Contesting citizenship:
Civil society struggles over livelihood and educational access in coastal settlements of the Western Cape, South Africa

PhD thesis

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how citizenship is being contested in post-apartheid South Africa through civil society struggles over livelihood and educational access in coastal settlements of the Western Cape. It contends that civil society activities represent a key site of learning and action towards expanding citizenship for marginalised groups. Citizenship from this perspective is both expressed in and influenced by civil society struggles, while being constrained by external and structural forces such as globalisation and neo-liberal influences. This thesis examines the interconnections between three key pillars of citizenship in this context – access to material or livelihood resources and opportunities, educational access and capability requirements, and civil society contestation.

Structural constraints continue to exist at national or policy level to 'historically disadvantaged' ('black' and 'coloured') groups gaining full citizenship. Socio-economic and educational capability requirements are important exclusionary factors in terms of access to livelihood resources and opportunities, including language and literacy requirements operating through bureaucratic or politically mediated processes. The analyses use the example of marine resource access for small-scale, informal economy workers to demonstrate these practices. In access to adult education and training opportunities, gaps and inequities in infrastructure and provision continue to form the major constraint. In both of these strands of access, accountability of policy-makers, political leaders and decision-makers is a key issue.

Civil society activities represent one of the few available avenues for challenging inequities, drawing on local action as well as international networks. Civil society efforts have resulted in some gains regarding access to marine resources and in pushing for recognition of citizenship for small-scale fishers. This thesis argues that it is the contestation and cooperation that has occurred between civil society and government that creates the space in which citizenship has been expanded and contested, rather than civil society activities alone. Ultimately, however, overcoming these challenges is likely to require wider interventions, including a more enabling policy environment and greater access to intermediate skills development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
CBO	Community-based organisation
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, South Africa
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
DoE	Department of Education, South Africa
DoL	Department of Labour, South Africa
EEU	Environmental Evaluation Unit, University of Cape Town
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
FE	Further Education
ICT	Information and communications technologies
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ITQ	International Transferable Quota
JipSA	Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
MCM	Marine and Coastal Management, a division of DEAT
MPRC	Multi-purpose resource centre
MSE	Micro-and small-enterprise
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NLS	New Literacy Studies
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PKVA	*Paternoster Klein Vissers Assosiasie* (Paternoster Small-scale Fishers Association)
PLAAS	Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, UWC
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SCLP	Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods Programme
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authority, South Africa
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods (framework)
SMME	Small- medium- and micro-enterprise
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign (Cape Town)
TCOE	Trust for Community Outreach Education
TETA	Transport Education and Training Authority, South Africa
TMNP	Table Mountain National Park
UCT	University of Cape Town
UKFIET	United Kingdom Forum for International Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UWC	University of the Western Cape
VET	Vocational education and training
WCRL	West coast rock lobster (*Jasus ialandii*)
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

PREFACE

The idea for this PhD emerged out of a combination of research interests and employment experience, with an additional personal and family dimension. The thesis topic sought to build on my MSc research on adult literacy, participation and empowerment in Uganda, and my experience of teaching adult education, literacy and English as a foreign language, as well as in adult community education work. My interest widened into looking at adult learning and literacy in a particular social context, influenced by theories about adult literacy such as from the New Literacy Studies and recent conceptual work around linking literacy with livelihoods. I was drawn towards looking at a rural context and the literacy / adult learning and livelihoods nexus. I wanted to apply these concepts in the post-apartheid democratic context in South Africa in order to make explicit connections between access to adult education / learning and literacy, and livelihoods, in the process examining what such characteristics could illuminate about wider questions of equity and democracy for historically disadvantaged groups (both those classified 'coloured' and those classified as 'black' under apartheid).

My interest in access to adult education and livelihoods in the context of democracy also grew out of exposure through employment to different experiences in both Scotland and Uganda. This included experience of how much more difficult and restricted it is for those in particular socio-economic groups (and rural areas) to access the opportunities (both educational and work-related) open to those more fortunately placed, and how the structure of many forms of employment provides few avenues for progress (such as through training), even in 'developed' countries such as Scotland.

My background also serves as a point of reference for my assumptions and the topic chosen. In spite of, and at the same time because of, my South African roots, I have enjoyed the benefits of a relatively privileged UK background. I grew up with the benefits of a welfare state, with free education up to secondary school level, free health care and predominantly public rather than private service delivery, and yet

have seen neo-liberal and free market forces make in-roads into this system in the last decade. Yet the level of social support is still far ahead of the assistance available in the developing world, and particularly in Africa.

In personal terms the motivation for choosing South Africa was to understand my own family background – to piece together the fragmented and ambiguous narratives I had heard as a child from members of the South African 'coloured' diaspora into a coherent whole. A little background information will serve to illuminate this journey. My grandfather trained as a teacher in the Western Cape, and my grandmother, because she was not deemed 'white' did her university studies in Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape (the only 'black' university in that era), incidentally at the same time as Nelson Mandela. Life chances in South Africa for people classified 'coloured' were already significantly restricted, therefore many of the members of this particular branch of the Petersen family chose teaching as one of the few professions open to 'non-whites'. Both my South African grandparents also became teachers and were active in anti-apartheid politics amongst teaching circles. In the early 1960s, they decided that in view of the growing restrictions on opportunities for people classified 'coloured' covering all spheres of life, that they would need to leave South Africa in order to give their children a decent education and chance in life. Some members of the family stayed, having been moved according to the Group Areas Act from District Six and nearby areas to the Cape Flats – Newfields, Athlone and Lansdowne.

Several snippets have stayed with me from my childhood, gleaned from my grandparents' accounts. For instance, stories included descriptions about restrictions on being in certain public areas or walking down the same section of street as 'whites'. At the same time they gave vivid descriptions of the natural beauty of the Cape and of Table Mountain. Conversely, my father remained almost silent on anything related to South Africa. Nevertheless, it became apparent that he found the discrimination he experienced as a child difficult to come to terms with. Yet he as well as my grandparents felt keenly the wrench of leaving their home country and their extended family and of having to make the adjustment to life in the UK. It was not until about forty years later, long after the end of apartheid, that my father was

persuaded to travel to South Africa. Having finally opened the door that had remained closed for so many years, he now lives in Cape Town.

My path towards understanding the context of the country during my fieldwork has therefore inevitably been influenced by my family history, and if anything it has made the research process more complex, yet at the same time more real and relevant. It was in some senses a search for identity and belonging. I had certain perhaps naïve expectations related to my own background – that I would not solely be considered a foreign, 'white' outsider, but that I would be able to move to a degree between the different worlds. This was not the case to the extent that I had expected, due to the perhaps inevitable cultural and linguistic barriers marking me as a 'white' person born and educated in the UK, as well as the ideological baggage associated with 'white' and English people in the post-colonial South African landscape. My personal journey and its complex insights are therefore interwoven with this thesis. Although I saw obvious areas of life where integration is growing, and great cause for hope in this area in the future, I was struck by the many areas of life in which change, even more than ten years after apartheid, has been slow in coming. Clearly 'race' is still a marker particularly in rural areas, and cultural identities and stereotypes still influence how people think. Yet 'racial' attitudes appear most prominently, and in some ways are difficult to separate now, from class or socio-economic status and level of education. The contemporary situation is also influenced by an emphasis on particular forms of social capital in the form of 'struggle credentials' (the person's record of active and public participation in the apartheid struggle), and the reversals in power that this entails. Yet the post-apartheid era context appears still to be dominated by the modernisation discourse, perhaps heightened in the era of globalisation – and the social, economic and cultural barriers to those (rural, less educated, or so-called 'backward') outside of the current South African form of the middle and upper classes gaining the benefits associated with democratic citizenship. This focus on equity, citizenship and access is central to this thesis.

PART I:

THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCING CITIZENSHIP, ACCESS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ACTION

Introduction

> [T]he reality of social inequality, which is based on obvious disparities of wealth and power between the different social groups, identified as 'races', has to be changed radically in order to bring about the conditions in which consciousness of 'race' can change. It is not enough that we tackle the problem at the super-structural level by advocating changes in the ways in which we perceive and refer to one another… – and our schooling system as well as our media are failing us in this respect – but it has to be accompanied by visible shifts in access to and distribution of material resources and opportunities (Alexander, 2007: 214-5).

This introductory chapter presents the main themes and context of the thesis. The first section establishes the main issues and major stakeholders through a description of key public protest events. The second section highlights the reasons behind focusing on processes of contestation over citizenship, and outlines how debates and realities around citizenship will be examined in the thesis as a whole by looking at three main elements. These consist of access to livelihood opportunities, access to adult education, and civil society activities. It introduces the topic within the current research landscape, along with the key concepts and approaches used. I then move to a discussion of coastal settlements and 'fishing communities', including why this focus was chosen, and the links between citizenship, sustainability and food production and distribution.

Civil society struggles over access

In May 2005 hundreds of people marched through central Cape Town in a protest against the new fishing policies. Most of these arrived from different coastal areas of the Western Cape, with assistance from varied civil society organisations. Civil society refers here to organisations ostensibly outside of government control such as trade unions, churches, community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and academics, as well as business organisations and

activities[1] (see Kunz, 1995). Trade union support and membership was firmly in evidence, with representation from the Food and Allied Workers' Union (FAWU) (acting on behalf of large numbers of fish factory workers) and its umbrella organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Leaders and members of local CBOs such as the Artisanal Fishers Association were present. Also in attendance were NGOs such as Masifundise Development Trust and the Trust for Community Outreach Education. Community representatives and members from small-scale fishing communities were strongly in evidence, completing the diverse line-up united around broadly common concerns, crossing any former apartheid 'race' boundaries. Lastly, media journalists, photographers and onlookers were on hand to report on the activities.

Most striking to the onlooker was the utilisation of a potent mixture of ideas and discourses in the banners and activities of these crowds, simultaneously directed against and appealing to the African National Congress (ANC) government. The powerful visual effect and confrontational rhythms of the 'toyi-toyi' march originating in the days of the anti-apartheid struggle were punctuated by shouts of 'Amandla!' (power), 'Awethu!' (to us / to the people). These were accompanied by posters and banners declaring diverse protests. Varied concepts and discourses were utilised such as human rights, as well as appeals based on the basic need for food security ('Why can't we feed our families?') and respect for cultural traditions ('We have a right to retain our traditional fishing culture'). Also evident were calls for recognition as 'artisanal fishers' (i.e. artisans – emphasising the skills dimension of their argument). Democracy, 'transformation' and the questioning of current political institutions were also key themes ('Mbeki why have you deserted us?'; and 'Ten years of freedom – where is the better life for fishermen?).

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[1] See chapter two for a further discussion around definitions of civil society.

Banners, protest march, May 2005

The toyi-toyi in action

More banners from the same event.

The Food and Allied Workers Union banner on transformation and poverty reduction

The pertinent question, as raised in other words by protestors, is why historically disadvantaged people (those formerly classified 'black' and 'coloured') in the relatively developed and prosperous province of the Western Cape are facing seemingly significant threats to their rights, food security and access to livelihood opportunities more than ten years after the ANC's coming to power, in spite of the ANC's rhetoric and policies favouring redistribution, racial 'transformation' and economic growth?

This thesis examines some of the explanatory factors for this phenomenon, relating them to the concept of citizenship, and looks at civil society efforts to contest dominant citizenship and access policies. The public protest described above was a major event in a series of protests and associated activities. These events brought together, in relative unity disparate, civil society groups with local people. They were mobilising around the pressing policy and developmental issues in coastal settlements, assisted by organised educational and advocacy efforts. In addition to marches, other public events linked to this one included the voluntary chaining up of activists and trade union representatives to the Cape Town Parliament building over one long night at the end of May 2005 (*Mail & Guardian*, May 2005). These protest events were supplemented by several educational, capacity-building and information-sharing workshops on the West Coast and South Coast and in the greater Cape Town areas. These activities seemed initially to make very little impression on policy-making bodies, in this case the Department for Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT). However, eventually, after more than two years, these activities began to make more of an impact on policy and implementation. DEAT changed their attitude perceptibly and started to make promises and concessions to small-scale fishers with regard to policies and implementation.

The trigger for this change was ostensibly 'the big defiance', a public protest carried out in Paternoster by fishers who had been unable to gain legal access to marine resources in the 2006 allocations. With the assistance of the Masifundise Development Trust and the Artisanal Fishers Association to coordinate logistics and media involvement, a large group of fishers defied the allocations (and the law) and went to fish openly under close media scrutiny, claiming this as their right to a livelihood and to fish as they have done historically (*Cape Times*, December 06). Work behind the scenes also undeniably contributed to the progress made – the use of legal means through a court case brought against DEAT combined with unremitting use of the media (both written press and radio) is likely to have been a critical factor. Furthermore, key South African academic researchers were presenting

compelling evidence to back up the case of small-scale fishers (Sowman, 2006; Isaacs, 2006).

Citizenship

The coming to power of the African National Congress (ANC) brought a huge level of optimism to historically disadvantaged populations. It has also brought a sense of entitlement among historically disadvantaged people to the fruits of citizenship in the new democracy (Enslin, 2003; Ramphele, 2001). Accompanying expectations include that the gross income inequality present in South Africa between the rich ('white' as well as new 'black' and multi-racial elites) and those in poverty (predominantly 'black' and to a lesser extent 'coloured') will shrink. This includes hopes or expectations that those at the lower end of the spectrum will see improvements in their livelihood opportunities. At the same time calls for attention to rights, influenced by international initiatives and agreements and civil society discourses, have increased. Affirmative action, while arguably a necessary way of addressing historical 'racial' imbalances, has brought distortions to recruitment processes for employment and livelihood opportunities. This has in some cases increased antagonism between racial groups (Alexander, 2007). Implementation of affirmative action includes academic opportunities – which now favour particular historically disadvantaged demographic groups such as 'black' women (Dr. Moenieba Isaacs, researcher at the Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, referring to their only funded PhD studentship opportunity in 2006, 16.01.06). 'Black' is not a fixed category and here subverts or overlaps old apartheid categories to include 'coloured' people.[2] More seriously, race rhetoric disguises essentially class-based inequalities affecting both educational and employment opportunities for those without sufficient financial resources to gain

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[2] All categories referring to ethnic divisions and terms in the South African context ('race', 'black', 'coloured', 'white', 'historically disadvantaged' etc.) are assumed to be socially constructed and without fixed biological basis. To aid the reader experience, inverted commas are used in the initial instance and then usually omitted from this point forward. Exceptions to this are included from time to time to emphasise and remind the reader that these are problematic terms, either using inverted commas or adding alternative terms such as 'so-called'. Other socially constructed and highly contested terms will be treated similarly throughout.

access to them, despite the rhetoric of poverty reduction (see Nattrass and Seekings, 2001).

This thesis examines how citizenship is being contested in post-apartheid South Africa through civil society struggles over livelihood and educational access in coastal settlements of the Western Cape. It investigates current characteristics of citizenship, and the ways in which civil society activities act as a site of learning and action towards expanding citizenship for marginalised groups. This thesis examines the interconnections between three key pillars of citizenship in this context – access to material or livelihood resources and opportunities, educational access and skills-related barriers to livelihood opportunities, and civil society contestation.

Researching citizenship in practice: civil society contestation and access

This section highlights the three main themes to be investigated. These consist of, firstly, access to livelihood opportunities. Secondly, access to adult education and training, including skills-related barriers to livelihood opportunities. Thirdly, civil society activities and contestation. The following table shows how these are unpacked and categorised for the purpose of analysis later in the thesis. The specific concepts and theoretical models used are described in chapter two.

Table 1: Access to livelihood opportunities, educational access and capabilities, and civil society activities

Category	Detailed characteristics
Livelihood access	Regional and local coastal (rural and urban) development and infrastructure; Shifting policies, legislation and implementation of livelihood opportunities, particularly marine resources; Other types of employment, informal economy; Context of environmental characteristics and changes, sustainability characteristics; Local, national and international mediating influences including 'race' and ethnicity, and socio-economic status.
Access to adult education and training, plus skills-related barriers to livelihood opportunities	Government policies and implementation, local and international influences; Access characteristics and barriers; Capacity constraints (government and educational institutions); Fit with training needs; Relevant adult educational and lifelong learning models; Context of globalisation and the knowledge economy.
Civil society activities and contestation	Civil society educational environment and networks, including international; Civil society interventions – including activities in cooperation with and in opposition to government; Civil society networks including international Main ideas and discourses used by civil society groups.

Access in the post-apartheid context

In the South African post-apartheid context, calls for rights and for widening access are still highly pertinent more than a decade after the democratic transition (see for example Walters, 2007; Spreen and Vally, 2006). Policies associated with apartheid have left a legacy in terms of ethnic or racial divisions and socio-economic inequalities (Nattrass and Seekings, 2001; Enslin, 2003; Asmal and James, 2001). Historically disadvantaged - black / African or coloured populations, especially those at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, in many cases, have missed out on adequate educational provision and skilled employment opportunities. If they and the generations that follow are to enjoy the benefits of democratic citizenship, rather than be subject to the perpetuation of existing inequalities, access to educational and sustainable livelihood opportunities for themselves and their children are crucial.

The end of apartheid sanctions and the change of government in 1994 have opened up new opportunities for South Africans to participate actively in the global economy through growing inter-connectedness occurring as part of globalisation. However, bearing in mind the dominance of the knowledge economy model internationally, such a process of rapid change and liberalisation of the economy have not come without their dangers. This applies particularly to sectors of the population who have not had access to the requisite education and skills training opportunities or information in order to benefit (see McGrath and Akoojee, 2007; Field, 2000). A particularly heightened tension can therefore be seen in South Africa between the drive for economic competitiveness, and the need for equitable access to education and training across people's lifetimes, not just at primary or secondary level.

Global citizenship, sustainability and coastal settlements

Citizenship, although usually associated with nations or states can be conceptualised at different scales, including the global scale. Civil society movements, sometimes through radical or popular education, have utilised the idea of global citizenship to highlight environmental sustainability concerns and to make the connection with

local situations, as well as to emphasise inequities in relation to globalised international labour and trade systems (see Scandrett, 1999 for a summary of these debates).

On a local, national and global level, the sustainable[3] governance and management of our exhaustible natural resources represents one of the crucial challenges of our times. This is heightened in the context of evidence of the damage caused by unrestricted exploitation of natural resources, and in the light of climate change. The idea of global citizenship is useful here because it emphasises the type of collective action and recognition of shared responsibility that is likely to be required to tackle such issues.

Sustainability of natural resources is implicated in the distribution of food, essential for sustaining human societies. Sustainability in relation to food is a cross-cutting developmental concern. Food sources and their production, trade and distribution systems are vital aspects of promoting food security and eliminating poverty, as well as sustainability in general. Yet these systems are not purely technical, they are also political (see Sen, 1983; Sneddon *et al.*, 2006). There are increasing concerns about the sustainability of global food production and distribution systems, around associated labour and employment systems (see for example Lawrence, 2004), as well as of the globalisation of such systems (see Borghesi and Vercelli, 2003). Marine resources constitute an example of a potentially renewable but far from inexhaustible, highly globalised food source at a critical stage of worldwide over-exploitation. As with the utilisation of other natural resources, objectives at local, national and international level tend to be conflicting and to manifest in tangible ways incurring vulnerabilities at local level (Charles, 2001; see also Petersen, 2007). Such manifestations can tell us about how broader national and international processes are working for specific groups.

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[3] '[S]ustainable development, which implies meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, should become a central guiding principle of the United Nations, Governments and private institutions, organizations and enterprises' (UN, 1987)

Sustainability (as propounded in detail by the World Commission on Environment and Development (UN, 1987)), in all its social, economic and environmental aspects, is arguably a current critical gap in education and lifelong learning, as recognised by the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014) (UNESCO, 2007). To this end, educational research has recently begun to engage with sustainability issues systematically (see for example Duke, Doyle and Wilson, 2006; CICE, 2005; Hanley, 2005; Field, 2000). Sustainability is also a key strand within marine-resource-related research, and such work has started to look at human and social as well as environmental aspects (see for example World Bank, 2004; Charles, 2001).

This research takes an integrated approach to development and sustainability in coastal areas. It recognises the importance of avoiding a narrow view in the context of increasing pressure on coastal resources (see e.g. Duxbury and Dickinson, 2007). The principles of integrated development are clearly enshrined in South African law and set out in the government's white paper on integrated coastal development (DEAT, 2000). This approach is facilitated by use of the sustainable livelihoods framework (see chapter two). Yet this takes into account that employment, including in the informal economy / micro- and small enterprise (MSE) sector in these areas in South Africa, has for more than a century been centred around, or significantly affected by, the status of and activity related to marine resources (see Van Sittert, 2003; Isaacs, 2006; Sowman, 2003).

Why focus on 'fishing communities': Myth or reality?

