will hire cars from Coldstream to go down here. Here is nice fish.”</p>	CMI5, p. 4, l. 157 - 158
	<p>The is a risk of being charged and taken to jail or getting a fine if they catch fish in the MPA, which is where their forefather caught fish for generations</p> <p>“Ons mag mos nie. Park gaan ons kry en dan gaan ons tronk toe”</p> <p>“We are not allowed. Park is going to get us and then we go to jail.”</p>	CMI5, p. 5, l. 224
	<p>TMPA have attempted to confiscate fish caught in the MPA and therefore the relationship between the Park and Covie has further become very tenuous</p> <p>” hulle gaan nie my vis kry nie. Danny sin het pad langs verloor, Mikey sê hulle het gehardloop met daai vis. Ek sien hier kom, Mannetjie hy werk ook daai tyd vir Park, ek sien hier kom die Park bakkie aan. Ek sê, hey ek het hierdie mense geskel. Ek vee laat die stof staan in hulle gesigte, ek sê julle bly buitekant my yard julle kom nie hier in nie. Is julle nie bang ek donner jule hier nie en ek sê hier is tog nie vis nie. Ek sê hiers tog nie vis nie”</p> <p>“They are not going to get my fish. Danny’s got lost along the path. Mikey says they ran with that fish. I see here comes - Mannetjies, he also worked for Park at the time – I see here comes the Park bakkie. I say, hey, I yelled at these people. I sweep so vigorously that the dust is in their eyes. I say: You stay out of my yard, you don’t come in here. Aren’t you afraid I am going to clobber you here? And I say: I don’t have fish, after all. I say: here’s no fish, here.”</p>	CMI5, p. 6, l. 228 - 232
Cat. 3: Effect of “no-take zone” on Covie - ENTZ	<p>After the no-take zone was implemented in 2001, the way the Covie community learned about and practiced fishing changed and shifted</p> <p>“Ons het van kleins af by die see groot geword – nie groot nie maar ons sê nou maar, vakansie tye want daar het nie ‘n vakansie om gegaan nie. En dan het ons as die skole aan is het ons nou maar so naweke gaan visvang. En toe hulle nou dit toemaak – outamaties toe stoot hulle ons mos nou terug – so toe kan ons dit</p>	CMI2, p. 2, l. 67 - 72

	<p>nie meer doen nie. So die behoefte het grootter geraak in die hele familie – ons het die mos genoem die soutpunt in die huis – want ons het gereeld vis gehad”</p> <p>“We grew up by the sea since we were small – not grew up but in a manner of speaking, holiday time because no holiday passed. And then we, when it was school term, we went fishing on weekends. And when they now closed it, automatically they now naturally pushed us back - so then we couldn’t do it any more. So the need grew bigger in the whole family – we, of course, called this the ‘soutpunt’ in the house – because we had fish regularly.”</p>	
SC. 3.1: Learning after no-take zone - LaNTZ	<p>Learning about the fishing practices was also affected and therefore the younger generations think differently about it than the older generations – the former’s behaviour towards fishing is also different to the latter’s</p> <p>“Omdat die jong kinders van vandag hulle verval in drug en dwelms en daai tipe goete was nie daar nie. Want hulle het mos nou nie dit wat ons gehad het nie – so baie mense kan nie verstaan hoekom drink die jong kinders so, maar hulle het dan nie sulke sport nie, iets om hulle besig te hou nie”</p> <p>“Because the young children of today, they fall into drugs and narcotics and that type of thing was not there. Because they now, of course, don’t have what we had – so many people cannot understand why the young children drink so, but then they don’t have such a sport, something to keep them busy.”</p>	CMI2, p. 2, l. 76 - 79
SC. 3.2: Practices after no-take zone - PaNTZ	<p>They could not catch as much as they wanted to before and therefore certain ways of preparing the fish could also not be practiced anymore</p> <p>“gevlak oopgesny, gesout en gepepper en op die draad gehang – so die vis het gehang soos wasgoed – en hy het droog geraak jy kon vir jouself droe vis maak, soos biltong. Maar toe hulle nou kom, daai goed is nou uit ... Ek meen jy kan nie nou soveel vang dat jy nog kan sulke goete maak nie”</p> <p>“Spread open, salted and peppered and hung on the fence – so, the fish hung like washing – and it became dry, you could make dried fish for yourself, like biltong. But when they came now, those things are now out... I mean, you can’t now catch so much that you can still make such things.”</p>	CMI2, p. 2, l. 73 - 75
	<p>The younger generations also use their time a lot different to the older generations when they were that age. Clive believes that this is because the fishing practice was limited by the 2001 regulations</p> <p>“Maar hy het see toe gaan. Hy hoef nie van vanoggend 7uur af tot vanaand 7 uur toe drink nie. So dis hoekom ek se dit het die hele Covie beïnvloed – tot nou toe want daar is mos nie ‘n ander ding nie”</p> <p>“But he went to the sea. He didn’t need to drink from this morning 7 o’clock till this evening 7 o’clock. So, this is why I say it influenced the entire Covie – up to now because there is no other thing.”</p>	CMI2, p. 2, l. 81 - 83
	<p>“Mannetjie vang net so goed vis, toe hy hier gebly het – daai yskas was knaend vol want dit is hy en sy pa wat see toe gaan sien jy.</p>	CMI5, p. 4, l. 146 - 148