Fisheries scientists have in the past called for more social scientists to work in small-scale fishing communities as constituting rich and relatively unstudied contexts for social science and poverty research (see Béné, 2003). The term 'fishing community' is in some senses a mythical one since in most places these coastal settlements have for a long time been home to various diversified occupational and livelihood strategies (see Allison and Ellis, 2001; Béné, 2003). Like any village or town 'fishing communities' have their own peculiar social dynamics and divisions, and are not

homogeneous or necessarily united as one entity (see Kepe, 1998 on the notion of 'community' in an agricultural context). Coastal settlements have many characteristics in common with rural settlements in general, and share issues of lack of service provision and infrastructure in comparison with urban areas (see Béné, 2003). Therefore, implementation solutions are likely to overlap with the domain of rural development and service provision. Nevertheless, the term 'fishing community' is widely used both internationally and nationally, and has a cultural dimension. Coastal settlements on the west coast of South Africa, despite the increasing encroachment of high-end real estate and tourism, and the loss of access to marine resources and coastal land for 'fishing communities', still retain a degree of character and identity based around their former thriving fishing activities. In fact this identity is in some cases drawn on and utilised by the tourism industry. The concept of 'fishing community' still therefore has relevance.

Despite calls to carry out integrated research across the social and natural sciences, paradoxically such work is hampered by disciplinary and related methodological and paradigmatic boundary-setting. This operates in the context of historical development of disciplinary borders, pressure to specialise and competition for funding in research (see Jentoft, 2006; Degnbol *et al.*, 2006). Nevertheless, the push for integration with the social science disciplines has come about in a gradual process due to the realisation that the global problem of marine resource depletion cannot be solved purely by scientific or conventional resource management interventions, but that it is influenced to a large extent by socio-economic concerns (Jentoft *et al*. 1998; Charles, 2001; see also World Bank, 2004); including poverty, changes in global and local markets, and general unemployment.

Small-scale 'fishing communities' present a number of interesting characteristics for social scientists. They tend to be socially and politically marginalised, to have inadequate access to basic services such as education and health, and to have higher than average poverty and in some cases HIV/AIDS rates (Kissling *et al.*, 2005; Allison and Seeley, 2004). Yet on the other hand small-scale fishing is by no means synonymous with poverty. It usually requires some capital investment, and it may be

those who are excluded from fishing in these settlements who are the most poor (see Béné, 2003). Small-scale fishing communities contain highly dynamic and mobile occupational and livelihood activities, predominantly in the informal economy, which draw on strategies of diversification, innovation and adaptation to change (see Allison and Ellis, 2001). Crucially, small-scale fishworkers are often well integrated into global (or regional and local) markets, albeit often at the bottom of the market chain. Moreover, fish and fish products represent one of the most globalised agricultural trade commodities. As a consequence of market integration and the fact that it is relatively difficult to exist on fish as the primary component of the diet (in contrast with staple foods such as maize), rural fishing communities tend to be typically more monetised than land-based agricultural communities. Small-scale fishing activities in some cases support large numbers of people spread over wide areas, and they have strong potential, if enabled by a positive legislative and governance environment, both to give rural people a source of livelihood / food security, and to enable individuals and communities to lift themselves out of poverty. As a result of these characteristics, research in fishing communities does not fit into a purely marginalist perspective. Currently, however, they represent an example of rural producer (and informal economy) populations in developing countries who are highly integrated into regional and global markets, yet are still largely living in a situation of relative poverty.

Several aspects of fishing communities have attracted academic attention. In part due to the elevated level of pressure on and competition over marine resources in the context of resource depletion, research as well as more practical work in fishing communities is concerned with, and arguably at the forefront of, thinking on (sustainable) natural resource governance (see chapter two and e.g. Jentoft, 2006; 2007, and Béné and Neiland, 2006 for a summary in this context). The interest in governance in this context involves concerns of wider relevance about accountability, participation and transparency, which cut across micro- and macro-scales (see Moser and Norton, 2001; Béné and Neiland, 2006). With the advent of more centralised marine resource governance, the livelihoods of fishers and allied workers (collectively termed fishworkers) are highly influenced by the legislation

and implementation systems governing access to these natural resources. Other cross-cutting issues are manifested in fishing communities where especially in developing countries they constitute an example in which ethnic or racial divisions can influence access to resources and livelihood opportunities (see FAO, 2006).

Citizenship and access to adult education and training in 'fishing communities'

Access to adult education and training opportunities are a particularly important component of citizenship in coastal areas because of how fishing communities are viewed. The prevailing stereotype of small-scale fishworkers in the Western Cape has been of 'illiterate' and culturally / socio-economically 'backward' people clinging on to an old (and obsolete) way of life. These are misconceptions that are not borne out by the evidence in this thesis, although coastal communities do face new challenges in the current increasingly globalised system and influence of the knowledge economy. The consequences of such assumptions are to be found in the social and political marginalisation of fishing communities, both in terms of access to service provision and in the mechanisms and results of institutional processes that grant access to marine resources (see Sowman, 2006; Isaacs, 2006). Nevertheless, small-scale fishing represents an efficient and in many cases more sustainable mode of production than large-scale fishing (Charles, 2001), and creates allied jobs for local people. In fact, global industry supply chains also rely to a significant extent on the small-scale sector in South Africa.

Adult learning opportunities may be able to assist in terms of access to livelihood opportunities, sustainability and citizenship in three main ways. Firstly, access and take up of learning and skills development opportunities could provide people in coastal settlements with the capabilities to enable them to embark on or develop alternative or supplementary options to fishing. This may enable them to engage with new technologies and drivers of economic development such as tourism, business and industry. Such training may therefore ultimately decrease vulnerability and increase the social and economic sustainability of coastal communities (as well as the

natural resources themselves). Secondly, widening access to learning opportunities could assist in generating the tools and information to work towards taking collective responsibility for improved sustainability of the environment and of marine resource-based livelihoods. Thirdly, widening access to effective learning and training opportunities could counteract some of the attitudinal prejudices and barriers that currently limit the expansion of citizenship for these groups.

Concluding remarks

The civil society activities described in this chapter both demonstrate issues around citizenship and indicate ways of contesting and expanding citizenship for relatively marginalised groups in the Western Cape context. Civil society action, along with livelihood and adult educational access form the three main constituents to be investigated in order to shed light on citizenship in this thesis. Initial analysis reveals involvement of a number of key players and stakeholders including a range of civil society groups at local, provincial and national level, government departments, businesses and local people. Adding a global dimension to citizenship links with sustainability concerns. In coastal settlements this brings to the fore issues around food production and distribution systems. The notion of a 'fishing community' has a cultural as well as economic dimension although it involves significant commonalities with rural areas in general in terms of differential access to services and levels of marginalisation. The combination of these common and differentiating characteristics make coastal settlements of distinct interest to social science research.

Contribution of this thesis to knowledge

This research makes an original contribution to knowledge by investigating civil society contestation over citizenship, and relating this to concrete livelihood and educational access characteristics in coastal settlements. It involves examining shifting notions and realities of citizenship with reference to wider debates, and use of the sustainable livelihoods framework to analyse livelihood and educational access. In doing so, it draws on and informs wider debates on equity and service

provision, as well as globalisation and sustainability. This thesis therefore contributes to the disciplines of education, area and development studies and sociology.

Overview of thesis and individual chapters

The next chapter begins with an examination of the main theoretical frameworks and concepts that have been used to draw the findings and conclusions. It highlights the relevant debates around citizenship and allied concepts of entitlements and capabilities, and outlines the livelihoods framework used in the analyses of access to resources. Chapter three provides the historical and contextual information about South Africa and the Western Cape that will be crucial for analysing the data. In chapter four, I turn to an examination of concepts and debates around rights important for the later analysis. Chapter five details the research questions, methods and methodology used.

Part II begins with chapter six. This focuses on the livelihood aspects that relate to material or socio-economic as well as educational elements of citizenship. It provides an overview of livelihood characteristics in the three case study sites, using the sustainable livelihoods framework. The subsequent chapters focus on the key mediating factors that together influence individual and group access to livelihood opportunities and to adult education and training. Chapter seven deals with international, national and local mediating influences affecting educational and marine resources policy frameworks. Then, chapter eight examines literacy mediation practices at national and local levels in connection with government bureaucratic access processes. Chapter nine focuses in more detail on civil society participation and the utilisation of discourses of rights in struggles to gain access to marine resources and to realise the benefits of democratic citizenship. Finally, chapter ten synthesises the key findings and conclusions of this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY AND CONCEPTUAL TOOLS

Introduction

This chapter examines the main theoretical and conceptual tools used in drawing conclusions about processes of contestation of citizenship in this context. In concrete terms this involves outlining the theories and concepts used to investigate the livelihood and adult educational access that influence citizenship characteristics of people in coastal settlements. Theories of rights and social capital used to analyse civil society contestation are also introduced here, but the concepts and debates around rights are covered in more detail in chapter four. In this chapter, therefore, I firstly highlight the debates around citizenship relevant to the analysis. Secondly, I look critically at models used to analyse livelihood strategies, including the sustainable livelihoods framework and theories of entitlements and capabilities. Thirdly, this chapter presents theories and concepts in relation to adult education and training and the relevant connections with access to livelihoods. Fourthly, it examines key debates on civil society and social capital. Lastly, it looks at three key cross-cutting issues and influences in relation to citizenship and access – firstly, the interweaving of race and class, secondly, globalisation, and thirdly, the balance between equity and growth.

Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is particularly useful for understanding the social and political changes associated with democratisation in South Africa since 1994. Citizenship has competing definitions, and encompasses changes in the situations and perceptions around status for different groups. At the same time it concerns the process of building a united, cohesive and prosperous nation. The political changes associated with democratisation have raised the stakes for citizenship in South Africa, as elsewhere in Africa (Young, 2007). Rights and responsibilities are central to the notion of citizenship and to its inherent contradictions. In the case of rights, this concerns the expanding field of civil, political, and social rights (Marshall,

1964), which people in South Africa have come to expect and demand as citizens in the democratic state. The South African Constitution recognises a range of rights, such as the right to adequate housing, water, education and health care (Government of South Africa, 1996). Yet implementation and realisation of these rights will be seen to lag behind, exemplified by the widely reported struggles of black communities in informal settlements to gain access to affordable basic services such as water and electricity. The gaps between rights legislation and implementation will prove contentious when it comes to the three case studies. Different types of rights are not equally enforceable, and property rights have historically tended to take precedence over other kinds of rights in debates dating as far back as Locke (1690). Civil society groups, as will be discussed in chapters four and nine, are increasingly a key site for utilisation of discourses of rights and efforts towards the expansion of democratic citizenship, both in South Africa and elsewhere.

The corresponding responsibilities that relate to rights concern both the state's duties towards its citizens to provide services, as well as to safeguard or facilitate individual and collective freedoms (Sen, 1999). Conversely, official notions of citizenship often stress the responsibilities of individual citizens to assist in creating collective benefits, and promote shared action at local and national scale (see Enslin, 2003). Such notions in some cases contain coercive or controlling aspects (see Harber, 2002), or devolution of state responsibility to market processes or individuals themselves. Citizenship therefore represents a terrain on which opposing forces and interests are played out, for example as expressed in market-based versus rights- or equity-based ideas of citizenship. These processes of contestation will be taken further by the case studies.

Subaltern cultures influence or co-determine ideology and citizenship (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007; Alexander, 2007) through strategies of resistance, contestation and dependency (Scott, 1985; Du Toit, 2004), including but not limited to civil society mobilisation. As we shall see in the later analyses, the relationship between structure and agency is crucial in understanding citizenship (see Martin, 1999). Popular South African expectations about social rights represent a materialist

or substantivist perspective that cuts to the heart of differences among notions of citizenship and democracy (Enslin, 2003; Zuern, 2007). These distinctions involve the degree to which democratic citizenship implies or tolerates socio-economic inequalities (Marshall, 1964; Alexander, 2007). They will prove contentious when it comes to an examination of the case studies.

Decision-making about the distribution of and access to material resources, including economic and natural resources as analysed in later chapters, are therefore inevitably bound up with notions of citizenship. They concern which groups are included and which are excluded from particular resources and opportunities. Moreover, decision-making processes around the distribution of resources can have secondary consequences for future generations, potentially involving the perpetuation of second-class citizenship. This applies especially where inequities in resource access are combined with or impact on inequities in educational access, such as through the inability to pay school fees. By limiting access to resources, opportunities and to education, exploitative colonial and apartheid policies were antithetical to the realisation of full citizenship for subaltern groups (see Alexander, 2007).

Citizenship also has a crucial educational component. Full citizenship may only be granted to those who are educated and literate (officially defined) – those who are deemed capable of fulfilling their responsibilities toward other citizens and to the state. The language issue also plays its part, influenced by European notions of national citizenship emphasising proficiency in only one language, usually paradoxically the ex-colonial language. The role and nature of literacy and language capabilities and requirements involved in access to resources will be discussed further in chapter eight. Scholars have pointed to inequitable or limited access to education as a way of perpetuating second-class citizenship (see Marshall, 1964; Alexander, 2007).

In contrast, radical, popular or rights-based education models, as will be examined in discussions of civil society educational activities in chapter nine, contest the effects of limited citizenship using critical educational activities and mobilisation of

community groups (Martin, 1999). Moreover, citizenship has an attitudinal and perceptual aspect that may in some cases be receptive to educational intervention, broadly defined to include awareness raising and campaigning. Engaging with social prejudices or political ideas about race (Alexander, 2007), as well as perceptions around what being a citizen able to participate as a full member of society means (see Sen, 1983; Townsend, 1979; Marshall, 1964) are two possible examples.

Citizenship, although usually associated with nations or states can be conceptualised at different scales, including the global scale. Civil society movements have utilised the idea of global citizenship to highlight environmental sustainability concerns, plus those around inequities in globalised international labour and trade systems (see for example Scandrett, 1999). This will be taken further in the later chapters.

Contestation of dominant, official notions of citizenship strike at the heart of the stability of the status quo. The longevity of a current political order implies the need to maintain a stable economic power base. This entails keeping resource distribution patterns more or less intact in order to attract foreign and domestic investment and revenue, as well as to carry out administrative and trade functions (Alexander, 2007). Such interests are argued to lie behind favouring a slow rather than a speedy and profound redistribution trajectory and the implementation of affirmative action measures in the South African context. Scholars such as Alexander have emphasised the way in which affirmative action in South Africa has been implemented using the former apartheid racial classifications. This reflects a preoccupation with representativity of historically disadvantaged groups in terms of employment equity in order to tackle divisions and promote stability on a short-term basis. Such interventions have taken the place of providing the large-scale skills development that is likely to be required in the long term to address inequities. Inequalities in socio-economic status and differential access to services and resources are still often regarded as a fact of life, although arising from the historical racialised labour and legislative system (*ibid.*, 2007; Wolpe, 1995). This normalisation disguises the historical and current complicity of the middle classes and of particular racial groups in the perpetuation of socio-economic and skills inequalities (see also Erasmus,

2005). Affirmative action policies and their real and perceived effects will be demonstrated to be a problematic issue in later chapters.

Inequities and divisions are bound up with racial differences, but cannot simply be attributed to them, despite President Mbeki's repeated statements emphasising racial inequalities publicised in the press. Class differences are becoming increasingly important since 1994, only partially disguised by continued race rhetoric (Alexander, 2007). Nattrass and Seekings (2001:47) point to two major economic inequality gaps in contemporary South Africa. The first is between an increasingly multiracial upper class and all other classes. The second is between a middle class of industrialised workers, and the black unemployed and rural poor.

Democratic mechanisms of accountability of representatives within the new political order are an important aspect, highlighted in the later analyses, of realising citizenship and rights (see Moser and Norton, 2001). However, accountability will prove a highly contentious issue in light of assertions that elections in the South African context have taken on characteristics of ethnic censuses (Alexander, 2007). These claims are supported by descriptions of the very limited type of voter education carried out by ANC activists before the first democratic elections, where potential voters were taught primarily how to put their mark in the ANC box on the ballot paper (Prinsloo and Robins, 1996). Nevertheless, as will be shown in chapter nine, such statements can fail to acknowledge the complexities of ANC support across conventional race divides.

Analysing access: livelihood, entitlement and capability approaches

As highlighted above, this thesis investigates the realities of citizenship through looking at access characteristics. The next section therefore examines the tools and frameworks that will be used to analyse livelihood and educational access in chapters six and seven. Livelihood, entitlement and capability approaches enable people's situations to be looked at in a holistic way, which will become important later in

understanding shifting notions of citizenship. The term livelihood is defined as follows:

> A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims, and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

Livelihood approaches have been taken up by development practice including international donors since the early 1990s (see for example Chambers and Conway, 1992; Carney, 1998; Allison, 2004), including by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). They have been applied in a range of fields, but particularly in relation to natural resource management. One of the aspects that marks them out from other approaches used in the social sciences and in development work is that they use a cross-sectoral approach, integrating a 'pro-poor' approach with sustainability concerns – and a consideration of human relationships in the context of their environment. ('Pro-poor' approaches aim to put those in poverty at the centre of development interventions.)

Yet significant obstacles materialise when trying to integrate social science research with that on the environment and natural resources. Much of the work done within the social sciences and education has failed to directly address the environmental context of socio-economic phenomena and of poverty and inequality. If considering the environment at all, studies have often treated it as a passive background to human interaction. Conversely, natural scientists and resource management paradigms have tended to downplay the socio-economic dynamics of natural resource management and the constraints these aspects may place on environmental sustainability solutions (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987). These contradictions have contributed to the lack of political will in tackling the degradation of varied environments by large scale and inappropriate natural resource exploitation. They have also inhibited recognition of the detrimental effects on local livelihoods of those people affected most by those environments, often those located at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. In South Africa the intertwined socio-economic and spatial nature of apartheid

legislation, for example in terms of forced relocation policies and the wide-ranging limitations on ownership and use of land along race lines, had far-reaching economic and social effects for those non-white groups affected (Lahiff, 2001; Mayson *et al.*, 2001). Marine resources are a key example with global significance as large industrial fishing activities have led, in combination with complex environmental factors, to resource depletion. Such phenomena are by no means unique to South Africa (World Bank, 2004; Charles, 2001).

Livelihood approaches are now used particularly in contexts (usually assumed to be rural but as this thesis will show may also include urban situations) where people are reliant to a significant extent on access to natural resources. Such approaches seek not to privilege any one particular aspect of people's employment and well-being strategies, therefore providing a more holistic view of situations of poverty than purely income-based or mono-sectoral analyses. This integrated approach will prove useful in highlighting linkages between concerns about access to employment and natural resources, to education and training, and to essential services such as housing and water. Livelihood approaches also recognise that in many cases people utilise a mix of different livelihood strategies in order to create income and promote well-being (Allison and Ellis, 2001; Bryceson, 2002; Chambers, 1997). For example, people often combine fishing with small-scale agriculture and / or seasonal and informal sector employment – a reality that defies strictly mono-sectoral analysis. This will prove contentious in later analyses. Academic work and development practice, however, due to disciplinary boundaries and / or lack of capacity, can fail to address the fact of these multiple strategies. The importance of occupational pluralism and multiple livelihood strategies in this context will be highlighted later in the thesis.

Livelihoods approaches tend to emphasise agency and what people are doing for themselves. By extension they deal with how people's own livelihood strategies can be supported, rather than blocked or disabled. However, livelihoods approaches have in practice been much less influential outside of natural resource-based rural development fields. They draw on a body of work in the fields of economics,

ecology and of what is now termed political ecology, originating from studies of the differential ability of rural households to cope with crises such as drought and famine. Also central is the work of Chambers (1997) and Chambers and Conway (1992) in recognising the multiple nature of people's income- and well-being-generating strategies, particularly in rural areas. In addition, Amartya Sen's work in economics on capabilities, entitlements and well-being, particularly in famine situations (see Sen, 1995; 1983) has proved influential, and is discussed further below. Piers Blaikie and others' work in political ecology (see for example Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987; Blaikie et al., 1994) in the context of land degradation and agriculture is also central to the concepts behind livelihoods approaches.

Political ecology is itself a synthesis of concepts from several disciplines including environmental science, social anthropology, history and political economy in order to provide a theoretical basis for examining human-environment-development relationships. Political ecology foregrounds the political and economic aspects of ecological concerns, processes of marginalisation and vulnerabilities of certain groups (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987; Smith, 2001; 2003). Political ecology provides a framework within which to understand how groups of people are affected by structural and political factors in the context of their particular space and environment, including in developing countries (see Bryant and Bailey, 1997). For instance, it enables questions around land to be separated from a narrow focus on agricultural uses often found in academic work (see Hart, 2002). This disassociation allows wider questions around land in this thesis – such as forced relocation, the relation between land and fishing communities, and the link between policies of land ownership and current housing in coastal towns to be considered. Political ecology also provides a framework to critically examine the socio-economic and political aspects of marine resource management and allocation of fishing rights in a field normally dominated by the natural sciences.

A burgeoning literature broadly within political ecology has included work explicitly connecting environmental and democracy concerns (see for example Minteer and Taylor, 2002; Matthews, 1996). Highlighting links between the environment and

democracy underlines the tension between the deeply conservative tendencies of conservation – based on preserving natural heritage – and more 'progressive' forces of environmentalism, as 'the major challenge to the creed of the market, a force for change mirroring concern for the future' (Minteer and Taylor, 2002:vii). Adding the perspective of democracy and citizenship to environmental debates also illuminates the increasing tension between environmental and development concerns, and raises questions around the equitable distribution of the benefits of natural resources and the environment (Charles, 2001; Petersen, Jaffer and Sunde, 2005).

Such questions highlight a contested terrain. For example, in coastal areas in the Western Cape, different stakeholders with distinct values and interests compete over diverse uses of coastal resources. These include industrial fishing (for large-scale profit); small-scale fishing for local livelihoods and subsistence, tourism and water sports activities, and residential and other development. Drawing on political ecology and other disciplines, livelihood and capability approaches have been applied in diverse contexts, including in relation to groups reliant on marine resource access (Allison and Horemans, 2006; Allison, 2004; Allison and Ellis, 2001), and in cross-disciplinary work incorporating education such as that looking at literacy in fishing communities[4] (FAO, 2006).

The 'sustainable livelihoods' framework, as can be found mainly in DFID policy and project literature, is an example of the type of concerns integrated into livelihoods approaches. It involves an examination of sources of vulnerability and different types of assets as well as the transforming structures and processes (including political processes) that mediate people's access to livelihood (including adult education and training) opportunities. These mediating structures and processes influencing livelihood strategies and outcomes are crucial for understanding the reasons behind the poverty and inequality of particular groups, and for illuminating the relationships between global or external forces and local situations. Livelihood assets are here

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[4] Including a joint initiative called the Sustainable Fisheries Livelihoods Programme focused mainly in West Africa, implemented by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the Overseas Development Group, University of East Anglia, funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID).

conceptualised as broad categories of capital – financial capital, social capital (formal and informal social networks, trust), natural capital (natural resources), physical capital (infrastructure etc.) and human capital (including skills, education and training), which contribute to livelihood outcomes and well-being.

Figure 1. Sustainable livelihoods framework

Key
H = Human Capital   S = Social Capital
N = Natural Capital   P = Physical Capital
F = Financial Capital

LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

VULNERABILITY CONTEXT
• SHOCKS
• TRENDS
• SEASONALITY

Influence & access

TRANSFORMING STRUCTURES & PROCESSES

STRUCTURES
• Levels of government   • Laws
• Private sector   • Policies
          • Culture
          • Institutions
PROCESSES

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

in order to achieve

LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES
• More income
• Increased well-being
• Reduced vulnerability
• Improved food security
• More sustainable use of NR base

Source: DFID; reproduced from Allison, 2004.

Notions of 'social capital' and 'human capital' have been widely discussed independently in varied literature in the social sciences (Putnam, 1995; Putzel, 1997; Keeley, 2007; Robeyns, 2006). The term 'human capital' is often associated with an economic, instrumental view of education and training (as in human resources). Particular problems have been associated with the sustainable livelihoods approach and policy framework, not least arising from the challenges of such wide-ranging cross-sectoral work, which agencies may be ill-equipped to carry out (see King and McGrath, 1999). In addition, difficulties can be highlighted with translating this approach into policy and implementation, and with the complex data that such an approach as an analytical tool tends to yield. Others criticise a too-rigid association of livelihood approaches with the income-generating activities of people living in poverty (typified by the idea that poor people have livelihoods while the rest of us

have employment[5]), and that they may therefore provide few effective exit routes for people in poverty. Used uncritically as a development tool it can also lead to the downplaying or ignoring of vital contextual issues – structural / institutional and historical characteristics that constrain livelihood strategies (see Petersen, 2007). The next section therefore looks at Sen's entitlements and capabilities approaches in order to supplement the use of livelihoods approaches.

Entitlements and capabilities

Amartya Sen's (1983) work on entitlements and poverty provides a crucial bridge in understanding how meanings of rights and citizenship relate to local situations and livelihood strategies. His research is particularly important in comprehending the expectations and perceptions that groups have around what democracy should be delivering in South Africa since 1994. Furthermore, his analysis provides a powerful critique of the workings of neo-liberal forces in contexts of poverty and inequality based on the study of crises such as famines.

Sen's analysis looks at the relationship between needs (such as the need for basic foodstuffs) and the fulfilment of those needs, and how this is mediated by legal rights. Sen shows that the market cannot be relied on to fulfil people's needs and to provide enough food in times of crisis. Sen (1983) highlights the fact that famine situations have not always been caused by a simple shortage of food, but by people not being able to afford to buy the food that was available. In a market-dominated system, people's ability to obtain food is dependent on what they have to exchange for it - such as their labour power (if they can get a (decent) wage for it), their ownership of resources (assets or capital), and the products of their labour. It also depends on external conditions such as the price of food, the availability and affordability of transport to obtain it, and the existence and extent of social security measures. Entitlements are therefore structured by social, political and economic relations. Sen outlines how inequalities in access to food and export of food products can persist even in famine conditions, showing that there is a crucial disjuncture

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[5] Pers. comm., Prof. Kenneth King, May 2004.

between entitlements and needs, as well as entitlements and equity concerns. Marginalisation in terms of access to food in times of need (as well as to other essential resources), if left purely to the market, is likely to be self-reinforcing (see also Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987). This indicates a need for social security measures as a safety net, even in so-called developed countries (Sen, 1983).

The nature of rights, reciprocal exchange and ownership of production in capitalist societies has been of key concern to the social theorists on which Western social science is based (Locke, 1690; Bentham, 1780; 1824; Hobbes, 1914 [1651]; Marx and Engels, 1845; 1859). Such concerns reflect the complex trade-offs and conflicts amongst individual and collective rights and the public interest (Locke, 1690; Bentham, 1780; 1824). Bentham (1824) in particular criticised human rights as exemplified in international instruments and documents, as nothing more than a wish list in practice (see chapter six). Sen's (1983) contribution to the debate is in highlighting the nuances and inequalities in the relationship between legal and human rights and entitlements in developing country contexts. Ownership of (and access to) food is arguably one of the most fundamental of rights, but in a market-based system is dependent on an individual or household having sufficient to exchange in a way that can ignore needs and equity considerations even in a properly followed legal system:

> [E]ntitlement relations concentrate on rights within the given legal structure in that society… [M]ost recent famines seem to have taken place in societies with 'law and order', without anything 'illegal' about the processes leading to starvation. In fact, in guarding ownership rights against the demands of the hungry, the legal forces uphold entitlements; for example, in the Bengal famine of 1943 the people who died in front of well-stocked food shops protected by the state were denied food because of *lack* of legal entitlement, and not because their entitlements were violated. (Sen, 1983:48).

Thus appealing to (legal or human) rights as a strategy for improvement or bringing greater equity is in some cases problematic. Moreover, it does not depend solely on universal standards or statements but on the particular situations and assets of the people concerned. Clearly, Sen's (1983) analysis of famine highlights an extreme case of a crisis in terms of entitlements and poverty, which does not reflect today's reality in South Africa. However, as will be seen in later analyses, similar

entitlements processes can be discerned in local contexts in the Western Cape. Sen's assessment of inequalities and how they relate to entitlements is important for understanding the shortcomings of rights-based educational approaches to development, and for critiquing market-based systems of rights in relation to natural resources.

In theorising inequality, poverty and entitlements, Sen draws on Peter Townsend's (1979) influential work on measuring relative poverty to emphasise the importance of perceptions. Townsend differentiated between absolute and relative measures of deprivation – showing that deprivation could be in relative terms as great or in some cases greater in developed countries than in developing countries. He defined relative deprivation or poverty as follows:

> Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities, and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities. (Townsend, 1979:31)

This definition clearly links to concerns around citizenship in this thesis, including what corresponds to full citizenship in any given society. Sen highlights the importance not just of an 'objective' measure of the conditions of relative deprivation; but of what feelings people have about their situation – since this influences how they experience deprivation. People's experiences are therefore affected by the choice of reference groups for comparison – the groups with which the people in question actually compare themselves. Therefore, inequalities have a significant influence on how people experience deprivation and citizenship.

Inequalities, capabilities and functionings

Sen's (1995) work focuses on a holistic picture of people's situations – their well-being. It emphasises that freedom of choice, not just ownership of resources, has a bearing on the differential situations and outcomes of different groups. Thus, groups or individuals who have the same access to resources or means may not be able to

convert them into equal outcomes or have the same freedom of choice (termed 'functionings'), because of differences in, for example, mediation by human and political relationships.

A range of differences in functionings affect people's well-being and freedom of choice such as the skills they have at their disposal, as well as factors like health, self-respect, and social or community life. In Sen's terms, certain functionings are relevant to several aspects of this thesis, for instance, the ability to gain (or have gained) access to education and training and the ability to find (decent) employment (ILO, 2005). Other functionings relevant to later analysis include the ability to read and understand policy documents and fill in application forms adequately, and the ability to find the money to pay application fees. The concept of functionings can also be discerned in the idea of functional literacy as is found in educational research on literacy (see UNESCO, 2005; FAO, 2006), although the term functional literacy has been variously defined and contested over the years. By extension, Sen uses the term capabilities to represent the combination of functionings (and freedoms) that a person has in terms of life choices. Therefore, skills, education and training, as well as social and political interactions, can be seen to be crucial to a person's ability to realise well-being, as well as in considerations of equity and citizenship characteristics.

Access to adult education and learning

This section considers debates around another important pillar of citizenship characteristics, that is, access to adult education and training. This thesis as a whole will scrutinise the relevant characteristics of educational policies and provision, as well as the education and training needs that relate to access to livelihood opportunities, linking these to an understanding of citizenship in the contexts studied. In doing so, I recognise that linkages do not represent a simple causal or one-way relationship. For instance, widespread policy statements based on claims to a causal relationship between education and environmental or agricultural outcomes (e.g.

productivity) have been shown to rely on inadequate evidence (e.g. King, Palmer and Hayman, 2005; King, McGrath and Rose, 2007).

Access with regard to adult education and training is understood for the purposes of the analysis here as the existence of adult education and training provision in or within reasonable distance of a given location, as well as the ability to take up such opportunities. This includes the ability to afford fees, transport (plus accommodation) and opportunity costs. The concept of access is relatively under-developed in the international educational field, with a paucity of seminal texts and status accorded to it (Osborne and Gallacher, 2007). However, there are notable exceptions – see for example the edited volume by Osborne, Gallacher and Crossan, 2007[6]. Research on further education in South Africa has also demonstrated a concern with access (McGrath and Akoojee, 2007; Akoojee and McGrath, 2005). Nevertheless, the majority of research has looked at access to primary or secondary education or to higher education, and mostly in more 'developed' countries (Osborne and Gallacher, 2007; Scott, 2007). Given South Africa's historical inequalities, access to all levels of education and training is of crucial importance nationally (Walters, 2004, Spreen and Vally, 2006; McGrath and Akoojee, 2007). Other research on South Africa has concentrated on the issue of access to university education. However, routes into the university system are influenced by socio-economic and spatial factors, and are difficult for the vast majority of people in low-income situations in developing countries, especially in rural areas (see Walters, 2007; Spreen and Vally, 2007).

Four main models of adult education and skills development provision and policy are relevant to this research, in some cases with significant overlap. The most important model for the purposes of this thesis is adult education and learning that falls under the terms radical, democratic, rights-based, Freirean or popular education, often associated with the concept of citizenship and with civil society organisations including NGOs or social movements (CSOs) (Kane, 2001; Freire, 1972; Crowther *et al.*, 1999; Martin, 1999). This category includes educational provision and learning

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[6] See also initial research from the DFID-funded Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity http://www.create-rpc.org

through action-oriented activities or goals. Other educational models relevant to the analyses here are conventional adult education provision (second chance, school model-based provision), vocational / skills training (and apprenticeships), and lifelong learning.

Definitional terms in this field are complex and contested, not least around the distinction between formal and non-formal education, and to what extent non-formal education is subsumed under lifelong learning (Hoppers, 2006; Rogers, 2004). The lifelong learning strand is on first inspection less influential in South Africa than in the UK, but some of the underlying neo-liberal or economistic currents can be clearly discerned in both contexts (see Coffield, 1999; Field, 2000; McGrath and Akoojee, 2007).

Adult education and learning: a discussion of models and concepts

In international educational policy, adult education provision and skills development has tended to be sidelined in favour of formal primary and secondary education (Palmer, 2007; King, McGrath and Rose, 2007; McGrath and Badroodien, 2006; Archer, 2005), to the extent that the global Education for All initiative has been dubbed 'Except for Adults' (Hildebrand and Hinzen, 2004). This marginalisation of provision for adults occurs despite the two billion or more adults globally estimated to lack functional literacy and numeracy capabilities[7], and the correlation between this group and those living in poverty (Archer, 2005). In some cases, paradoxically, an intensified focus on schooling has increased social inequality (Grubb and Lazerson, 2004). The lack of attention to adult educational provision is important for later analysis.

The sidelining of provision for adults occurs in spite of the current international emphasis on continuous learning across the life-course, as exemplified by the 'lifelong learning' paradigm (Field, 2000). The lifelong learning model can be

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[7] UNESCO (2005) estimates 771 million people aged 15 and above to be living without basic literacy skills. Archer's figure takes into account the ability to use literacy and numeracy skills (i.e. functional literacy and numeracy).

viewed as driven by changes towards knowledge economies and the need for whole nations to be efficient and to compete in global markets. The transition to the knowledge economy as the dominant model represents a move towards a 'flexible' workforce – away from the mass-production Fordist model. Nevertheless, different modes do still coexist to some extent, with the new model not necessarily dominating numerically in terms of workers (King and McGrath, 1999; 2002; Field, 2005). The knowledge economy paradigm foregrounds the need for access to knowledge and information, and for repeated opportunities for learning and updating skills in order to compete effectively on an individual and national scale. Therefore, adult learning and skills development are far from marginal concerns in the current global situation, where efficiency and the drive for international economic competitiveness are seen as critical national objectives. At the same time globalisation has been seen to reduce the scope for government intervention, where education is regarded as one of the few legitimate interventions (McGrath and Akoojee, 2007).

Current adult educational debates particularly amongst 'developed' countries focus on learning (e.g. lifelong learning) as opposed to education (Rogers, 2003; Field, 2003). This distinction reflects a recognition that learning does not only occur within formal educational processes, and emphasises the process of active engagement, including with the wider social context as an integral part of learning (Field, 2003;2005). This point is also expressed using the term acquisitional learning, the acknowledgement that adults (and children) learn by doing (Rogers, 2003). The distinction between education and learning therefore reflects the familiar dichotomy between structure and agency. Learning signifies a learner-centred focus, and brings into the domain of educational research the extensive learning that happens outside of traditional educational contexts, such as that classed as informal learning. These definitions are nevertheless problematic and contested.

Mainstream education has at times been much more concerned with narrowly-defined educational or academic outcomes than developmental ones. For example, concerns about methodology and educational targets at national level have been privileged over needs arising from specific contexts, including emphasising

enrolment over quality in view of Education for All efforts (see King and Rose, 2005). Nevertheless, the recognition of engagement with social context in educational research is not new, and has taken various different forms. For instance, educational research agendas have long linked education with development. However, claims for the effectiveness of joint education and development programmes, including those linking literacy with development (for example assertions that improving literacy leads to development), have been based on modernising assumptions (Lyster 1992), linked in some cases with colonialism. Such claims assume that development is a teleological process along the lines of the Western model of industrialisation (see Gardner and Lewis, 1996).

Radical or popular adult education and learning connected with democracy and citizenship concerns is an important example of engagement with wider social context, although it has been marginalised from the mainstream since the rise of vocationalism in international education provision (Field, 2005; Grubb and Lazerson, 2004). A narrow focus on vocational training, manifested in an overriding concern for qualifications and credentials, ignores the real gaps between available provision and people's educational and learning priorities, aspirations and needs in the context of the realities of the labour market. Such disparities are exemplified by the vocational school fallacy (King and Martin, 2002; Foster, 1965). It has become an often-promoted myth that education and training alone is the panacea for our social and economic ills (Grubb and Lazerson, 2004).

A body of work now exists examining literacy and 'situated learning' in their immediate social and collective contexts (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Street, 1995; 2001; Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič, 2000). There is also a strong tradition linking research and practice on literacy with empowerment (see for example Archer, 2005; Freire, 1972). Nevertheless, such work has to be considered with the proviso that many unrealistic claims have been made in relation to the benefits of education and literacy for development (Rogers, 1999; King and Rose, 2005; King and Palmer, 2006). An acknowledgement of the role of education in the reproduction of social or

class structures and hierarchies is also an important caveat to such claims (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

A further manifestation of the interest in wider social context in educational research is the connection between educational provision, employment and livelihoods. As stated above, vocational education and training or skills development has come to dominate in adult educational discourse and practice in view of the push for economic competitiveness and individualism. Vocational education is the most well-researched aspect of educational research relating to informal economy / MSE sector employment in sub-Saharan Africa (King, 2007; Palmer; 2007; King and Palmer, 2006; McGrath, 2005b and c). Recent educational work has also used the concept of livelihoods, for example examining explicit linkages between literacy and livelihoods (DFID 2002; World Bank 2001; Betts, 2003). Such foci reflect a concern with the outcomes, relevance and responsiveness of educational provision at an individual and collective level, as well as how learners engage with their socio-economic and labour market environment. They are an indication that education and training does not operate in isolation, but within defined local, national and international contexts (Field, 2005; McGrath and Badroodien, 2006).

However, given the push for economic competitiveness inherent in the knowledge economy and the network information age, many groups who have not been able to keep up with rapid informational, technological and economic changes are being left out (Field, 2000; Castells, 1998). Arguably, the current situation exhibits significant continuities with previous labour systems, since the knowledge economy model still relies on a stratification of labour and particularly on the availability of relatively unskilled and underpaid workers, a point that is important for the later analysis here. The new knowledge economy and lifelong learning paradigm can therefore be regarded as a current mechanism for disguising structural inequalities and legitimating discrimination (Field, 2000).

Structural inequalities are clearly not just within the education and training system. Recent research highlights the critical importance of an enabling environment both in

terms of education and training policies and institutions, as well as the wider non-educational environment in order to begin to address concerns around equity and pro-poor provision (King and Palmer, 2006; King, Palmer and Hayman, 2005). Such research also indicates the need for an examination of the post-basic (beyond primary and secondary) education and training system as an integrated whole, rather than in fragmented parts working in isolation, as is too often assumed to be the case (King and Palmer, 2006). The existence or lack of an enabling environment will be important for analyses of access issues and adult educational provision in this thesis.

Civil society adult education initiatives: expanding notions of citizenship?

This section examines debates around the role of civil society educational interventions in promoting socio-economic change and contesting official notions of citizenship.

Adult education and training[8] initiatives run by civil society organisations in the Western Cape and elsewhere explicitly link their work with rights and democracy. This reflects an orientation towards progressive developmental outcomes and to expanding citizenship, as well as educational outcomes. Work by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire has been influential in the engagement with political and developmental concerns, inspiring a popular education model that has been taken up worldwide. Paulo Freire linked literacy and adult education with development, emphasising the role of 'conscientisation' – the development of those living in poverty of a critical awareness of their situation – in order to address inequalities and achieve social change (Freire 1972). Freire also highlighted political and ideological aspects of education as involving the potential to be either a source of liberation or oppression. Ettore Gelpi, an influential figure working at the time for UNESCO, held that this is as true for formal as for non-formal and adult education. Gelpi extended

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[8] The term training covers a range of Vocational Education and Training (VET), often termed Further Education and Training (FET) in South Africa. This includes short and long courses in the private, not-for-profit and public sectors, all part of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). It also covers both youth and adults.

Freire's analysis to highlight the role of the educational system in perpetuating social hierarchies and socio-economic inequalities, including on an international scale (Griffin 1987), a view similar to that held by Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

In order to strengthen educational aims relating to citizenship and democracy, large-scale adult education programmes such as ActionAid have developed links with wider social movements for change within civil society, drawing on Gramscian ideas (Archer, 2003). ActionAid has relatively recently broadened its focus from literacy to include concerns around communication and power (see Petersen, 2002). Popular education groups have in some cases grown out of social movements themselves, particularly in Latin America with its history of popular revolutionary movements and large-scale literacy programmes (Kane, 2001). Popular education has long been associated with movements for social change in civil society and on the agency of people themselves in the process of change (*ibid.*; Crowther *et al.*, 1999). However, in popular education as in other types of adult education, the widely differing contexts and power relationships of people living in poverty are often not addressed explicitly but assumed, creating a tendency towards a universalised view of poverty. This issue will be important to later analysis of access issues. Moreover, it can obscure crucial differences in how progress in terms of social change and expanding citizenship might be made:

> Popular Education no matter how creative cannot on its own change quality of life. For real improvement in the political, social and economic conditions of the poor, action is necessary. For this reason popular education has to be viewed as a support to the other program areas of community organising, lobbying and advocacy and natural resource utilisation. (La Vita, TCOE, 2001:60)

Increasingly, NGOs and other civil society organisations are drawing on the rhetorically powerful concepts and language of human rights, based on the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and on national constitutions (including South Africa's Bill of Rights (Government of South Africa, 1996)). The 1948 Universal Declaration as well as both the 1966 UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights; and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights are, in theory, legally binding. Thus such civil society organisations appeal against 'human

rights violations', and work towards assisting people to claim their rights. However, the process by which the realisation of such rights can be attained is often far from straightforward, and is very context dependent. In practice, none of the rights are universally respected. Particularly for socio-economic rights, it is only really possible to talk about equal rights and opportunities in the abstract; not about concrete rights such as the right to adequate housing, health care and employment. The USA provides a sobering comparison for South Africa where the granting of universal political rights has not been followed by corresponding socio-economic changes (Smith, 1994).