	<p>Maar nou dat hy so drink, ek weet nie. Want ek sal jou so sê, toe dit nog oop was, hulle kan maar babalas is op ‘n Sondag, hulle is hier af, hulle is hier af”</p> <p>“Mannetjies fished just so well when he stayed here – that fridge was always full because it is he and his father that go to the sea, you see. But now that he drinks so, I don’t know. Because I’ll tell you, when it was still open, they could have a hangover on a Sunday, but they went down here, they went down.”</p>	
	<p>The 2001 regulations have also impacted the community so much so that some of the families do not fish anymore</p> <p>“Dit het definitief die gemeenskap beïnvloed, sien alles pas mos maar so in. Dis hoekom hier nie meer so baie mense visvang nie”</p> <p>“It definitely influenced the community, see, everything fits in like this, of course. That is why not so many people fish here any more.”</p>	<p>CMI2, p. 3, l. 114 -115</p>
	<p>“En dis toe waar ons mense toe nou beginne wegbeweeg. Baie van ons worry nou nie meer om vis te vang nie. Want hulle kan nie meer sulke ver afstande meer loop nie”</p> <p>“And this is then where our people started moving away. Many of us now don’t worry any more to fish. Because they cannot walk the long distances any more.”</p>	<p>CMI4, p. 2, l. 82 - 84</p>
	<p>“meeste van die vrouens het maar besluit hulle gaan nie meer vis vang nie – en van die mans ook”</p> <p>“Most of the women simply decided to not go fishing any more – and some of the men, too.”</p>	<p>CMI4, p. 2, l. 85 - 86</p>
	<p>“Syt gesê ons kan gaan steel maar ons kan nie hardloop nie”. “Ons kan mos nou nie, toe sê Aunt Olga, “nee ons los nou maar als””.</p> <p>“She said we can go and steal but we can’t run.” “We can, of course, now not, then Aunt Olga said: ‘No, now we simply leave it all.’”</p>	<p>CMI5, p. 4, l. 141 & 143 - 144</p>
	<p>“En baie mense het nie geld om ‘n permit te koop om NV toe te gaan nie, dan moet hulle maar so by die huis wees”</p> <p>“And many people don’t have the money to buy a permit to go to NV, then they have to be like that at home.”</p>	<p>CMI6, p. 2, l. 62 - 63</p>
	<p>“maar ek het nie meer geworry vir die see of so see toe gaan nie. Jy moet skelm see toe gaan”</p> <p>“But I didn’t bother any more for the sea or going to the sea like this. You have to go to the sea secretly.”</p>	<p>CMI6, p. 3, l. 82 - 83</p>
	<p>It also took a lot longer to catch fish now because they had to go all the way to Nature’s Valley which was the closest legal fishing place. In winter, fishing in Nature’s Valley isn’t good at all</p> <p>“Dit het baie mense teneergedruk gehad hoor – kyk hulle vat dit nou so, waar gaan hulle nou visvang, dis ver NV toe – nou moet jy n hele dag afknuip om Valley toe te gaan dan vang jy ook niks want die vis byt swak in NV - In die winter vang jy nie daar iets nie.</p> <p>“It had many people depressed, hear – look, they take it this way now, where are they going to fish now, it is far to NV – now you have to set aside an entire day to go to Valley and then you don’t catch anything because the fish bite badly in NV – In winter you</p>	<p>CMI3, p. 3, l. 97 - 100</p>