Critics of rights and empowerment models used by many NGOs (including popular education and Freirean approaches) associate them with dependency theory (Lyster 1992; Gardner and Lewis 1996), in that they stress inequalities in power through centre-periphery relationships. Despite the contribution of such models to politicising development and adult education practices, critics claim that they can create resentment and a victim mentality (French 1992), and concentrate too much on radical structural change that is unrealistic and almost impossible to achieve, rather than on maximising people's situations and strategies within existing systems (Gardner and Lewis 1996). This point is important for later analyses of civil society activities and expectations around democracy. Rights and empowerment approaches may therefore fail to build on or take account of people's own strategies for resistance and change (Gardner and Lewis 1996), despite this being one of the aims of popular education (see for example Martin 1999). Changes at local level as a result may need alternative models that stress individual and group agency over external structure and its association with passivity and dependence. Educational discourses around rights are, however, increasingly widespread. According to the UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2006 (UNESCO, 2005), for example, literacy is: 'A right still denied to nearly a fifth of the world's adult population'.

Citizenship, civil society and social capital: the ideas of Gramsci and Bourdieu

The influence of neo-liberal or modern liberal democratic ideas has been pervasive in South Africa since 1994 in encouraging a decrease in state intervention over a range of economic activities including trade (see Heywood, 2002). Yet the idea, as expounded by proponents of liberal democracy, that democratic political systems should include oppositional and regulatory forces to the vagaries of government rule can be traced back to Aristotle. In other terms this concerns the means by which government, and its representatives at all levels, can be made accountable to the people (Heywood, 2002; Crick 1982 and 2002). In addition to the role played by the media, such mechanisms are often associated with civil society.

The term civil society refers to organisations ostensibly outside of government control such as trade unions, churches, CBOs, NGOs and academics, as well as business organisations and activities. Kunz (1995) emphasises the important role of the second economy (informal or MSE sector) within civil society as an alternative economic and political space for survival, livelihood and business activities. In the South African context, civil society organisations (especially NGOs, CBOs and trade unions, and alliances with academics) are often regarded as playing an oppositional role that can contribute to pushing for greater accountability of government decision-making processes and for progressive social change. Nonetheless, due to its wide applicability, some scholars argue that terms such as civil society (as well as democracy) have become so imprecise as to have all but lost their meaning (Nugent, 2004; Heywood, 2002; Crick, 1982).

Kunz (1995:181-2) notes a number of usages of the concept of civil society, for instance, as an historical or analytical concept, an ethical idea, and an ideological slogan. He highlights two main competing definitional strands. The first (linked with scholars such as Locke) sees civil society as an oppositional, antagonistic and conflictual force, for instance in relation to authoritarian regimes. The second (linked with Hegel and Durkheim) highlights an integrationist picture of civil society, where,

for instance, it inputs into policy and to discussions around ethics. However, he stresses that these models are context-dependent – that we would expect civil society to behave one way in fighting authoritarianism, and another after a political transition. These issues will be shown to be highly pertinent in the data chapters in relation to civil society involvement.

Although Gramscian[9] notions of civil society in relation to the state have been placed in the former category of definitions of civil society as a conflictual force (Kunz, 1995), his work stresses the integration of civil society with the state at the economic, ideological and intellectual levels. Gramsci's analysis places the civil society-government nexus as the main site of struggle for political dominance. However, notions of strengthening civil society in order to improve democracy have in the past been seized upon in an uncritical way by development and aid institutions. The reality of the relationship between civil society activities and democratisation is much more complex (Gramsci, 1971; Dorman, 2006; 2001; see also Reitzes and Friedman, 2001 in the South African context).

Gramsci's (1971 [1929-35])[10] work emphasised the deliberate and conscious nature of the processes of hegemony (political, ideological and cultural dominance) of the state in a market-based liberal system. According to his view the state sought to disguise the unity between the political and the economic systems in society, effectively denying the existence of and need for state intervention in the market. Gramsci stressed the importance of the twin mechanisms of coercion and negotiated consent in the processes of hegemony, which ensured rule at the ideological and intellectual levels as well as in the economic field (Hall, 1980; Ransome, 1992). He also emphasised how limited the scope for long term social change may be from a significant political change:

> … In the case of *laissez-faire* liberalism, one is dealing with a fraction of the ruling class which wishes to modify not the structure of the State, but merely government policy… What is at

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[9] Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was an Italian socialist revolutionary incarcerated for his work and beliefs whose influential work covered a range of subjects including education, politics, culture and language.

[10] This edition is based on his prison notebooks written between 1929 and 1935.

stake is a rotation in governmental office of the ruling-class parties, not the foundation and organisation of a new political society, and even less of a new type of civil society. Gramsci (1971:160)

Parallels to this idea are to be found in analyses of the coming to power of the ANC in South Africa, such as descriptions of a 'revolutionary moment' or 'moment of manoeuvre' (Alexander, 2007;, Hall, 1980; Hart, 2002). The similarities centre around the idea that this opportunity to transform the political landscape through class struggle has not been consolidated to the degree hoped for, and that only a slightly modified form of hegemonic rule has resulted:

> [T]he power bloc centered around Thabo Mbeki consistently invokes 'globalisation' to circumvent any questioning of neoliberal nostrums and policies, or of their alignment with capital. At the same time, Mbeki's pro-African, anti-poverty stance in international forums reinscribes national strategies to align 'the people' with the power bloc. (Hart, 2002:32)

Social capital

The next section discusses in more detail the concept of social capital, which will prove useful in analysing civil society activities and their contribution to expanding citizenship. Social capital is conceptualised as one form of a number of different types of capital, as included in the sustainable livelihoods framework and elsewhere. Research on social capital, examining the different facets of social networks and connections as well as associated trust and norms, has nonetheless become a field of research in its own right. The terminology has a somewhat economic basis since it is held that investment in different types of capital yields distinct returns. Nevertheless, social capital, because of its dynamic nature does not easily lend itself to measurement, although significant efforts have been made in this regard (Woolcock and Narayan, 2006). The pervasive use of the concept has been claimed to signify a recognition of the social and political aspects both of economic exchange (Szreter, 2000), and of development discourse (Bebbington *et al.*, 2006). This is in opposition to conventional views of development as predominantly technical intervention (Bebbington *et al*, 2006). In this sense the concept of social capital links to some of the fundamental concerns of the social sciences – including sources of social

cohesion such as social norms in market-based systems in Durkheim's (1893[1933]; 1957) work.

The concept of social capital has been influenced by contributions from Putnam (1993;1995), Coleman (1988;1990) and by the critical analysis of Bourdieu. Bourdieu's analyses emphasise the role of the reproduction of social and cultural capital in the existence and maintenance of power relations and the class system, particularly through, but not limited to, formal education systems (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 1977; 1986). Positive and negative types or effects of social capital on society as a whole have also been posited. While Bourdieu's analysis concentrated on the mechanisms of elite social and cultural reproduction, Coleman showed that social capital could be employed to benefit disadvantaged groups within the formal schooling system (Coleman, 1995; Field, 2003).

Other scholars have pointed to the dark side of social capital in terms of its role in exclusion of certain groups or individuals (Field, 2003; Szreter, 2000), and more generally such as in corruption, nepotism and anti-democratic influences (Putzel, 1997). An important distinction made in relation to research on social capital is the type and particular combinations of social connections predominating (Woolcock and Narayan, 2006), as well as the quality of those connections (Szreter, 2000). Coleman highlighted social capital's contribution to human capital within the school system primarily through close (e.g. kinship and neighbourhood ties. Other analysts, on the other hand, have emphasised the importance of looser bridging or linking ties between work colleagues and acquaintances in terms of social capital, not least in connection with lifelong learning and in mitigating vulnerability such as due to the loss of a job (see Field, 2003; Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000). In the development literature the link is made with poverty in that those who are in a situation of poverty often lack the necessary social connections that would allow them to get good, secure jobs and decent housing (Woolcock and Narayan, 2006). The role of inter-group social connections in dissipating or de-escalating conflict between different groups has also been highlighted (*ibid.*).

Research on social capital is also inter-connected with work on the concept of governance across the educational, rural development and natural resource fields (Ostrom *et al.*, 1993; Davis and Ostrom, 1991; Spreen and Vally, 2006; Jentoft, 2007; Béné and Neiland, 2006). It will be helpful here for the analysis of access characteristics as well as civil society activities. Without becoming embroiled in the numerous debates over definition of the concept manifested in the widespread use of the term 'good governance' (DFID, 2006; see Béné and Neiland, 2006 for a summary of definitions), the study of governance focuses on how whole systems are governed and influenced by the full range of stakeholders, promoting participation as well as transparency, information flows and accountability. Thus it widens the focus from centralised management, and similarly to social capital includes reference to a dark side, for example in the form of corrupt practices. Such work has moved the debates beyond participation alone, which can fail to sufficiently take into account structural aspects of power relations (see Cooke and Kothari, 2001) or information and knowledge inequities (Castells, 1998). Moreover, a focus on governance enables necessary emphasis to be placed not just on increasing forms of participation of local people in decision-making, but on accountability of decision-makers towards the people most affected by those decisions (Moser and Norton, 2001), an important facet of contestation over citizenship. Accountability is a factor that could potentially be addressed within different structural forms (although much of the governance literature concentrates on debates around decentralisation).

While recognising the usefulness of the concept of social capital, and by association of governance, it is important to acknowledge drawbacks and weaknesses. Bebbington *et al* (2004) show how social capital has become popular in development institutions, notably the World Bank, due to its very ambiguity in appealing both to neo-liberal and more progressive social interventionist positions. In this sense it has failed to highlight adequately the political nature of the inequality and development that it is used to analyse (Woolcock and Narayan, 2006). Nevertheless, these are not new criticisms in development theory and practice, and cannot be purely attributed to the use or failures of one concept alone (Bebbington *et al,.* 2004).

Cross-cutting issues

The following sections examine the debates on three key cross-cutting issues essential for investigation of notions and realities of citizenship in the contexts studied. The first is the interweaving of race and class, and secondly, globalisation. The third cross-cutting issue is the balance between equity and growth.

The interweaving of race and class

Racial transformation is one of the most pressing forms of expectation that local people and civil society groups have in relation to democratic citizenship since 1994. This includes expectations of improvement in historically disadvantaged (black and coloured) people's quality of life and livelihoods, including access to services, decent employment opportunities and education and training. Contributions to knowledge and theory on the subject of race and ethnicity have been substantial. The particular interplay of class and race aspects are crucial to understanding citizenship characteristics in South Africa. Race and its relation to class has been the subject of intense debate in South Africa and elsewhere, particularly since the 1970s.

In terms of theoretical approaches to race and ethnicity, three main categories can be discerned: *primordialist*, *instrumentalist* and *constructivist* approaches. *Primordialist* theories assert that there is a real and tangible basis to ethnic identification, based on deep, 'primordial' attachments to a group or culture. This category includes views of ethnicity as primarily a biological phenomenon, as well as those that see ethnicity as predominantly a social phenomenon – a product of culture or history. *Instrumentalist* approaches treat ethnicity as a political instrument exploited by leaders and others in pragmatic pursuit of their own interests. *Constructivist* approaches emphasize the fluidity, plurality and contextual nature of ethnic identity, (especially in the light of post-modern discourses), regarding it as something constructed in specific social and historical contexts, rather than treating it as a 'given', as in primordialist approaches (ibid.). Constructivist approaches provide an opportunity for the synthesis of the other two types (Sokolovskii and Tishkov, 1998).

Until relatively recently, the main discourse associated with ethnicity in South Africa was a primordialist one – as a 'racial' category:

> Colonial and Apartheid discourses of state and civil society located themselves firmly within the tradition that saw identity based on biology. (Reddy 2001:67)

Race in South Africa was based on assumed biological distinctions between the supposedly pure races of white and black or African, the 'mixing' of those races along with indigenous people and the descents of those brought to the Cape as slaves – coloured[11], as well as Asian minorities (including Indian and Chinese). These were ordered in a hierarchical structure – a form of 'Social-Darwinism' (Goldin, 1987; Erasmus, 2001). Appearance was a factor used for categorisation – using colour of skin and appearance of hair; and such devices as the 'pencil test'[12] – leading to the splitting up of families through racial categorisation. These racial categories, however, cannot hope to reflect the complexity of biological and cultural realities. More recent writers on ethnicity and race in South Africa have used a constructivist approach, outlining the dynamic and multiple nature of ethnic and racial identities – which have changed according to social and political influences, and in the interests of particular groups (see Lewis, 1987; Goldin, 1987; and Erasmus, 2001; 2005 for constructivist approaches in the context of coloured identity).

All three types of approach are important for the later analysis. They can be traced at different times during the anti-apartheid struggle and post-1994, as well as in political and civil society mobilisation, including in the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement and the United Democratic Front. Academics have pointed to a continuing current or periodic resurgence of 'African essentialism' or 'black-white reductionism', the tendency towards a narrow view of what it means to be black, despite obvious efforts towards creating an inclusive, non-racial ethos and identity (Erasmus, 2001; Nugent, 2004).

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[11] Both Erasmus (2001) and Reddy (2001, same volume) identify the category of 'coloured' as residual – a catch-all category, a device through which the categories of 'white' and 'black' become possible.
[12] Numerous accounts describe how if a pencil placed in the person's hair did not fall out, they would be classed as 'black' – if it did, they would be classed as 'coloured'.

Several scholars have pointed to the hegemonic nature of racial policies including segregationist ideologies in South Africa (see for example Dubow, 1987; Beinart, 1995; Legassick, 1995). The dominance of segregationist ideology was the result of a negotiated and contested process of coalition between particular British and Afrikaner interests – where proponents were able to appeal to racist opinions whilst holding on to middle ground between the extreme ideas of assimilation and repression of non-white people at the time (Dubow, 1987). Legassick (1995) traces the origins of segregation to British imperial policy at the turn of the 20th century. Hegemonic aspects of race can also be linked to the hierarchical nature of colonial and apartheid primordialist conceptualisations of race. This hierarchical framework led to attempts by different groups to disassociate themselves from those supposedly lower down the racial hierarchy. Some of the separation between racial groups was enforced more by convention than legislation. Erasmus draws attention to the complicity of coloured people in the use of the hierarchical racial structure as much against coloured as against black to demarcate class differences. Moreover, she points to complicity in the processes by which everyday practices continue to reproduce racist attitudes (Erasmus 2001; 2005). Lewis (1987) also emphasises the complicity and active consent of coloured people in terms of collaboration with the ruling regime. Therefore the political position of coloured people has been a source of tension as well as misconceptions, which at times hides the fact that there was significant political engagement by coloured people in the anti-apartheid struggle. Such ambiguity and complicity is not limited to coloured groups – Beinart (1995) also points to hegemonic aspects of collaboration and opposition in the case of chiefs in rural African reserves.

Harold Wolpe's (1995) work, first published in the early 1970s, has been influential in identifying the economic basis of race during apartheid. He emphasises colonial (British and Afrikaner) structures' need for a cheap labour force to satisfy the process of capitalist industrialisation around the exploitation of natural resources (particularly diamonds and gold). He therefore identified a break with older segregationist policies, which had been based around a mode of production reliant principally on

primary agricultural exports. However, Wolpe's analysis showed that capitalist industrialisation continued to be reliant on pre-capitalist production. He saw racial policies during apartheid as founded on a capitalist premise of cheap (below subsistence level) black migrant labour, subsidised by workers families' labour power in the rural areas – therefore combining or basing capitalist modes of production on pre-capitalist, subsistence production. Thus he associated race strongly with an economic, Marxist-related view, being based in the material situation of workers. Similar economics-based views see race as 'the mechanism by which th[e] stratification of class is accomplished' (Hall, 1980:309). These ideas are crucial to the analysis here in identifying the central influence of both labour practices and natural resource utilisation in the process of forming racial hierarchies. Nevertheless, several academics have pointed to shortcomings with Wolpe's and others' principally economic or classical Marxist arguments. Beinart (1995) emphasises the agency and resistance of African people and of chiefs themselves in the rural reserves – adding a socio-political dimension to the reality of labour exploitation. Other scholars have pointed to social and cultural aspects of race and their irreducibility in terms of purely economic factors (see Hall, 1980).

Bundy (1992[13] quoted in Smith, 1994:229) describes the cultural effects of poverty and inequality in the racialised context of South Africa. He highlights that statistics can only provide generalisations:

> They cannot reveal its texture: the dull ache of deprivation, the acute tension generated by violence and insecurity, the intricacies of survival and all its emotions – despair, hope, resentment, apathy, futility and fury.

Stuart Hall (1980) synthesises the somewhat polarising economic versus cultural debates around race with wider debates in the social sciences. He emphasises the need for specific historical and contextual grounding of notions of race and class. His view foregrounds the joining up of different aspects such as race and class in different combinations or sets of relations according to context:

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[13] Bundy, Colin (1992). 'Development and inequality in historical perspective', in Schrire, R. (ed.) (1992). *Wealth or Poverty: critical choices for South Africa*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, pp.245-48.

> Race is thus, also, the modality in which class is 'lived', the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and 'fought through'. This has consequences for the whole class, not specifically for its 'racially defined' segment. It has consequences in terms of the internal fractioning and division within the working class which, among other ways, are articulated in part through race. This is no mere racist conspiracy from above. For racism is also one of the dominant means of ideological representation through which the white fractions of the class come to 'live' their relations to other fractions, and through them to capital itself. (Hall, 1980:341)

The intricate interconnectedness of class and race within group divisions is visible in many aspects of South African society, structuring attitudes towards different groups, and contributing towards the maintenance of prejudices. A tendency is detectable towards conflating cause with effect when it comes to racial prejudices associated with socio-economic status or class. Coloured and black people who are located lower down the socio-economic or class hierarchy find themselves denigrated because they are living in relative poverty, have insecure sources of income and / or have low levels of formal education[14] - what amounts to a potent mixture of discourses of modernisation and prejudice. Thus a negatively reinforcing association (including in some cases a blame culture) is formed between for instance, 'poor'[15] and non-white, or black, informal housing and crime. Such negative associations are blind to the fact that apartheid legislation made it much more difficult for non-white people to get a (quality) education, to hold on to private property, and to obtain adequately paid employment – except for the lucky few (see Asmal and James, 2001; King and McGrath, 2002).

Nevertheless, class divisions have never completely coincided with racial classifications in South Africa. Boundaries were permeable for those with education and financial means (termed 'passing as white') (Goldin, 1987)[16]. As in other colonised African countries, small elites had for a long time been created – in this

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[14] Fishermen are one such group – several key informants commented during fieldwork on fishermen (particularly those formerly classified as coloured) as being regarded as at the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder.

[15] This is arguably an issue with the value-laden terminology and conceptualisation of poverty itself – the linguistic association of 'poor' with bad (see Sen, 1995).

[16] Stuart Hall, following the South African sociologist John Rex, therefore puts the South African system, in common with other colonial / post-colonial systems, somewhere between a caste system (with very fixed boundaries) and a system of social stratification (with more permeable boundaries) – and too complex to be a class system in the Marxist sense.

case of black, coloured and Indian groups – formed from those who had gained access to education (e.g. through missionary schooling) and were successful in joining professions – such as lawyers, doctors, teachers. Although there was at different times significant resistance among colonial authorities towards elite formation, they were able to inherit the fruits of the democratic transition in many African countries (see Thomson, 2004). In addition, apartheid policies were conceived at least in part to raise Afrikaners from the subordinate class status that they had experienced compared with the British especially after the Boer war.

The Gramscian conceptualisation of hegemony, along with Bourdieu's analysis, highlights the role of education (with its racial association in the South African context) in forming the dominant power bloc. These views emphasise the role of intellectual and ideological leadership in political dominance over those who are less educated and of a lower socio-economic status. They also underline the conscious process of re-creation of dominance illustrated above through education, which has created the vicious circle of low socio-economic status with lack of access to adequate education and training.

Globalisation

A discussion of the second main cross-cutting issue of globalisation is necessary here to highlight its influence on notions and realities of citizenship, especially in relation to the analysis of adult education and training provision in later chapters.

> [T]he national effects of globalisation are both complex and contested. It is also apparent that these effects are both good and bad, and often threaten the further marginalisation of already economically peripheral individuals, communities and economies (King and McGrath, 2002:33)

Globalisation is a much-contested concept that is usually taken to describe a phenomenon based around the increased global inter-connectedness seen in the latter part of the 20th and 21st centuries, especially in terms of information and communications across space. While analysts differ on its desirability, especially for people who find themselves marginalised from global transactions, as well as on its

origins, most would agree on its empirical existence (Heywood, 2002). Academic views also differ as to whether globalisation is regarded as a new phenomenon, or as demonstrating overwhelming continuity with the past – representing the most recent phase in Western capitalist development now linked with neo-liberal economic models – or a combination of the two. Substantial continuities can be demonstrated between the current system and capitalist relations in general, and with colonial policies of natural resource exploitation and trade in particular, but new types of communication have changed the face of such practices. International scholars have linked globalisation with general economic changes in the early 1970s when the 'golden age' of Keynesianism associated with the welfare state model in Europe was collapsing. This view advocates that the sharp economic downturn forced large companies to seek new ways of maintaining or deepening capital accumulation. It is posited that these changes led to the increasing internationalisation of production, trade and investment (King and McGrath, 1999:2).

Yet global-level flows of trade, people, knowledge and information, even setting aside colonial practices, are not new. Analysts point to a longer history of globalisation with the major earlier knowledge and technology flows occurring from East to West (Sen, 2002). Moreover, in Europe, the church has historically played a key role in regulating global and regional level processes – before the rise of the nation state as the most pertinent political unit (Hague and Harrop, 2001).

Analyses of globalisation, narrowly or broadly defined, cut across many fields including economics, education, labour market studies, politics, geography and political ecology. The identification of trade systems associated with natural resources and those that rely on them for a basic living (often at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum) as key losers in the process of globalisation is central to this thesis. Yet these entail concerns about the current distribution of the benefits of globalisation and the institutions that regulate the distribution, rather than about the desirability of globalisation itself. The flow of goods, information, knowledge and technology cannot be regarded as intrinsically negative, yet this distinction is not

always made clear (Sen, 2002). Therefore it is the institutions and distributive processes through which globalisation operates that are of most interest.

Castells' (1998) work has also been influential in the understanding of globalisation and its associated phenomena. His research links globalisation with the growing inequality and polarisation[17] that is a feature of current economic and political processes at a global and national level (again stressing distributive and equity concerns). Castells emphasises the role of increased and selective information flows and information and communications technologies (ICTs) in the processes of globalisation – and the importance of political, financial and informational capital in conferring benefits to particular players in the global system. He outlines the continuities in terms of capitalist development, but views the intensification of informational flows as a decisive, new phenomenon. Fundamentally, his analysis highlights the political and geographical unevenness and inequalities inherent in the system, and the ways that changes as part of globalisation have exacerbated these inequalities.

However, in the South African case and elsewhere, the inclusion / exclusion duality he uses here may be too simplistic, since the term 'social exclusion' has been used loosely in the past[18]. In fact, in South Africa, vast swathes of rural and urban dwellers have been incorporated into industrial or large-scale agricultural labour relations since colonial times. Huge numbers of people have been involved, through temporary or permanent migration or through forced relocation in such employment, often under exploitative conditions, being paid a below-subsistence wage (see Wolpe, 1995). More recent analyses based on South African evidence and more widely are also helpful here in pointing to a distinction between social exclusion and

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[17] Castells (1998:69) defines polarisation as 'a specific process of inequality that occurs when both the top and the bottom of the scale of income or wealth distribution grow faster than the middle, thus shrinking the middle, and sharpening social differences between two extreme segments of the population'.

[18] Castells (1998:71) defines 'social exclusion' as 'the process by which certain individuals and groups are systematically barred from access to positions that would enable them to an *autonomous* livelihood within the social standards framed by institutions and values in a given context'. The important distinction between this definition and looser ones is the lack of coercive forces (or discriminatory legislation) assumed by the word 'autonomous' in relation to employment.

adverse incorporation into exploitative labour relations (Kothari, 2002; Du Toit, 2004).

Globalisation has also been linked with changes in the way that employment is structured. Those that are likely to benefit most from globalisation are deemed to be those who are most able to adapt to the push for international competitiveness, manifested in relatively recent changes in the way the workforce is structured, aligned to a model termed 'post-Fordism' (King and McGrath, 2002). This is creating a tendency towards the demand for 'flexible working' (on a contract, temporary, precarious or unregulated basis rather than permanent employment), and competitiveness based on a high-skill level of adaptability. This is accompanied by an emphasis on transferable skills and knowledge (as highlighted earlier in relation to the knowledge economy model) instead of mass-production type systems based on specialised or low-level skills. Such tendencies exacerbate the gaps at a intra-national level in developing countries' ability to compete on the global stage, and internally for those who have, and had in the past, inadequate access to education and training opportunities (ibid.; Field, 2005).

In many sub-Saharan African countries, these tendencies add to the already high level of informal economy (casual or temporary) employment, often falling completely outside the control of the state[19]. Especially in sub-Saharan Africa, precarious or informal economy employment is a widespread phenomenon (in many cases outnumbering permanent, regulated employment). The extensive linkages and continuity normally found between informal economy employment and the formal business and retail sectors has led to the ascendance of the term micro- and small-enterprise (MSE) sector in a bid to transcend the formal / informal dichotomy (King and McGrath, 1999; 2002). Nevertheless, different (including more traditional) modes can and do co-exist side by side with post-Fordist employment patterns, just as industrial and subsistence forms of production can still be found in close proximity to one another in many developing countries.

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[19] However, not exclusively so – for example, informal sector street sellers in Ghana have to pay taxes.

The drive for international competitiveness creates new imperatives for education and training (King and McGrath, 2002). The tendency of processes associated with globalisation to increase the need to compete at a global level has led scholars to question the compatibility of equity and growth objectives in this context. Globalisation in the South African context restricts many traditional areas of state intervention in the field of social and economic policy; leaving education and training as one of the few acceptable fields of intervention (McGrath and Akoojee, 2007). Globalisation may in effect therefore constrain the tackling of, if not add to, socio-economic inequalities.

Resolving the balance between equity and growth

Debates on the balance or conflicts between equity and growth are important for understanding government policies and implementation in relation to access to livelihood opportunities and to adult education and training. The particular balance struck between equity and growth in this way ultimately influences perceptions and experiences of citizenship.

Several scholars have emphasised the occurrence of trade-offs between equity and growth. Others have asserted that these two objectives can be balanced such as through a focus on developing MSEs (King and McGrath, 2002). Whether this occurs in practice, however, is a highly political as well as a technical issue, not least in the South African case where the obstacles to achieving equity – including around 40% unemployment rate, the legacies of apartheid policies, and the overwhelming support for policies encouraging large businesses – are huge. Tailoring policies to encourage, or at least not provide a disabling environment to, the development of the intermediate level of MSEs and the informal economy, including associated skills training aimed at this level, could potentially be a decisive factor in equity considerations in practice. The extent to which policies provide an enabling environment for informal economy or MSE sector therefore ultimately influences how implementation (and democratic citizenship) work for those at the lower end of the socio-economic scale.

Development and aid discourse has since the 1990s realigned itself towards pro-poor development and poverty eradication. Conversely, the focus of small (and large) enterprise development has been unremittingly towards competitiveness and growth, particularly for the more established and larger enterprises (Rogerson, 1999). Castells (1998:68) highlights the 'process of capitalist restructuring, with its hardened logic of economic competitiveness'. Yet, without some economic growth and a solvent economy in changing environments of globalisation, there is very little that can be done by the state in the field of poverty eradication. Nevertheless, poverty eradication and addressing inequalities is fundamentally about priorities, both political and economic. Finding an appropriate balance between a poverty and growth focus remains a difficult challenge, particularly in view of the diverging views on how best people can be assisted to lift themselves out of poverty. This raises the question:

> [W]hether growth and poverty eradication are in fact served best by a targeting of the poorest, or whether the role of successful enterprises and employment generators is worthy of more attention. (King and McGrath, 1999:5)

Such a duality, presented as a choice, demonstrates the excessive polarisation both of debates and of the realities of provision. Just because it may be easier and more 'efficient' to assist the development of more established entrepreneurs and workers, does not mean that it is desirable (or even morally defensible) to leave those most in need out of adequate provision. The analysis from this thesis and from academics (see McGrath and Akoojee, 2007) shows that even those who may be currently towards the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum could benefit tremendously from assistance at an intermediate level (as well as a basic level including literacy and numeracy). This includes skills training such as in MSE development, and value adding of primary products. However, these measures can only be effective providing the necessary support and extension services and linkages with higher-level businesses are in place.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has discussed the key theoretical and conceptual tools relating to the thesis as a whole. It has outlined the pertinent debates around citizenship and shown how these will be informed by an empirical examination of civil society activities and access issues in this thesis. Livelihood, capability and entitlement approaches have been highlighted as the key conceptual tools used to investigate characteristics of access to livelihood opportunities and to adult education and training. Linkages between citizenship, Gramscian concepts of civil society, and notions of social capital are also presented as used in later analysis. Finally, this chapter has also highlighted important cross-cutting equity issues which affect the terrain in which civil society organisations and government policies operate. These consist of the interweaving of race and class, the phenomenon of globalisation, and the balance and conflicts between equity and growth in the South African context.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY AND CONTEXT

Introduction

This chapter provides the historical and contextual background to the research. It includes relevant historical aspects of South Africa as a whole as well as the Western Cape and the west coast area in particular. Historical background provided includes on changing government policies and legislation in relation to education, ethnicity and race, natural resource utilisation, and related labour and land issues. This chapter outlines background information crucial to understanding the civil society struggles over citizenship and access presented in this thesis. The role of specific civil society groups in contesting and expanding official notions of citizenship will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Historical and contextual aspects of South Africa and the Western Cape

The democratic context and citizenship in South Africa

Crucial changes have occurred in South Africa since 1994 with the end of the Afrikaner National Party government, the election of the African National Congress (ANC) and democratisation of the governmental system. The nature of the political transition has made South Africa one of the relative success stories of democratisation in Africa (Nugent, 2004; Dorman, 2006; see also Thomson, 2004). The changes have brought widespread freedoms from repressive and unjust racial legislation, as well as the formation of a freely elected government with a national constitution and Parliament using a multi-party system. Democratic citizenship has come to be associated in this context with political freedom (to vote); and the end of unjust racial laws governing varied aspects of people' s public and private lives including access to employment, land ownership, access to schooling and even personal relationships. Given the limited timescale involved, however, any conclusions about the democratisation process and about civil society interventions in South Africa since 1994 are bound to be provisional. Not only internal but also

external forces, including globalisation and neo-liberalism, play their role in influencing the outcomes in the new democracy for local people. Those people formerly classified as black and coloured are nevertheless facing challenges in terms of who qualifies for which benefits of democratic citizenship (see Ramphele, 2001; Nattrass and Seekings, 2001). Changes also have to be examined in the light of the challenges posed by substantial continuities with aspects of the *apartheid* (separate-ness or separate development) and colonial systems.

The consensus from the empirical evidence of over a decade of democracy suggests that although there have been sweeping changes in many areas of public life, significant challenges still exist, especially for those towards the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy (see for example Bond, 2000, Habib, 1996)[20]. South Africa has relatively high levels of poverty, but reflecting its middle-income country status, not when compared with other sub-Saharan countries. The official poverty level lies between 45-55%; with between 20-25% in extreme poverty (UNDP, 2004; McGrath and Akoojee, 2007). Poverty is highest in rural areas (Roberts, 2005), a fact that will prove important in later analyses. Unemployment is elevated – as much as *40% unemployment* (expanded definition) – and has worsened even since 1998 when it was estimated at around 24% (Schlemmer and Levitz, 1998; Daniel *et al.*, 2005). The evidence shows that since 1996 unemployment has risen most within the black population, but also significantly within the coloured and Indian population (Altman, 2005:426). Unemployment continues to be worse in rural than in urban areas (Kingdon and Knight, 2001). Although its poverty levels are much lower than other sub-Saharan countries, South Africa has one of the highest levels of inequality in the world as measured using the Gini coefficient (Gelb, 2004). HIV/AIDS has (as elsewhere in southern Africa) become a major pandemic (29.1% prevalence in pregnant women) that the ANC government has been slow to address (SADH, 2006; Quinlan and Willan, 2005; Daniel *et al.*, 2005).

In 1994, the ANC unveiled the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which aimed to inject large sums of money into housing, education, land

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[20] An overwhelming consensus in this regard emerged at a conference in September 2004 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London entitled 'Looking at South Africa ten years on'.

redistribution and other programmes in order to overcome the legacy of apartheid policies. In choosing the neo-liberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy over its older sibling the RDP, the ANC watered down further the redistributive element of its economic policy, although the differences were not so pronounced as at first glance (McGrath and Akoojee, 2007). The intention of GEAR was to promote international competitiveness, but in practice an explosion of wealth has coincided with the rise of extreme poverty, and economic growth has not been strong enough to ameliorate the problem of extensive unemployment (Daniel *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, the policy of fiscal prudence propounded as part of GEAR has led to cutbacks in spending to local government, which have resulted in escalating costs of services and associated problems in both rural and urban areas (Roberts, 2005).

A major national policy shift towards integration of skills development with national economic policies in the form of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) and the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) was unveiled in 2005. This acknowledged the importance of skills development for tackling poverty, unemployment and inequities at a national scale. It is too soon to give a comprehensive account of these policies. Nevertheless, academic responses to this policy shift have been mixed, highlighting several major obstacles, especially with regard to the informal (or second) economy (McGrath and Akoojee, 2007).

The conventional neo-liberal idea that benefits would 'trickle down' to those in poverty has largely not been borne out by empirical evidence so far in South Africa (Lodge 2003; Daniel *et al.*, 2005). The financial dimension has dominated analyses – the trade off between encouraging investment and economic growth against the pressing demands for service provision (see Heywood, 2002; Nugent, 2004). Others have pointed to problems resulting from implementation of a modernisation ethos that puts economic growth above all else, questioning the sustainability and equity of developments along these lines (Fig, 2007). Scholars are divided over just how much room for manoeuvre the ANC government has had in choosing economic and social

policies given the pressures from all sides[21]. Such influences included the economic imperatives of having to repay debt from the apartheid era in an economic climate heavily influenced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (see Daniel *et al.*, 2005), compromises that were made with the old order as part of the 'negotiated settlement' and 'sunset clauses', and raised expectations of the majority of the population (see Hart, 2002; Asmal and James, 2001; Ramphele, 2001).

Furthermore, South African academics are starting to suggest that the window of change of the democratic transition now appears to have closed[22]. Moreover, the new socio-political order looks more or less stable overall – other political parties have only succeeded in achieving a limited level of opposition to the ANC government and predominantly on a regional basis. Only the Democratic Alliance (DA) in the City of Cape Town and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu Natal have significant power bases. The strength of the DA in Cape Town does not necessarily represent a more progressive agenda for change, since it draws its support predominantly from the 'white' and relatively wealthy section of the population. Despite growing dissent in townships / informal settlements all over the country about lack of service delivery, the ANC increased its share of the national vote to win an overwhelming majority in 2004 of 69.7%, up from 66.4% in 1999. Voter turnout has however fallen from 91% in 1994 to 60% in 1999 and further to 56% in 2004, possibly indicating higher levels of voter apathy (Rule, 1999; Nugent, 2004).

Race and class in South Africa: further discussion

Racial transformation is far from easy to achieve given the legacy in terms of inherited structures, patterns of behaviour and attitudes – and the challenges associated with changing the socio-economic situation for the majority of the population with inadequate available state resources and a weak fiscal base (see Ramphele, 2001; Daniel *et al.*, 2005). The political processes at work are a complex

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[21] These debates were prominent during the SOAS conference, 'Looking at South Africa Ten Years On', September 2004, including around a presentation by Steven Friedman, Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg.
[22] Statement by Professor Ben Cousins, Director of the Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, School of Government, University of the Western Cape, at a seminar, March 2006.

mixture of continuity and change, and comparison or generalisation of different processes even across southern African countries is highly problematic. South Africa had perhaps the longest continuous and unbroken experience of subjugation under colonialism – arguably right up until democratisation in 1994. Moreover, it has been one of the few developing countries (particularly in sub-Saharan Africa) able to industrialise to an extent to rival Europe and the USA (see Dorman, 2006; Nugent, 2004).

A further important factor that differentiates South Africa from other developing countries is the inability, and at times lack of political will of national political bodies, to fully integrate rural people into the anti-apartheid struggle. Engaging with rural movements and rural issues was given low priority by national mobilising bodies, which were mainly urban in nature. Furthermore, the extent of rural mobilisation against racial and political oppression has been largely ignored (Bundy, 1987). The inability to effectively unite urban and rural working class groups in South Africa during the struggle has consequences for the effectiveness of civil society activism and coalition-building in post-apartheid South Africa (see Mamdani, 1996). The influence of these historical divides will be returned to in more detail in the later analysis chapters with reference to the specific civil society coalition formed around coastal livelihood access.

Colonialism, democracy and citizenship in South Africa

Certain historical aspects associated with colonialism and apartheid policies show continued relevance in the contemporary South African context. These include appeals to race and democracy, exploitation and distribution of natural resources, and labour practices. The ANC has achieved dominance chiefly through appealing to race. Few, if any real political alternatives have emerged on these grounds given the predominance of formerly classified black people in the national demographics (see Alexander, 2007; Hart, 2002). The success of the political mobilisation around race has been achieved partly through the lack of current viable alternatives, and by long association with progressive and socialist-oriented elements during the anti-apartheid

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struggle. The mechanism of co-opting key civil society leaders from 'the struggle' by giving them government positions has also played a role. Notable participation in the struggle ('struggle credentials') are in the post-apartheid era a much-used source of political currency or social capital deemed valuable by both the ANC government and by civil society groups. Such credentials have proved crucial to ensure popular support for activities at an individual and institutional level that otherwise would have run the risk of being vilified. The success during the 'negotiated revolution' of the white economic elite in securing neo-liberal economic measures as well as protection including in the case of the 'sunset clauses', and in the perpetuation of unequal land-ownership patterns[23] is also a crucial element in the ANC's ability to dominate (see Asmal and James, 2001; Nattrass and Seekings, 2001).

Legacies of colonial practices have had significant bearing on how former colonised states and democratic institutions within those states function. Representative governance mechanisms (and recognition of full citizenship) were never fully established for the majority in many African countries, with far-reaching consequences:

> Africans were simply left out of any representative relationship between government and people. Consequently, trust and shared political values never developed between the rulers and the ruled. State institutions never sought or gained the respect of the people… Legitimacy continued to be substituted by coercion. (Thomson, 2004:16)

Exploitation of natural resources (diamonds, gold and agricultural products) was central to colonial ruling strategies in order to generate benefits for the state and the private profit of capitalist business in the throes of industrialisation (Terreblanche, 2002; Beinart and Dubow, 1995). The contemporary exploitation of marine resources illustrates continuities with this tradition (Van Sittert, 2003; Ponte and Van Sittert, 2007). The exploitation of natural resources has historically in the South African context meant the subjugation of the majority, primarily on race lines, as an exploited

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[23] The so-called 'sunset clauses' dealt with civil service employees who were ensured protection from immediate sacking plus pensions and other benefits after the ANC came to power; resulting in resistance to change within the state bureaucracy. The land ownership issue refers to the fact that redistribution and restitution are authorised only within the framework provided by the 'willing-buyer, willing-seller' principle – that is allowing market forces to dictate the price of land to be restored or redistributed, contributing to the lack of progress seen so far.

labour force to extract primary products, without allowing them to reap the significant benefits accruing from the sale of these products. Migrant labour was one aspect of this process, and facilitated employers being able to give workers subsistence wages, since their income was regarded as being subsidised by the household in the rural areas from where workers originated (Wolpe, 1995).

Other crucial factors include the arbitrary (straight-line) boundaries of countries partitioned in the scramble for Africa by European states (of which the northern part of the boundary of South Africa with Namibia is an example). The patchy development and investment patterns, influenced by strategic imperatives, are a major characteristic (Thomson, 2004; Bond, 2000). The colonial experience for many African countries arguably meant the development of certain areas based on their strategic importance – whether for economic (mainly for trade in primary products) or administrative reasons. This led to very limited reach of the state in terms of services and infrastructure provided to the general population in many countries, particularly in rural areas, although to a lesser extent where there was significant European settlement as occurred in South Africa and Kenya (Thomson, 2004).

As many scholars such as Wolpe (1995) have argued, the exploitation of certain areas for strategic economic reasons – their possession of highly profitable natural resources destined for export as primary products – by colonial powers (rather than comprehensive rule of the whole territory) was central to the colonial project. Although democracy in the African context is often linked with de-colonisation, there are significant continuities from the colonialist to the post-apartheid period in the way that governments operate and in the way global forces (including globalisation) are influencing development and democracy in African countries. One of the conclusions drawn by political scientists is that the underlying capitalist-based democratic systems behind these international production and trade patterns do not appear to have fundamentally changed. Rather they have been modified and strengthened in the era of globalisation (Castells, 1998; Daniel *et al.*, 2005).

The promotion of democracy abroad by Western, developed countries (especially Europe and the United States), has been criticised as a form of neo-imperialism, being associated with conditions for 'good governance'[24] (see DFID, 2006; World Bank, 2006; Béné and Neiland, 2006) that were put on international loans and aid from the beginning of the 1990s, just after the era of structural adjustment. Academics stress that these conditionalities played a decisive role, making it clear to African countries that aid would only be forthcoming to countries that were willing to carry out multi-party elections (Thomson, 2000). Such influence is still apparent in donor demands for good governance in various forms, including in the marine resource context. On the other hand, Bayart (2000) among others, emphasised the role that civil society played in the promotion of democracy in the 1990s. He argued that the failure of structural adjustment programmes and the withdrawal of donor support for authoritarian regimes allowed long-standing social movements to reassert their influence in calling for democracy. Democracy therefore represents a contested concept (see Crick, 1982, 2002).