	don't catch anything there.”	
	Fishing seasons limited “In NV kry jy nie galjoen nie” “In NV you don't get 'galjoen'.”	CMI3, p. 3, l. 104
	Galjoen bites in the MPA in winter but nowhere else – so in winter they can't catch galjoen – one of their favourite fish – because you don't catch it in Nature's Valley but only in the MPA “En Mikey sê in die winter dan byt die, wat Karools, die galjoen ne” “And Mikey says in the winter the, what Karools, the galjoen bite, okay?”	CMI5, p. 4, l. 162 - 163
	They also cannot go and camp by the ocean anymore like they used to in the past “Ons kan nie meer daar af gaan nie, nie terwyl die mense sulke klomp wette en goete het nie worry ons nou maar nie meer nie” “We cannot go down there any more, not when people have so many laws and things, we don't bother any more.”	CMI6, p. 2, l. 55 - 56
	Because they can't fish anymore people would rather go out of Covie on weekends as an outing. In the past they also didn't have cars, so now that they do and the fact that they can't walk down to go fish anymore, they don't fish that much anymore “Baie mense het darm so gestaan dat hulle kan vir hulle rygoedties koop en so, dan gaan die meeste mense maar uit naweke en so” “Many people at least were in a situation that they could buy a little car and so forth, then most of the people simply go out on weekends.”	CMI6, p. 2, l. 66 - 67
	The women of Covie have big concern for the men because they sometimes still go down to fish in the MPA and have the risk of being arrested or their fishing gear confiscated. But also because they are getting old and can't climb the steep hills anymore “die loperie hier af is ook swaarder, 'n mens raak mos ouer ook. Onse manne het ook baie maar skelm gegaan eers, maar dan moet 'n mens so mooi praat met hulle, maar hulle worry nie hulle gaan. Maar nou van hulle ouer is worry hulle nie meer nie, hulle maar permitte koop dan gaan hulle NV toe” “The walking down here is also more difficult, a person, of course, ages, too. Our men also went secretly a lot at first, but then you have to talk very nicely to them but they don't worry, they go. But now that some of them are older, they don't bother any more, they simply buy permits and go to NV.”	CMI6, p. 3, l. 83 - 86
	“Nou sê ek vir Mikey hy moet nie ..., eerder hier afgaan dan is ek gelukkig, ek meen voel ek better. Maar Bloukrans toe, ek sit by die huis, dan word hulle geskryf of hulle gaan tronk toe ook. Wat we tons” “Now I tell Mikey he shouldn't... rather, go down here then I am happy, I mean I feel better. But to Bloukrans, I sit at home, then they are written up or they go to jail. What do we know.”	CMI5, p. 4, l. 174 - 175
	They could not even go down to the ocean to just explore the rock pools anymore because they were afraid that Parks would think	CMI7, p. 4, l. 147 - 149

	<p>they are fishing illegally</p> <p>“Want jy het nie meer die vrymoedigheid om soontoe te gaan nie. Want jy dink nou net aan die ding, gaan jy soontoe, al gaan kyk jy ook net ‘n pooletjie water of ‘n ding – dan meen hulle mos nou jy gaan visvang of jy gaan alliekriekels uithaal en sulke goed doen, wat jy mos nou nie moet doen nie”</p> <p>“Because you do not have the freedom to go there any more. Because you now think of one thing only: if you go there, even if you merely look in the rock pools or things – then they, of course, now think you are going fishing or collecting ‘aliekreukels’ and doing such things, which you now should not do, of course.”</p>	
	<p>“Toe raak dit nou so dat ‘n mens nie meer die vrymoedigheid het om te gaan nie. Jy word beboet, jou segoed word gevat. En dan gaan jy amper kwaad raak – dan word jy nog aangekla ook”</p> <p>“Then it developed such that a person didn’t feel free to go any more. You are fined, your sea stuff is confiscated. And then you are almost going to get angry – then you are also charged, too.”</p>	<p>CMI7, p. 5 – 6, l. 227 - 229</p>