In any case, analysts assert that semi-democracy may be sufficient for ruling elites to meet the conditionalities of aid set by the World Bank, IMF and donor governments – which may welcome democracy but in fact give higher priority to economic reform – producing a tacit, but stable compromise between domestic elites and international donors (Hague and Harrop, 2001). Western donor countries including the European Union (EU) continue to promote inequitable policies on agriculture and trade in relation to developing countries (see Oxfam, 2007; 2002)[25]. However, donor visions of democracy and good governance do not travel unfiltered and unchanged into other country contexts – in fact they may be utterly modified by national policies or institutions and by local realities.

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[24] Good governance is commonly found in development literature and refers to sound democratic practices including reliable accountability processes.
[25] EU agricultural and 'free trade' policies have been much criticised by Oxfam and other international NGOs for maintaining high levels of protection for EU agricultural and other products, while simultaneously forcing developing countries to reduce tariffs and open up their markets to cheaper imports, with detrimental effects on those countries' economies and on local production.

Democracy, citizenship and human rights

Western countries have tended in contemporary politics to emphasise liberal democracy, favouring the rights and private liberties of individuals against a background of communal rights and duties. Ideas around rights will be discussed further in the following chapter. In the Western contemporary context this idea of democracy is inextricably bound up with neo-liberal economic policies. However, other versions (such as Asian examples) have rejected the individualistic tendencies of the Western model in favour of a more communitarian view and respect for authority (Hague and Harrop, 2001). Critics point to the hypocrisy and double standards in the promotion of liberal democracy – for instance in terms of what are considered to be universal human rights. Human rights have been shown to be selectively applied to particular groups, for example European settlers (see Doyle, 1983) at the expense of indigenous or existing populations. Further examples are the exclusion of certain minority groups (including terrorist suspects and some immigrants in the UK[26]), and prisoners of war (e.g. in the treatment of Iraqi prisoners during the war in Iraq). Therefore the realisation of rights in practice seems to be variable and selective, linked to official definitions of citizenship, relationships of power and socio-economic status as well as geography (Smith, 1994). All of which beg the question: whose rights? The recent war in Iraq (and numerous wars against 'terrorism') were started ostensibly in the name of democracy. This justification has been much disputed by civil society groups, such as the Stop the War coalition, both in the UK and elsewhere (*BBC*, February 2003; *Associated Press*, March 2006). Declaration of war on Iraq has been repeatedly linked to securing control over a supply of a critical natural resource, in this case, oil, rather than in response to human rights abuses by the former regime (see for example *Associated Press,* August 2005). In this light, the similarity with colonial policies and practices around natural resources in African countries is striking.

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[26] As has been reported extensively in the media, both immigrants and terrorist suspects have in the last few years become vulnerable in the UK's justice system due to laws allowing relatively long-term detention without trial or while processing immigration / asylum applications.

Colonialism, natural resources and labour practices

In contrast with most other African countries where natural resources were exploited by colonial governments, the discovery of gold at the Witwatersrand in 1886 triggered industrialisation on a massive scale in South Africa, encouraged by sustained government support and conscious policies aimed at promoting manufacturing and infrastructure development. Profitability for the gold mines was predicated on low wages for low-skilled workers, who were predominantly black, a system which became widespread nationally. The employment model including the policy of favouring white workers was based on that already operating in the diamond mines in Kimberley (Iliffe, 1995). Nevertheless, white supremacy in this sense did not become the rule until after European partition of Africa with its resulting expansion in the numbers of those brought under colonial rule. Racist ideas were then legitimated using the ideologies and hierarchies of social Darwinism and scientific racism, leading ultimately to segregationist policies (Marks and Trapido, 1987). Yet, until well into the twentieth century some black Africans occupied senior positions of authority, also retaining their ability to vote (Fyfe, 1992). This situation was consistent with 19th century British colonial policies of trusteeship. Trusteeship allowed for the eventual assimilation of non-white South Africans into the South African state according to educational and socio-economic level, at least in theory. However, after European partition expanded colonial territories and in the context of the rise of the ideology of scientific racism, the principle of eventual assimilation was effectively abandoned in favour of segregationist policies (Marks and Trapido, 1987).

Race, land and spatial legislation

In British settler Africa, and not least in the Cape Colony, the racial hierarchy was not just the basis for authority but was a charter for access to land. It was claimed that only those classified white were able and entitled to make proper use of land. This claim demonstrates colonial ideas and policies of citizenship, as well as modernisation discourses and assumptions implicit in models of progress. It justified

whites taking what they wanted and leaving Africans the rest (Fyfe, 1992). Already by the mid-19th Century, significant numbers of indigenous (and later black) peasant producers and suppliers within territories ruled under the Cape colony had formed a force demanding political integration. However, maintaining or encouraging an indigenous and black rural middle class of peasant producers and suppliers was not ultimately in the interests of white elites or of white employers, particularly Afrikaner farmers, who valued cheap, relatively unskilled black labour. The control and ownership of land was crucial to the implementation of segregationist ideology, serving varied interests both of white and non-white provenance, and presenting itself as a solution to some of the negative effects of industrialisation (Marks and Trapido, 1987).

Legislation governing access to and control over land therefore dates originally to successive colonial governments, but was continued and reinforced in early apartheid legislation. The Natives Land Act of 1913 prohibited land transfers between races and fixed the African share of South African land at first at seven and later at 14%. This legislation sought to transform rural sharecroppers into labour-tenants and ultimately into landless labourers. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 restricted African ownership and movement in urban areas. The Group Areas Act of 1950 implemented by the Afrikaner nationalist government after their election in 1948 further enforced compulsory segregation according to racial categorisation in all areas of South Africa, one of a raft of racial segregationist legislation touching on all aspects of people's socio-economic, political, cultural and personal life. Through consolidating Afrikaner solidarity the government defined racial categories including coloured ethnicity rigidly, going far beyond previous measures. The policies were not new but the decisive factor was the power to implement them, emanating from the growing wealth and administrative capacity, as well as acceptance of racist ideologies by white people in the industrialised state. As a result, millions of black and coloured people (over 3 million in the period 1960-1983 alone) were forcibly removed from their homes and land, and moved to designated areas according to their racial classification. Black people were removed to urban townships or allotted communal land in rural areas called homelands according to their place of origin or

based on constructed notions of 'tribes'. Homelands were supposedly self-governing but were in reality dependent on the Afrikaner government, with a separate, but inferior and poorly resourced education system, Bantu education (Iliffe, 1995; Asmal and James, 2001; Marks and Trapido, 1987).

Contrary to the policy for black people, coloured people were not allotted any territory or homeland, and no official cultural groupings (in lieu of tribes) were recognised. The best and most productive land, including that with better irrigation was reserved for white settlement and agricultural or other development. The Group Areas Act meant that black people could not live legally in areas outside their homelands – which excluded most urban areas and the whole of the Western Cape. Yet black people were in demand by employers and in homes in white urban areas as domestic workers, gardeners and so on. The residential restrictions were enforced through the hated Pass laws which required all those people classified black to carry a pass at all times, and proof that they had a valid reason to be in a classified white area. Permanent residential rights were provided only through 10-15 years employment in an urban area or by being born in that area (Iliffe, 1995). Other non-white groups including coloured people were exempted from the pass system and influx controls in 1930, another aspect of a divide and rule strategy (Marks and Trapido, 1987). Apart from residential accommodation for migrant workers in male-only compounds, official sites were set up for black workers in or near urban areas, at least initially with formal housing. Because of the consistent demand for black labour, however, many informal settlements or townships sprang up illegally and expanded over the years. Restrictions on access to or control over land have had far-reaching consequences for people in both urban and rural settlements in terms of livelihoods (see Lahiff 2001; Mayson *et al* 2001).

Continuing patterns begun under colonialism, apartheid policies further perpetuated inequalities in terms of investment to different sectors of the population according to racial categorisation, justified by the rhetoric of separate development (*apartheid*). This covered most areas of life including access to educational, agricultural and infrastructural development. Therefore, a hierarchy of education, housing and

services was created with those classified white afforded the best quality and black people the least, with coloured people in an ambiguous situation in between (Iliffe, 1995; Fyfe, 1992).

Land and spatial legislation, along with the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (see below) had demographic consequences in the Western Cape, marking it out from most other regions of South Africa, apart from the Northern Cape. The Western Cape has historically had a relatively high proportion of people formerly classified as coloured as opposed to black, that is, over 60% of the coloured population of South Africa since the turn of the century (Goldin 1987a). 2001 census figures for the Western Cape showed coloured people to form almost 54% of the population[27]. The continued in-migration since 1994 of large numbers of black people from the Eastern Cape and other provinces (as well as elsewhere in Southern Africa) to Cape Town, means that these figures significantly underestimate the current black population (Western, 2001). This is radically influencing the political and social context. Moreover, combined with changes in labour patterns as outlined below, these demographic changes are exacerbating conflict over economic opportunities and services.

The Coloured Labour Preference Policy: labour, class and racial stratification in the Western Cape

From 1949 the balance of non-white labour in the Western Cape was controlled using the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP), enforced through legislation. This gave preference to coloured over black people in employment in the province, especially in skilled occupations and permanent employment. There were exceptions to this rule where there was a shortage in specific occupations or locations (see Marks and Trapido, 1987; Goldin, 1987a and b). This historical preference for coloured labour for skilled employment in the Western Cape has important

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[27] Population composition of Western Cape: 53.9% Coloureds, 26.7% Africans, 18.4% whites, 1.0% Asians (Census 2001). This slows a slight decrease in the proportion of 'coloured' people (from 57.4%) and increase in 'African' (from 17.8%) people from the 1995 figures by the Central Statistical Service, quoted in Pickel (1997:5).

consequences for the current context of affirmative action policies. Coloured people remain over-represented in skilled occupations in the Western Cape but increasing numbers of black people are entering various occupational tiers (Moleke, 2006). This forms part of an attempt to create a more representative distribution of demographic groups in employment (Alexander, 2007). This point is important for later analysis sections especially in terms of perceptions around current access to livelihood opportunities couched in terms of racial divisions. These policies, while addressing much-needed discrepancies in the balance of the workforce, have exacerbated tensions and competition over employment / livelihoods between racial groupings. They have left coloured and white sections of people feeling threatened and alienated, in some cases reinforcing racial stereotypes, prejudices and negative attitudes (see Erasmus, 2005). Numerous contemporary accounts claim that coloured people are facing discrimination under the ANC government:

> In the past we were not white enough, today we are not black enough (Pickel 1997: back cover).

Even historically, however, labour preference in practice was complex. By the late nineteenth century, the indigenous working class were threatening the interests of employers and white trade unionists, leading to moves to bring in African labourers from the Eastern Cape for heavy, unskilled work. Africans were also thought to be better adapted physically, and more willing to do heavy manual work, leading to a lack of employment for coloured people in some areas. Certain white employers including Afrikaner farmers therefore exhibited ambivalence over coloured and black African labour – caught between the exigencies of their need for compliant unskilled labour and the desire to prevent a large influx of Africans into the Western Cape. However, the CLPP did succeed in privileging coloured workers for many forms of permanent employment, not least in the agricultural sector in the Western Cape (Marks and Trapido, 1987; Goldin, 1987a and b). This fact is important for the later analyses of labour and livelihood opportunities in coastal settlements.

The CLPP was created with underlying political motives in mind. Its major objective was to place coloured people in a position of relative advantage in comparison with

Africans, rather than to provide them with abundant resources. Political participation became increasingly circumscribed, with the eventual formation of the Tricameral Parliament, divided into three chambers according to racial categories, and in reality limiting non-white people's political rights and political citizenship. It was hoped therefore that the CLPP would compensate for coloured people's disenchantment due to state policies and exclusion from full political rights, as well as bolster the paternalism which mediated the relationship between Afrikaners and coloured people in the Cape. The fact that coloured people were not allotted homelands resulted in government efforts to gain political support in other ways. Nevertheless, to be classified as of mixed (i.e. coloured) race, including people of indigenous and slave origins, in general took on highly pejorative connotations in South Africa's hierarchical society. Coloured people have also become linked with Afrikaner culture because of the paternalist relationships and high degree of assimilation into Afrikaans-speaking culture, along with shared linguistic influences. Coloured people in the Western Cape have in some cases been referred to as brown Afrikaners (Marks and Trapido, 1987; Goldin, 1987a).

The CLPP also exacerbated internal divisions. Within the coloured community itself the CLPP reinforced class divides, widening the gulf between unskilled and skilled coloured people. Unskilled workers found that the policy reinforced employers' preferences for African labour, but the skilled found their employment protected. This contributed to the tearing apart of a common coloured identity (Goldin, 1987a). Within coloured communities, class divisions became marked, with largely an educated, urban, minority elite and an uneducated underclass, both urban and rural (Lewis 1987). Education and literacy were a key factor in determining class and status, and even the ability to vote, prior to non-white people's political exclusion. Inequalities were further exacerbated by the differential access to schooling under apartheid. Moreover, different groups both white and non-white came to utilise the underlying modernist discourse with reference to educational attainment in their own relative favour (Marks and Trapido, 1987).

The growing alienation of the lower strata of coloured people added urgency to demands of the coloured petty-bourgeoisie to be integrated and assimilated into white society. The small coloured elite at the beginning of the twentieth century consisted of a few professionals, mostly school-teachers and religious ministers and those in commercial occupations, who shared white culture and language. Political rights and the voting franchise of non-white people were gradually eroded – first for black and then coloured people (Goldin 1987a). Since ethnic boundaries were permeable for those members of the coloured elite who were light-skinned and had the education, status and wealth to pass as white, many did so. Therefore, pressure at this end was for assimilation into white society with all the benefits that this entailed, rather than to abolish the status quo. This resulted in particular class and racial tensions both within and between racial groupings, including negative attitudes by black people towards coloured people that can be traced through to South African society today. This was exacerbated by the fact that similarly large numbers of black people passed as coloured due to the relative advantages of this classification. In the process they had to deny their black identity including family members on the other side of the divide, in some cases splitting families apart (Goldin, 1987b). Pressures and the competition for resources, including land ownership, between black and coloured sectors of the population were continually changing over a long period of time (Lewis, 1987).

Black elites were also maintained and created, differentiated from unskilled workers through education or by recourse to traditional authority structures (chieftainship) (see Ntsebeza, 2005). Successive British and Afrikaner governments recognised, supported and modified traditional authorities, from the indirect rule system under the British colonial administration, to the efforts to promote separate development of different 'tribes' especially in the early years of apartheid rule. Early in the twentieth century, an African middle class emerged from primarily missionary school origins, assisted by the founding of the University College of Fort Hare in 1916, deemed the black university. This group were to some extent distanced from traditional authorities. The essentially assimilationist aspirations of this African elite were disappointed by Africans' loss of the voting franchise in South Africa in 1936, which

led to various efforts at radicalising, including the rise of Africanist ideas towards the end of the 1950s, and Black Consciousness in the 1970s (Biko, 1978). Nevertheless, assimilationist demands were still strong. Bantu education resulted in many educated Africans clinging all the more stubbornly to the goal of cultural integration and proving themselves by white standards and values, at least until after the wave of independence in the rest of Africa and developments in America from the 1960s had modified the intellectual climate (Gerhart, 1978).

Africanist movements, the ANC and race

Historical changes in political ideas around race, and particularly the inclusion of other non-white groups, are also relevant here in understanding official contemporary notions of citizenship. The African National Congress (ANC) was first founded as the South African Native National Congress in 1912 by a group of African chiefs and educated leaders as an inter-ethnic association. The intention was to build a multi-racial nation, emphasising the common conditions of discrimination. Africanist ideas were also manifest but the ANC from early on tended towards a focus on winning democratic rights for Africans within the existing state rather than a complete breakdown of the political system. The Black Consciousness movement became a major ideological force for African nationalism from the 1970s, and incorporated other non-white groups (Biko, 1978). African nationalist movements have therefore differed according to which groups they sought to include and exclude (Gerhart, 1978).

Although in the 1940s Africanist / African nationalist ideas were the subject of considerable debate especially within the ANC Youth League, these formed a minority strand in the ANC into the 1950s. They were overshadowed by a pragmatic and moderate non-racial stance of the predominantly educated urban elite leaders. However, with the banning of its leaders in 1959, the ANC suffered from increased factionalism and disaffection. Eventually pressures by Africanists within the ANC resulted in a breakaway to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) towards the end of 1959. The PAC attracted some significant support across all sectors of South

African society, with the partial exclusion of organised labour due to its strong ties with the ANC. However, the lack of a sufficiently strong and established organisational structure hampered the PAC's efforts, and the banning of the organisation and imprisonment of the leaders in 1960 by the ruling apartheid government was instrumental in the PAC's downfall (Gerhart, 1978; see also Nugent, 2004).

Africanist ideas have resurfaced more recently in their narrow form in the post-apartheid era, including at the highest political level. The ANC Youth League re-articulated the specificity and marginality of coloured identities in the context of a re-emerging African essentialist lobby within the ANC nationally. This has become manifest in the conflation of blackness with Africanness, accompanied by a politics of moral and political superiority (Erasmus 2001:19). In some cases since 1994, ethno-racial tensions have heightened, fuelled by competition over employment / livelihoods and resources in the context of high unemployment, and exacerbated in some cases by affirmative action measures (see Pickel, 1997; Moodley and Adam 2000).

Educational provision, employment and citizenship

Analysts have clearly described the legacy for the majority of the separate education systems along racial lines under apartheid, as well as the linguistic, ideological, economic and cultural limitations placed on non-white educational provision (see Asmal and James, 2001). King and McGrath (2002:99) cite the collapse of the cultures of teaching and learning in large numbers of historically African schools and the direct and indirect effects of the political struggle, the partial education gained, as well as school closures and recruitment into the armed struggle, the long-term effects of which present a considerable challenge to the ANC government since 1994.

In the first decade since 1994, the prevailing model used in South Africa based on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), was borrowed from a predominantly European model that sought to integrate post-basic education and training. Some

positive progress was made, but with ultimately mixed results, especially in terms of equity and access. Several accounts emphasise the problematic nature of this framework, with criticisms of its imported and inherently neo-liberal nature (Allais, 2003; 2007; Ensor, 2003; McGrath, 2004a and b; Donn, 1998). Concerns have also been widely expressed about the lack of attention to building vital institutional capacity with which it was implemented (see Allais, 2007). Thus the NQF has been criticised both in the fundamental conceptualisation of the policies and framework, and in the capacity to implement the policies adequately (McGrath, 1998). Given the inequalities in educational infrastructure, this fact combined with a market-orientation of educational provision, has increased polarisation within the education system and made addressing equity issues more difficult:

> The increasing privatisation of education as well as pressures on the state to reduce social spending makes the latter ideals [quality and equity] more and more difficult to achieve. Education in SA is fast becoming a commodity to be bought and sold at the market place and those who can't afford the price will have to make do with under-funded and under-resourced learning sites, staffed by poorly capacitated educators and administrators - if they manage to get access at all. (La Vita 2003:1).

The failings of the NQF in terms of building institutional capacity and addressing inequities continue to influence current provision as analysed in later chapters, despite the introduction of AsgiSA and JipSA. Rural-urban inequalities are one important factor. Although since 1994 significant efforts and some progress have been made to address educational inequalities in South Africa, public further education and training provision is still predominantly concentrated in urban areas (Akoojee, 2004; see also Petersen, 2007). Studies carried out in 2004 showed that only in very few provinces, including ex-homeland areas such as Mpumalanga, Limpopo and KwaZulu Natal, were there significant numbers of rural providers (McGrath, 2004a and b; Akoojee, 2004). Historical geographical differentials in investment exacerbated inequalities in education and training provision – with investment focusing on decentralised industrial centres at their height during the 1980s. These centres were located close to concentrations of predominantly black labour in resettled areas or townships (Hart, 2002). In the West Coast area of the Western Cape, and outside of the Cape Town metropolitan area or other urban areas,

notably few providers or historical centres of investment, or indeed of black labour can be found (see Akoojee, 2004; Hart, 2002).

Inequitable investment patterns, despite positive political changes, have proved hard to shake off. In the face of fiscal and socio-economic realities, including high levels of unemployment, inequality and poverty, especially in rural areas (Daniel *et al.*, 2005), political and economic policies have concentrated on the mainly urban black business sector at the expense of MSE development. The essentially neo-liberal macro-economic framework (GEAR) has primarily resulted in the support of larger and more lucrative 'small' black businesses (Rogerson, 2004; McGrath, 2004a), leading to a tendency towards elite consolidation and creation.

Labour policies and the informal economy / MSE sector

This section provides background historical information on labour policies and the informal economy / MSE sector in South Africa. This discussion is important in understanding how historical policies and practices have influenced the current situation of access to livelihood opportunities in coastal settlements, ultimately impacting on citizenship status for local people.

South Africa's economy has essentially developed into a dual system, polarised between highly developed, formal industries and informal economy activities, many of which yield low levels of income. South African policies and legislation governing labour practices have created a large gap between a sophisticated, heavily subsidised, predominantly 'white' formal industrial system and a marginalised informal system (see Akoojee and McGrath, 2005; see also Castells, 1998). Legislation and policies impacting on labour practices in the early years of apartheid made all non-white small business activity illegal by definition. Informal economy or micro- and small enterprises (MSEs) therefore, particularly those adding value, did not develop in South Africa to the level that they did in other sub-Saharan African countries across a range of occupational sectors (Devey et al, 2006; 2003; see also King, 2005 and Palmer, 2005). As a result, many informal sector enterprises/ MSEs

generally were forced into marginality and survivalism and became largely criminalised.

More recent changes in labour patterns associated with increased export-oriented trade and globalisation have caused an increased tendency towards casualisation and informalisation of labour, with a passing down of risks to producers. These forces have affected many sectors including agriculture in South Africa (ILO 2002). The tendency towards informalisation has been exacerbated by the weakness of trade unions and their inability to include the informal / MSE agricultural and fisheries sector workers in South Africa (see Du Toit and Ally 2003; Du Toit, 2004). The increasing casualisation of labour nationally reflects a wider trend towards less secure labour that can be found across Europe and the USA, as well as in developing countries (ILO 2004).

Figures for South Africa show that the informal economy is particularly important in non-urban areas (including rural and urban periphery areas). An International Labour Organisation (ILO) study found 53% of employment in non-urban areas to be informal, but only 27% in urban areas (ILO, 2002).[28] However, these figures represent an aggregated percentage for all the provinces, which show very significant differences individually. In the Western Cape, the same ILO document reported roughly 75% of the population to be employed in the formal economy, with little difference between urban and rural areas, although this is likely to be a significant overestimate. Informal economy employment / MSE activity covers a range of occupations – the most common in South Africa being agriculture, trade and domestic service.

Informal economy workers are notoriously hard to quantify. Recent statistics suggest that roughly 37% of workers were employed nationally in the informal sector in 2005, and 18% in the W. Cape, including domestic work (StatsSA 2005), and the

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[28] The ILO definition classified businesses as informal sector in part by their location, for example, whether from home, on the street or inside a formal business. It also focused on specific characteristics of work (which can occur within the formal sector) where one or more of the following conditions are absent: registration of the business, written contracts, sick and holiday pay. According to ILO research, more women than men are employed in the informal sector (ILO, 2002).

figures are increasing. This is much lower than figures for other sub-Saharan African countries, estimated at 89% for Ghana and 70% for Kenya (King, 2005; Palmer, 2005). However, the statistics on South Africa represent a significant underestimate, since they exclude agriculture and fishing, as well as an 'unspecified' employment category. Moreover, informal sector studies themselves often have an urban bias (Devey et al. (2003); StatsSA, 2005). Therefore, a significant proportion of the informal sector / MSE activities carried out in rural areas are unlikely to show up in government statistics. Devey et al. (2003) also highlight that informal sector workers, even in urban areas, can end up being classified as not economically active, due to under-reporting and to the difficulties in categorising informal labour.

South African labour statistics from 2001 illustrate the contrast between the formal and informal economies in terms of income, and the survivalist nature of many informal economy activities. 70% of informal sector workers earned less than R1000 (~£90) per month, whereas over 75% of workers in the formal sector earned over R1000 per month. Approximately 50% of informal sector workers earned below R500 per month, and lower incomes in the informal sector were reported for women than men (Devey et al. 2003; 2006).

The informal economy and the fishing industry

An examination of informal economy employment and livelihood strategies in coastal settlements necessitates a discussion of labour practices in the fishing industry. As will be seen in later analyses, labour practices involved in the utilisation of marine resources have shaped both the cultural character and contemporary employment situations of coastal settlements. This includes both formal and informal economy / MSE employment.

The fishing industry lacks overarching and up to date standards regulating employment, both in the large scale (formal) and small-scale (informal / MSE) sectors (ILO, 2006). Thus fishworkers (fishers and related workers including in fish processing) are not currently protected by labour legislation – and are therefore

particularly vulnerable to unfair and dangerous working practices. They also lack the safety nets associated with regulated employment. Trade unions in the Western Cape regulate and lobby on behalf of their members on some aspects of labour but only for those people working in large-scale industry. Previous outdated International Labour Conventions cover only about ten percent of the industry's estimated 15 million workers globally. Despite the overwhelming majority agreement, the latest ILO Convention was not approved, because less than the quorum of votes required was obtained. This represents a serious setback for labour in the fishing sector. Coverage of the fishing sector is in the process of being discussed by the ILO. If adopted, the new Convention and Recommendations could potentially cover an estimated 90% of the sector (ILO, 2006; ICSF, 2006).

Rural / urban divisions and the informal economy

The distinction between urban and rural livelihood activities when examined in general terms is largely an artificial one, since many rural communities rely on remittances, welfare, pensions, migrant labour and trading of goods taking place or originating in urban areas (Bernstein 1992; McEwan and Malan 1996). Marginalised urban communities in industrialised coastal areas of South Africa also rely to a significant extent on marine resources in settlements where there is a history of fishing (see Isaacs, 2003). In many rural areas of sub-Saharan Africa, agriculture, livestock rearing and fisheries provide insufficient cash income, therefore populations and rural communities have been forced to diversify and look for alternative sources of income through migrant labour, trading and the informal economy (see also Bryceson 2002; Chambers, 1997; Allison and Ellis, 2001). The move towards varied informal economy activities reflects a more general trend, with rural livelihoods in the wider sub-Saharan context being characterised by accelerated de-agrarianisation and diversification away from agricultural labour alone (Bryceson 2002). The casualisation and externalisation of labour means that fish- and agricultural workers are forced to shoulder the risks and responsibilities involved in an increasingly insecure labour market where there is an overall reduction in or lack of formal sector employment (see Du Toit and Ally 2003; ICSF, 2006).

The NGO and civil society context in South Africa and the Western Cape

This section returns to focus on the role of civil society in contesting dominant views and realities of citizenship. It provides historical and contextual background to civil society organisations in South Africa and in the Western Cape. A more detailed discussion of civil society activities in relation to rights discourses is provided in the following chapter.

Civil society organisations (CSOs) and NGOs in South Africa, including those under the umbrella organisations of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), were hugely active during the anti-apartheid struggle, and enjoyed considerable widespread international support, including external donor funding. CSOs consisted of, and in some cases united, broad sectors of people politically, from academics to grassroots organisations. Nonetheless, rural struggles were poorly integrated into the predominantly urban anti-apartheid movement (Bundy, 1987). Associational life in rural Western Cape drew significant roots from associational and political structures based in the church (Marks and Trapido, 1987), not least for settlements based around former mission stations. However, the municipality and ANC party structure has taken over most of the administrative and political decision-making influence since 1994, changing the dynamics and orientation of civil society organisational tactics more towards trying to influence ANC channels.

The provincial arm of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Western Cape was an important uniting force, incorporating a wide range of CSOs including churches, trade unions and student organisations. The UDF was formed in 1983 in the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings and in order to fight the introduction of the Tricameral Parliament. It had strong links with the ANC and was able to continue campaigning publicly during the 1980s while the ANC was banned (Seekings, 2000).

The coming to power of the ANC in 1994 heralded a shift in donor funding to being channelled primarily through government, leading to the downfall of many NGOs. The decline in funding sources after 1994 has increased competition and reduced collaboration between NGOs in this context, exacerbating factionalism in the civil society landscape. Significant numbers of former community leaders have been taken into government and are therefore no longer able to mobilise communities as efficiently as they did previously. Co-option of civil society leaders into government is one mechanism by which the ANC has been able to consolidate its power and perhaps weaken the oppositional tendencies of civil society organisations (Reitzes and Friedman, 2001), as has occurred elsewhere in Africa (Thomson, 2004; Dorman, 2006). Furthermore, the ANC's ambiguous position resulting from its roots in the anti-apartheid movement and its current position as the ruling party has wide-ranging consequences for the ANC's relationship with civil society organisations and for the political context in which NGOs operate. Moreover, the decline of NGO sector funding has been exacerbated by the existence of corruption in some ANC officials (see Lodge, 2003). Those NGOs that have survived have been forced to adapt to the new political environment as well as the financial and strategic exigencies of the constantly changing foci of donor funding.

The ANC government in turn has demonstrated a rather ambiguous response to NGOs. As reported in the press, the ANC has criticised NGOs for attacking the ANC and being overly influenced by foreign donors, impeding the post-apartheid democratic project (*Mercury* 17th Oct.2005). Allegations have also been made in connection with the ANC intervening with limitations on the full academic freedom of an important state-funded research organisation (*Star*, 8th Dec.2005). Nevertheless, the ANC government has shown itself to be vulnerable to well-targeted legal attacks by NGOs – notably by the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), assisted by the Legal Resources Centre (LRC). This case was brought successfully against the government in view of the failure to implement an adequate HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention programme. Other court cases filed against specific government department policy and implementation shortcomings, assisted by the LRC, including numerous land cases, have also contributed significantly to individual successes. The

combination of civil society and legal assistance therefore seems to be a particularly potent one in the current South African context.

Efforts have been made more recently in the Western Cape and in South Africa as a whole to unite a broad spectrum of civil society organisations led by COSATU and NGOs, including a meeting in Cape Town in August 2005 hailed as the launch of the 'new United Democratic Front' (UDF) (*Sunday Independent*, 7th Aug.2005). This used the uniting issue of fighting unemployment and poverty. Nevertheless, factionalism is still a problem, given that the interests of civil society organisations and their members in the context of competition for external funding and government-controlled resources are inherently conflicting. Conflict within civil society is exacerbated by the legacy of economic inequalities in post-apartheid South Africa (Lodge, 2003). No clear consensus or solution has yet emerged able to tackle sector-specific aspects while appealing sufficiently to common ground and class interests.

The context of land in coastal communities

The cultural and practical significance of land in the history and current livelihoods of people living in coastal areas has often been downplayed. Discussions around land issues often conflate land with agricultural uses (see Hart, 2002). However, the removal of people from their land fundamentally affected the livelihoods of people who were not directly engaged in agricultural activities, including those carrying out fishing or other non-agricultural employment.

Much of the land in the Western Cape area and in South Africa as a whole is still owned by 'white' farmers: only approximately 13% is owned by black and coloured people, and this may even be an over-estimate. Land restitution and redistribution has been subject to major debate post-1994, and it is only possible to summarise the main issues briefly here. The current consensus from academics and civil society organisations is that progress since 1994 has been slow and limited. Instead of the target 30% of land being redistributed or restored to its former owners, only about

3% of land has been transferred. One of the major reasons for this is the employment of the willing-seller, willing-buyer principle in this process. This principle was one of the foundations agreed as part of the 'negotiated revolution' when the ANC came to power in 1994. It places the mechanism of the market as the main process by which land claims are settled. Therefore, land has to be bought at market prices by government from the farmers who are willing to sell, and is then redistributed. Such transactions have been reported to be subject to resistance in some cases and delaying tactics in others by white landowners and farmers. Statements have appeared periodically in the press, including after the national land summit in 2006, claiming that the government would look at revising the willing-seller, willing-buyer principle with a view to moving towards expropriation of land in certain cases. However, little if any action along these lines has been taken. If this principle was considered to be in serious danger of being revised, it is likely that significant resistance by current landowners would result. Moreover, the present government appear to lack the political will to implement such a radical change in policy[29] (see Lahiff, 2001; Mayson *et al*, 2001).

Land in West Coast rural areas is dominated by commercial agriculture. This includes wheat, sheep and cattle in the southern West coast area around Paternoster, but mainly export-oriented wine and fruit in the more northerly northern part around Lutzville and Vredendal. Under apartheid, white-owned and controlled agricultural development was prioritised over non-white settlement and agriculture. This preferential policy led to resettlement of whole communities, such as that relocated to what is now Ebenhaeser and Papendorp, one of the case study sites. As will be discussed in later chapters, the availability of irrigation was a key aspect of such resettlement decisions. In turn, the fact of resettlement and the geographical location of the new settlements forced changes in the livelihoods of the population, in this case now favouring the exploitation of aquatic resources. In other cases along the west coast such as in Paternoster, spatial apartheid classifications meant that non-white people were moved away from the sea front. This indicates that the regime progressively recognised the economic development potential of this prime coastal

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[29] Pers. comm., March 2006, Prof. Ben Cousins, PLAAS, UWC.

land, both in terms of tourism and access to marine resources. These aspects will be expanded on below and in the analysis chapters.

Source: Matzikama Municipality Tourist Office.

Figure 2: Map showing Lutzville, Vredendal, Ebenhaeser and Papendorp.

The historical and environmental context of marine resource utilisation on the west coast
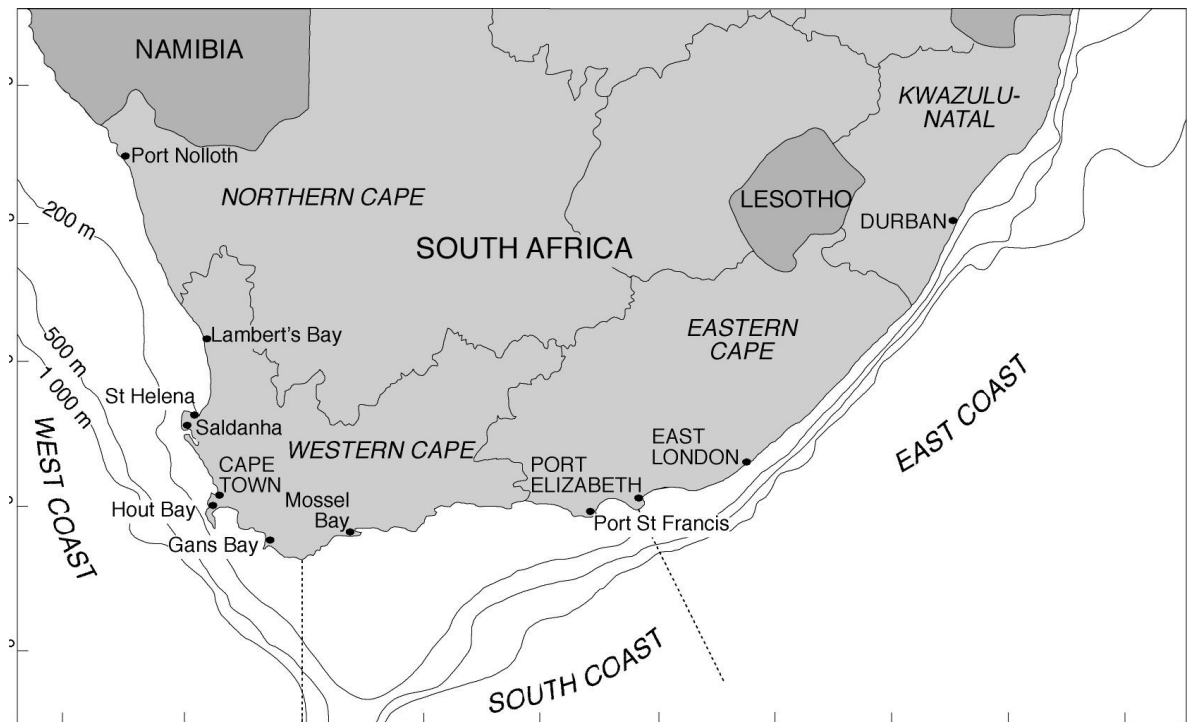
Source: Cardoso *et al.*, 2006.

Figure 3: South Africa's coast showing Hout Bay, Saldanha Bay and Lambert's Bay on the west coast.

Figure 4: Map[30] showing Cape Town and the west coast as far north as Doringbaai[31]

As has already been highlighted, marine resources have historically been of key concern in terms of livelihood access and strategies for west coast communities. This section provides the historical and environmental background necessary to understand the later analyses.

Summary of key marine resources relevant to coastal livelihoods

The Western Cape is the most lucrative South African province in terms of marine resource utilisation, with the majority of high-value species being located in this province. Due to ecological conditions associated with the upwelling of cold, nutrient-rich water as part of the Benguela current, the Western Cape and the West Coast in particular is the most productive area in terms of marine resources, although not the most diverse (see Cardoso, Fielding and Sowman, 2006; FIH, 2004). The highest value resources for small-scale fishing in South Africa are abalone (*Haliotis midae*; *perlemoen* in Afrikaans) and crayfish (west coast rock lobster (WCRL), *Jasus*

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[30] Source: http://www.wildlifesouthafrica.com/sir-lamberts-guesthouse/images/map250.jpg
[31] Alternatively referred to as Doornbaai or Doring Bay.

ialandii; *kreef* in Afrikaans). Abalone has been subject to poaching on a huge scale leading to gross depletion, and as of 2007 the harvesting of this resource is officially banned. It therefore falls outside of the main scope of this thesis. As a result of abalone depletion, WCRL dominates small-scale fishing in the areas that it occurs, although it is also subject to considerable poaching, and therefore official figures for both catch and value are significant underestimates. WCRL is a long-lived, slow-growing spiny lobster (crustacean) (Branch and Branch, 1995). It is in demand as a luxury food predominantly for export but also locally and nationally for the tourist market and in restaurants and hotels. China, Japan, Europe and the USA are the main international destinations. Before the export industry took off in the early 20th century (see Van Sittert, 2003) it was mainly eaten locally.

WCRL is overwhelmingly found on the West Coast and Cape Peninsula. Linefish (those caught with hand-lines on a small-scale basis) are dominated by four species in descending order – tuna, snoek, squid and hake. Linefish species are relatively high-value and taken collectively are more important than abalone and WCRL. Netfish (also referring to the method of catch), predominantly *harders* (southern mullet; *Liza richardsonii*) are a lower-value resource, but are also significant in aggregated economic value to the small-scale sector, including on the West Coast (FIH, 2004 – see table below). Moreover, mullet are consistently cited as important economic and food sources along the whole coast of South Africa (Clark *et al*., 2002).

In the large-scale fishing industry nationally, WCRL and the popular but highly migratory fish 'snoek' (*Thyrsites atun*) are important. However, they are overshadowed in total economic value by demersal (deep-sea) species, predominantly hake (*Merluccius paradoxus* or *M. capensis*) and pelagic species, mainly anchovy and pilchards (FIH, 2004; see table below). In the West Coast and Cape Town areas, WCRL and snoek are economically important to the large-scale industry. The overlap of particular marine resources by small-scale and large-scale operators is a key point of conflict, especially in the context of the over-exploitation

of marine resources considered to be as a result of large-scale fishing techniques (see World Bank, 2004; Charles, 2001).

Table 2: South African fishery values 1999 figures

	Price per ton (R/ton)	**Wholesale value (R)**
Abalone	19,000	123218,000
WCRL	20,000	187799,000
Harders	2,000	28997,000
Hake (offshore)	2,888 (estimated)	355750,000 (landed value)
Hake (inshore)	4,890 (estimated)	42109,000 (landed value)
Pelagic (predominantly anchovy, pilchards; for canned fish, fishmeal, bait)	386 (average)	145048,000 (landed value)
Linefish (predominantly tuna, snoek, squid, hake)	13,144 (average)	316701,000

Source: Southern Africa Fishing Industry Handbook (FIH, 2004)

History of the West Coast and Western Cape fisheries

Marine resources have been exploited in the west coast area for thousands of years. The archaeological record shows members of Khoisan groups (Khoekhoe (pastoralists) and San (Bushmen)), later known as '*Strandlopers'* (beach walkers), as having lived and fished in the Cape as early as 500 BC in Hout Bay (Isaacs, 2003; Hout Bay Museum, 1986). After the Dutch settled in the Cape, slaves and prisoners from Asia (primarily the areas which are now Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines) and Africa were put to work at Hout Bay, fishing inshore to provide

cheap dried fish to feed farm workers locally as well as sugar planters in Natal, Reunion and Mauritius (Van Sittert, 2003). With the establishment of the industrial fisheries from 1890 to 1939, there was a shift from inshore fishing providing food for farm workers to satisfying the demand for export of canned crustaceans (particularly WCRL) in Europe. Many fishermen were therefore absorbed into the WCRL industry full-time or seasonally as migrant workers (Isaacs, 2003). The first canning of WCRL occurred in Hout Bay in 1904 (Hout Bay Museum[32], 1986) and several fishing companies have operated from this harbour area since the 1930s. Hout Bay is now one of the main centres of the fishing industry. Current operators include companies with hundreds of employees operating from the Hout Bay area as fishers or fish processing workers (see Isaacs, 2003).

The fishing industry in the west coast area has had to adapt to changing ecological conditions as a result of resource over-exploitation. The large companies' crayfish fishing operations started to move from Cape Town to the West Coast from as early as the 1900s in search of new fishing grounds. This was as a result of over-fishing for the industrial export canning industry to Europe, which seems to have led to a decline in the stock of WCRL in the Cape. Operators set up processing factories and fishing operations at strategic areas all along the west coast, including Saldanha Bay, Lamberts Bay, Elands Bay, Doring Bay and as far north as Hondeklip Bay in the Northern Cape. By the end of the 1980s after large-scale exploitation, catches were beginning to decline on the west coast also (Van Sittert, 2003), except further south at Lamberts Bay and Saldanha Bay (see table below). As mentioned above, catch records for WCRL, one of the few sources of data for WCRL abundance, are unreliable and approximate at best.