APPENDIX 12:
Abductive Category Descriptions

Appendix 12: Abductive Categories' Descriptions

Categories	Description
Mutuality	<p>1) Enabling Engagement – Giving people / members the opportunity to actively participate and talking while practicing. Meaning of the practice is negotiated with members. History through older generations doing the same thing. Whatever it takes to make engagement in practice possible. Interact, know latest styles and tricks. Community maintenance.</p> <p>2) Diversity and partiality - Diverse group of people each contributing differently to the CoP. Connected responses to situation because of the engagement in the practice. Hierarchy and different roles in practice. Reputation. Learning from each other and making meaning of others' knowledge and competence.</p> <p>3) Mutual relationships - Close relational ties through or because of the practice, not necessarily familial but socially. Relations not always positive, it can be disagreements, challenges and competitions or even rebellion.</p>
Joint Enterprise	<p>Enterprise is negotiated. The energy put into sustaining their identity and livelihoods. This is not just a goal; it is the purpose of the practice (why we fish).</p> <p>1) Negotiated enterprise – the instrumental, personal and interpersonal aspects of our lives. Enterprise is defined by how much energy is put into fishing and enjoyment of it. Context of how to proceed with life, e.g. food, identity, culture, fun, competence, etc. Enterprise is negotiated and therefore joint, whether members agree or disagree.</p> <p>2) Indigenous enterprise – members' collective / communal responses to conditions outside of their control or factors influencing the CoP ... thus local collective creation of the community.</p> <p>3) Mutual accountability – Through negotiating the enterprise, relations of mutual accountability is created. These relations determine what is important and not, what matters and not, what to do and what not. Helping each other to make things easier.</p>
Shared Repertoire	<p>Tools, artifacts, stories, styles, historical events, discourses, concepts. Elements of repertoire belong to the practice of a community pursuing an enterprise. It includes ways of doing things, ways of speaking, genres, actions, routines the community has produced or adapted in the course of its existence. Discourse to create meaningful statements and styles to express membership and identity.</p> <p>(1) negotiation and (2) resources of mutual engagement ... (ways of doing and tool the use together)</p>
Engagement	<p>Shared histories of learning, relationships, interactions, practice</p> <p>Active involvement in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning. The history of how we learn together, the connections, relationships and interactions we have with each other, what we practice together. Unfolding the history of the practice. Engagement is limited to what we can physically do and the amount of relationships we can have with people and things. It can also hinder relations, histories and connections with other practices that shape your own practice.</p>
Imagination	<p>Images of possibilities, images of the world, images of the past and the future, images of ourselves</p>

	Making sense of the world and creating a picture of it – recognising connections through time and space, from your own experiences. How we see things. See yourself as part of a bigger group of people doing the same or similar practice, and where you fit in and learn within your practices / activities. Creating images for the future but also creating images of how things were done in the past and making connections between past, present and future. Imagination is both individual and collective.
Alignment	Discourses, coordinated enterprises, complexity, styles, compliance Coordinating energy and activities in order to fit within broader structures and contribute to broader enterprises. The way we talk about things, how we pool our energies and efforts together, how we do things, what we adhere to and not. Becoming connected through coordinated energies, actions and practices. Doing what it takes to play our part in something bigger. Coordination of action, directing and controlling energy and involves power relations.

Description of relationship:

Biographical – historical and familial; being born in and living in a place, develops over time.

Spiritual – emotional and intangible; feeling a sense of belonging, simply felt rather than created.

Ideological – moral and ethical; living according to moral guidelines for human responsibility to place, guidelines may be religious or secular.

Narrative – mythical; learning about a place through stories, including: creation myths, family histories, political accounts, and fictional accounts.

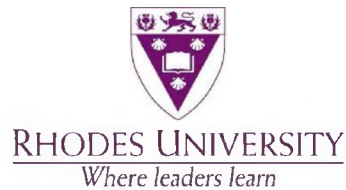
Commodified – cognitive (based on choice and desirability); choosing a place based on a list of desirable traits and lifestyle preferences, comparison of actual places with ideal.

Dependent – material; constraint by lack of choice, dependency on another person or economic opportunity.

APPENDIX 13:

Letter introducing research to Covie

Appendix 13: Letter introducing research project to the Covie community



22 Februarie 2016

Liewe Covie gemeenskap (Ettiene)

BEKENDSTELLING EN TOESTEMMING VIR NAVORSING VAN CINDY-LEE CLOETE IN 2016.

Ek skryf hierdie brief om myself aan die Covie gemeenskap as 'n onafhanklike student en navorser bekend te stel. Verder wil ek ook verduidelik dat ek hierdie jaar navorsing in my persoonlike kapasiteit gaan doen en nie as deel van die Nature's Valley Trust nie.

Ek is op die oomblik deelyds besig met 'n 2 jaar Meesters graad by Rhodes Universiteit in Grahamstown. 2016 is my 2de en laaste jaar en ook ons navorsing jaar. Ek was nog altyd geïntereesed in hoe ons van die natuur leer by ons ouers en voor-ouers. My oupa was die eerste persoon wat my van die Namaqualandse natuur op sy plaas geleer het sonder dat ek bewus was daarvan. Dit is om hierdie rede dat ek hierdie jaar my navorsings projek wil doen oor hoe ouers, oumas en oupas hul kinders leer oor visvang gewoontes wat al vir jare in die familie en gemeenskap gedoen word. Somtyds het oumas en oupas dieselfde visvang gewoontes wat hulle hul kinders leer nog by hul ouers en voor-ouers geleer.

In die 6 jaar wat ek al met die Covie gemeenskap werk, dink ek dat Covie ideal geleë is om met my aan hierdie navorsings projek te werk omdat julle visvang gewoontes en praktyke al vir baie jare bestaan. Met hierdie brief wil ek dus my projek aan die gemeenskap bekend stel en ook navrae instel oor gesinne wat nogsteeds visvang sodat ek kan met hulle werk vir die eerste gedeelte van die projek. Nadat ek met 'n paar gesinne gewerk het om hul visvang gewoontes en hoe kinders geleer word daarvan waargeneem het, sal ek 'n 2de fase van die projek bekendstel waar ek dan net met 2 gesinne verder sal werk om die projek klein te hou. Die doel van die projek is dus om uit te vind of wat ons deur ons ouers geleer word oor tradisionele en historiese visvang gewoontes bydra tot ons liefde vir die natuur en 'n sekere plek.

Met die hulp van die Covie gemeenskap gaan ek vir die volgende 3 maande hard werk om al die data te versamel en sal dus ook gereeld in Covie wees. Daarna sal ek deur 'n intensiewe proses gaan om al die data wat ons versamel het te ontlee en dit in 'n 100 bladsy verslag te skryf. Enige gesin wat belangstel om deel te wees van hierdie projek of wat enige vrae oor dit het, kan my gerus kontak by 084 997 0362 of navrae by Kenwin (Kenny) Barnardo doen.

Ek sien uit om weereens hierdie jaar met die Covie gemeenskap te werk.

Baie Groete,

Cindy-Lee Cloete (Cindy)



Rhodes Universiteit Meesters Graad Student
084 997 0362

Navorsing Skedule:

Observasies – Cindy gaan saam wanneer julle gaan vis vang

Fokusgroepbespreking – 10 Maart 2016, 7pm

Terugvoer vergadering – 17 Maart 2016, 7pm

Observasies - Cindy gaan saam wanneer julle gaan vis vang

Onderhoude – 2de en 3rd April

Observasies - Cindy gaan saam wanneer julle gaan vis vang

APPENDIX 14:
Example of a Consent Form



TOESTEMMINGSBRIEF

Naam van navorser: Cindy-Lee Cloete
Titel van studie: 'n Onderzoek in die verhouding tussen dinge wat ons oor ty den oor generasies leer en die omgewing's sorg en aantrekking van 'n visser gemeenskap in 'n Mariene Beskernde Area: Die geval van Covie.

Datum: / /2016

Kort beskrywing van die projek:

Die doel van die projek is om te kyk of daar 'n verhouding is tussen wat ouers en voor ouers (oor generasies) hul kinders leer oor visvang en hulle aangetrokkenheid tot 'n spesifieke area. Hierdie navorsing gaan plaasvind in Covie met 2 gesinne om te kyk of daar 'n verhouding is tussen wat hierdie 2 gesinne van visvang oor generasies leer en hul liefde vir die Tsitsikamma (Covie) area. Data versameling vir die projek gaan deur middel van die volgende metodes gedoen word: observasies, dokument ontleding, fokusgroepbespreking, data terugvoer werkwinkel en informele onderhoude.

As 'n deelnemer in hierdie projek vra ek dat U en U gesin gedurende al die bogenoemde metodes sal deelneem. Ek wil U ook in kennis stel dat U die reg het om as 'n deelnemer te onttrek vanuit die projek. Met hierdie toestemmingsbrief vra ek ook toestemming om die fokusgroepbesprekings en werkwinkel op te neem met 'n video-kamera asook om 'n paar fotos te neem gedurende hierdie 2 data versamelings metodes. Sovel as om photos te neem gedurende die observasies en om die informele onderhoude op te neem met 'n klank opnemer. Laastens wil ek toestemming vra om die video, fotos en klank te gebruik in my navorsings verslag.

Wanneer ek U spesifieke bydrae vir die projek gebruik, hoe wil U hê moet ek dit verteenwoordig? Regte naam of as anoniem? Om die projek so deursigtig as moontlik te maak, sal ek die transkripsies van U onderhoud, as e keen met U doen, met U deel.

Naam van deelnemer: Thabé Handtekening: eBlaafico

Handtekening van navorser: [Signature] Datum: 10/03/16