As a result of declining catches from many West Coast areas, companies such as Oceana, one of the top national companies particularly in the West Coast area have since the 1980s progressively consolidated their operations south to Saldanha Bay or

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[32] The Hout Bay Museum was subsequent to the date of publication of this source redeveloped as a joint project by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and the South African Department for Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) as part of the Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods Programme.

Cape Town. Oceana and other companies such as Paternoster Visserye still operate on the west coast but at reduced capacity. The decline in formal fisheries-related employment has resulted in large-scale unemployment in a range of west coast towns.

Table 3: Western Cape WCRL catch, figures for 1999

Distribution North → South in descending order (FIH, 2004:67)

	Catch (tons)	Landed value (Rx1000)
Port Nolloth / Hondeklipbaai (Areas 1 + 2)	9	180
Lamberts Bay / Elands Bay (Areas 3 + 4)	109	2180
St. Helena / Saldanha (Areas 5 + 6)	14	280
Dassen Island (Area 7)	578	11560
Cape Peninsula (Area 8)	1050	21000
False Bay + other	31	620
Total	**1791**	**35820**

Outside of the main WCRL-rich areas elsewhere along the West Coast, other species were exploited for local and national food supply. Fishers were integrated into paternalistic working relationships structured similarly to agricultural labour relations, under white landowners (see Van Sittert, 2003). For instance, from the 1920s in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, local people who had formerly cultivated agricultural land but who had been moved to more arid land nearer the Olifants river

estuary became workers fishing predominantly for harders (southern mullet) for white farmers who owned the gear and boats. The produce of fish was primarily sold to feed agricultural workers on wine and fruit farms in the region. Workers lacked the equipment to fish for themselves and local reports suggest that they were paid partly in alcohol by their employers, characteristic of the dop system used in farms across the Western Cape. These labour practices encouraged dependency on employers and have had long-term social consequences for local people across Western Cape agricultural and coastal areas (see Du Toit and Ally, 2003; Du Toit, 2004).

Migrant labour in the fishing industry

In order to satisfy the demand for WCRL, and consistent with labour practices elsewhere in the province, thousands of black workers were brought to Hout Bay and to towns all along the West Coast from the Eastern Cape and to a lesser extent elsewhere in South Africa on a temporary basis as migrant workers. In several cases along the West Coast whole towns grew around the demand for labour in the fishing industry, called 'company towns' (including Paternoster and Doring Bay, included in the data collection process in this thesis). These migrant workers were housed in male-only compounds, the remains of which can be seen in numerous west coast towns, both in terms of buildings and residents. The fact that significant numbers of workers stayed was in spite of restrictive regulations governing black workers' movements. In Paternoster, for example, according to local reports, migrant workers were transported back after the season of work had ended, and prevented from staying, except through marriage to local women. In Hout Bay, workers moved out of the compound, preferring to take their chances building shacks and residing illegally in unoccupied land, rather than staying in the compound. They suffered harassment as a result of forming these illegal settlements (see DAG, 2003).

The environmental and marine resource context of the west coast area

Outside the direct impact of fishing practices, the state of the marine resources, and hence the livelihoods based on such resources have been reported to be affected by a range of environmental factors. Negative effects include ecological changes caused by factors such as climate change, pollution, irrigation schemes and dams. The Atlantic Ocean has experienced periods of higher temperatures over the last few years than has been previously recorded, with temperatures of up to 19 degrees recorded in Port Nolloth on the West Coast[33]. These temperatures are more typical of the Indian Ocean and immediate mixing zone in the area around Cape Town and to the East. The sea temperature change has occurred alongside a migration of WCRL further south and East with quotas allocated on parts of the South Coast for the first time in 2005 (MCM, 2006b). A possible linkage between the two factors of temperature change and WCRL migration is still imperfectly understood, especially as WCRL has a long-distance migration pattern (similar in scope to that of the Scottish salmon). During this cycle WCRL is carried by long-distance currents in the larvae stage on a circular route to the shores of South America on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean and back again (see Branch and Branch, 1995).

The recorded decline in WCRL catches has also been linked with the 'red tide', a reddish colouring visible in the sea caused by a toxic low-oxygen water phenomenon from excessive phytoplankton (microscopic algae) blooms. Evidence has connected this phenomenon with pollution from human sources including sewage, commercial fertilizer from agricultural run-off and animal waste from agricultural areas (Levington, 2001). Red tides have led to a series of so-called lobster walkout events, causing the death of thousands of WCRL along the West Coast, particularly at Elands Bay, but also further north for example near Doring Bay and south at St. Helena Bay. These walkout events were responsible for 2263 tonnes of lobster being stranded during five events in the 1990s, with the bulk of the tonnage concentrated in the last three years of the decade. Much of this was young females, therefore

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[33] Pers. comm., North Bay Fishing (Oceana) WCRL processing factory manager, Jan. 2005

affecting the reproductive process, and having serious effects on the WCRL stocks as a result (Cockcroft, 2001).

Dams are a well-known threat to fisheries (see McGregor, 2006; WWF, 2004; Petersen, 2007[34] for examples elsewhere in southern Africa). In the Olifants river estuary at Papendorp, where *harders* (southern mullet) are the primary marine resource caught a decline in catches has occurred in recent years (Sowman, 2003). Local people link the diminished catches at least in part to the use of water from the Olifants for irrigation for agricultural development further upstream. The Clanwilliam dam, soon to be raised further if current plans go ahead, has already decreased the volume of water coming down the river leading to silting up of the river mouth resulting in less fish entering the river. The lack of water volume means that the estuary is less likely to flood, affecting the ecology of the estuary area and the extent of migration of *harders* from the sea into the estuary area considerably (see FEIKE, 2007).

Overview of marine resource legislation and policies

This section gives an overview of important changes in the marine resource legislation and policies relevant to current livelihood access covered in later chapters.

The state department (DEAT) over recent years has increasingly asserted itself as the responsible authority charged with managing, protecting and conserving the marine and coastal environment at a national level. Crucially, this includes the right of all the citizens of South Africa to benefit from coastal resources. Before the promulgation of the Marine Living Resources Act in 1998, (DEAT, 1998a), marine and estuarine resources were largely a provincial concern. Since 1998, in practice, increased national control by the government for the benefit of all South African citizens has meant that the majority of people living in fishing communities that

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[34] Petersen, C. 2007. An assessment of project progress and suitable training and capacity building interventions for the WorldFish Center's Kafue Flats project, Zambia. Unpublished report. The WorldFish Center, Cairo, Egypt.

historically fished have faced the loss or reduction in their legal rights to access to coastal resources (see Isaacs, 2006; Sowman, 2006).

Transformation in the fishing industry since 1998

Superficially speaking, racial transformation seems to have been achieved to a significant extent in the fishing industry since the promulgation of the new fishing policies (Van Sittert *et al.*, 2006). In 1992 approximately 39 people, predominantly white fishing operators held the allocations for the WCRL fishery. In the medium term (2001-5), this had been broadened to over 1,000 allocations (DEAT, 2006b). However, these figures hide the fact that a few large operators still control the WCRL fishery, with only relatively small amounts going to small-scale fishers. Transformation measures have predominantly benefited those with significant access to financial resources, and emerging black businesses, not least those with political connections (Hersoug and Isaacs, 2001; Sowman, 2006; Isaacs, 2006). Moreover, at senior management level, transformation has been particularly slow. Furthermore, fish trade remains under the effective control of white capital (Ponte and Van Sittert, 2007).

The marine resource allocation system since 1998

A number of problems are associated with the new marine resource access and allocation system implemented since 1998. At government level, these include the centralisation of decision-making on allocations and the limitations of a poorly resourced department, and problems with the application process itself described in later chapters. Furthermore, the emphasis on stability and efficiency in the industry has led ultimately to the favouring of larger companies over small-scale fishers (Isaacs, 2006). This is particularly the case for resources that are caught by both large- and small-scale fishers such as WCRL, which makes it a particularly pertinent example (see WCRL Cluster B allocations; DEAT, 2006a and b; 2005b). Moreover, it applies especially to the Western Cape where many of the resources are deemed to be of high-value, and thus unavailable legally for subsistence (aimed at promoting

food security) or widespread small-scale use (see Sowman, 2006). Conflation of recreational and small-scale utilisation of WCRL also causes problems, impacting on food security, because of the differential situations and motivations of the two types of users, as well as the limited access recreational permits afford small-scale fishers. An essentially neo-liberal market-based model is being used by the South African government department responsible for allocations, Marine and Coastal Management (MCM). This has caused specific problems for small-scale fishers by privileging efficiency over socio-economic and in some cases environmental concerns (see Charles, 2001).

Scientific measures that go towards determining allocations for WCRL are based on previous catch records[35], an imperfect measure due to the high level of poaching and unrecorded catches. On this basis, an 80/20% large-scale / small-scale (offshore / inshore) split was made for WCRL allocations in 2006 (DEAT, 2006b). Allocations, termed 'fishing rights', in 2006 were made in the form of annual quotas for 10-15 years depending on the type of resource. WCRL, like many other marine resources was oversubscribed in terms of the total allowable catch (TAC) that MCM was willing to allocate, leading to thousands of unsuccessful applications. Of the 4,579 who registered and paid the fee for nearshore (small-scale) WCRL, 4070 lodged their applications. Out of these, a total of around 400 (roughly 10%) were successful. They were allocated amounts of between 750kg and 1500kg, while large companies were allocated hundreds of tons (DEAT, 2006a and b).

Concluding remarks

This chapter has given the historical and environmental background necessary for understanding the context of this research. Various legacies and continuities with both apartheid and colonial eras in terms of legislation, policies and implementation still affect people's livelihoods and ultimately experiences of citizenship in coastal towns. These include policies on natural resources, land and spatial development, ethnicity and race, as well as labour policies and practices, including relating to the

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[35] Pers. comm., unpublished data, Mike Bergh, Fisheries scientist, University of the Western Cape, March 2006.

informal economy. Civil society organisations and NGOs in South Africa have both during the anti-apartheid struggle, and more recently, combined with legal means, played a key role in pushing for greater equity and rights. The historical information given here demonstrates the importance of marine resource utilisation in coastal settlements. It also provides the background necessary for understanding some of the difficulties associated with gaining full citizenship rights and access to livelihood and educational opportunities in post-1994 South Africa. The following chapter begins with the research questions that arose out of this background work.

CHAPTER FOUR:

RIGHTS DISCOURSES AND THE CIVIL SOCIETY LANDSCAPE

This chapter examines in more detail the particular civil society activities relevant to this thesis (as introduced in chapter one). It relates these to concepts of citizenship and human and socio-economic rights, entitlements and theories of social capital, with reference to theories and concepts already covered in chapter two. This chapter highlights tensions among individual rights, the collective good (variously defined) and broad societal goals as exemplified by contestation around access to marine resources. It shows that the rights of different stakeholders are essentially competing, representing contested priorities and objectives operating in and through the access and governance system. Lastly, this chapter uses the concept of social capital to highlight the different types of divisions operating, and they ways in which NGO and civil society activities are contributing to promoting access to livelihood opportunities.

Relevant theory and concepts around rights

As highlighted in chapter two, rights are central to an understanding of citizenship. Notions of rights and how they relate to the collective good and to society as a whole have been of concern to some of the key scholars in the social sciences (see Locke, 1690 and Bentham, 1781; 1824). More recently rights theories and approaches have become of considerable interest to development scholars (see Moser and Norton, 2001; Ashley *et al.*, 2003). Simply expressed, rights can be regarded as legitimate claims that give rise to correlative obligations or duties (see Moser and Norton, 2001:10; Jones, 1994). This definition recognises that rights are linked to a corresponding responsibility or duty component. Multiple and sometimes competing definitions exist in relation to rights, which differ widely in their scope and character. For instance, individual rights can be contrasted with universal human rights (which are individual in character but applied in a universal domain), and with whole systems of rights and regulations (rights regimes) e.g. religious law or customary law

(Moser and Norton, 2001). Political and civil rights also differ in character from social or socio-economic rights.

Locke (1690) emphasised the primacy of the right to private property, linked to the right to own the fruits of one's labour, as 'natural rights'. He underlined the need for protection of private property from expropriation by other individuals and groups, as well as by the state. Locke's view, based in a Christian ethic, saw the earth's resources as intended for mankind (alone)'s productive use. Bentham (1824), in contrast, highlighted the predominantly normative and unenforceable nature of human rights and denied the existence of any kind of natural rights. In his 1781 work, Bentham exposed a doctrine of utilitarianism. This concept concerned promoting the greatest happiness or pleasure of the greatest number of people within the community (or state) at large. He proposed utility as an aggregate measure calculated of the likely happiness relative to the probable pain caused by any action. He added the proviso that no one group's preferences should be valued more than another. More recent social theorists have sought links between these two juxtaposed views. Dworkin's (1984) work emphasises that in order for utilitarianism to hold and not to disintegrate into corruption and bias towards particular groups' preferences, some recourse to rights is needed which can override the collective good where necessary. In his terms, rights operate as trumps against utilitarianism (the greatest happiness of the greatest number) as the background justification for political decisions.

These debates are relevant here in many respects – including in terms of the tension between individual rights and the collective good, the difficulties around enforcement of rights, and in reference to the utilisation of the earth's resources and the 'commons'. Locke (1690) held that every man had the right to utilise a share of the commons, where this did not diminish others' portion. In his view, this particularly applied to that which is put to productive use (e.g. land put to intensive agricultural use as opposed to common, ostensibly unproductive land). Furthermore, in Locke's version, the right to the fruits of one's labour and to private property is highly selective – since he deems the fruits of his servants' and workers' labour as

also his own. Such arguments have proved influential, notably in the sense that the earth was regarded as for mankind's use alone in a predominantly instrumental sense, and in the implication that an individual's rights correspond to their productive capacity and effort. These ideas can be traced both in modernism (see Gardner and Lewis, 1996) and in Sen's (1983) critique of rights and entitlements, and do not sit comfortably with the principles of utilitarianism and collective responsibility. They are important for our analysis of how racial and natural resource policies have been applied in the South African context.

The commons is a much-debated concept in relation to natural resources in developing countries (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992; Hardin, 1968; see also Charles, 2001 for a summary). The prevailing debates are exemplified by the 'tragedy of the commons' dilemma (Hardin, 1968). As applied to marine resources, the inference is that fishers operate as selfish, individualist actors that if left to their own devices will completely deplete and destroy the resources. This view has been associated with advocates of centralised government control of the natural resources, and opposition to more decentralised or locally-managed systems (where the common good may incorporate or favour the community scale). Nevertheless, the application of Hardin's criticisms entail an oversimplification in this case, since it involves conflating a more locally-controlled system with an open access situation (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992; Charles, 2001).

Debates in South Africa and elsewhere regarding marine resources centre around the differential claims and objectives inherent in marine resource utilisation, and how such decisions about distribution amongst citizens are made (see Charles, 2001; Jentoft, 2007). In short, they concern how the collective good is defined – at what scale (community, province, nation), and in terms of which goals (economic aims or environmental or socio-economic sustainability). Furthermore, they relate to what conditions individuals' or groups' rights can trump the background justification of the collective good. In addition, they concern who makes the key decisions, and which groups participate in and / or influence decision-making.

Access and distribution are thus a highly contested and political issue, as national economic goals can come into conflict with both local food security and socio-economic sustainability of coastal settlements, as well as with environmental sustainability aims. Although the debates are usually circumscribed within governmental decision-making and priority-setting, based on the government's role and legitimacy as guardian of the state's natural resources, the contestation fundamentally centres around the relative importance of different objectives. This setting and prioritising of aims and goals is the concern of society in general as well as of local coastal communities (see Charles, 2001).

In post-1994 South Africa, the access issue is complicated by competing claims for redress for apartheid wrongs and for recognition as citizens of the new, democratic South Africa. The complexity of these opposing claims raises, and can be simultaneously illustrated by, a number of questions. Firstly, is it better to use marine resources to benefit all historically disadvantaged (or black) people where possible, regardless perhaps of financial need or experience? Secondly, is it preferable to ensure the food security of the communities and populations who live on the coast, who have historically gained their livelihood from the sea, and who may, if included, have a greater stake in preserving it, bearing in mind that they are likely to fish in any case? Thirdly, is the enjoyment of the people who indulge in leisure interests in coastal areas, such as water-sports, tourism and scuba diving, and who make a contribution to the economy, of equal importance? Fourthly, is the most important goal the national economic aim of utilising marine resources in the most efficient way possible to generate the greatest amount of revenue and foreign currency for the state? Or lastly, is it preferable to promote jobs through supporting the large-scale sector, or to protect and encourage the small-scale sector in order to tackle food insecurity and poverty reduction? In short, how can competing claims and rights be reconciled? These are complex questions to which there is no easy answer, but where it is possible to find significant shared aims and interests with which to work towards contextualised, rather than universal, solutions.

Rights-based approaches to development and civil society activities

Rights-based approaches to development are commonly used by NGOs, international agencies and academics, in some cases combined with a livelihoods approach (Moser and Norton, 2001; Drinkwater, 2001; Ashley *et al.*, 2003). A rights-based approach is also found in relation to access to education in development contexts in general, including in South Africa (see UNESCO, 2005; Asmal and James, 2001; Spreen and Vally, 2006). Rights in development practice have been conceptualised as belonging to three different levels: the normative, analytical and operational levels (see Moser and Norton, 2001). The normative level of rights includes universal human rights, which in many cases may be far-off aims rather than enforceable claims. The analytical level of rights, in contrast, focuses on what claims are being made by certain groups by recourse to authority, and requires careful analysis of power relations. The operational level focuses on the mechanisms by which people make successful claims, and on providing guidance for 'best practice'[36] in this respect. This conceptualisation has significant commonalities with Sen's (1983) entitlements framework, which in these terms emphasises the difference between operational or analytical and normative aspects of rights. As was highlighted earlier, entitlements (Sen, 1983) are in practice dependent on what people have to offer in exchange, and therefore cannot be dissociated from socio-economic status. They have a relative character that is affected by expectations and by the socio-economic status of neighbouring groups and individuals.

Academics and development practitioners (see Moser and Norton, 2001; Brown and Timmer, 2006) point to the crucial role that civil society organisations can play in claiming access to rights and livelihoods. Nevertheless, both of these pieces of research highlight a number of conditions that need to be in place for successful claims to be made. Using Moser and Norton's (2001: x) analysis, these include access to adequate information, group solidarity, and the development of specific skills and capabilities, particularly organisational and communicative. In addition,

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[36] For a discussion of the difficulties around identifying 'best practice' see NORRAG NEWS 39 (Special Issue): "Best Practice" in Education: Hype or Hope? October 2007 [available from: www.norrag.org downloaded Nov.07].

assistance by allies such as lawyers and other mediators is needed, along with access to fair regulators capable of assessing competing claims without allowing elite capture. Similarly, for civil society organisations to assist successfully, they require a commitment and capacity to empower communities, and to listen to their claims as well as adapt to local priorities and realities. The organisations that are successful are typically those which are able to work simultaneously at multiple levels, including the legal, local, national and international, using wide-ranging networks (*ibid.*, Brown and Ashman, 1996).

Significant evidence has shown rights-based approaches to be effective in certain cases in assisting marginalised groups to claim their rights, and that changing regulations and rules at national level can have positive effects at the micro-level, and can contribute to decreasing vulnerability (Moser and Norton, 2001; Ashley *et al.*, 2003). Moreover, rights-based approaches may be the only recourse where state accountability has broken down. Nevertheless, at a conceptual level such approaches can lack clarity in the concepts, aims and methods used, which may hamper progress.

Rights, claims and discourses: Rights talk

Brown and Timmer (2006) highlight how civil society organisations and networks use ideas, information and values as currency, rather than relying on formal power or abundant financial resources. In addition to notions of rights, this chapter draws on discourse analysis following the work of Foucault (e.g. 1972 [2005]) to examine how symbolic and ideological meanings are framed in discursive statements. Discourse here refers to themes, attitudes and values, expressed through written or oral statements, symbols, images and behaviour, which at a given time and place, within a certain institutional or non-institutional context, are deemed appropriate and meaningful and make a claim to truth (from Gee 1999:37; see also Papen, 2001 in the Namibian context).

Rights-based approaches in South Africa, exemplified by the claims and appeals to rights presented in the introduction above, are rooted in international discourses of human rights, provisions in the national Constitution, and local struggles.

Talk about rights is being used and expanded in complex ways in attempts to overcome inequalities and to further the cause of workers, formal and informal, including those in the fishing industry. Local claims for rights are linked with particular historical accounts of unfair treatment or discrimination that act as justification for such claims (see also McGregor, 2006 and Ashley *et al.*, 2003 for use of similar concepts in other southern African contexts). Local fishers and fishworkers are calling for fishing rights, or the recognition of the right of people in fishing communities to have access to the sea. Associated with this are claims to redress based on racist discrimination during apartheid. Assisted by the rights discourse of civil society groups (particularly academics, trade union coalitions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs)) fishers and fishworkers are re-asserting their historical and traditional communal rights to marine resources, in response and opposition to the state's position (see also Salo, forthcoming). This follows a wider trend: globally, negotiations using the language of rights between a variety of social groups and political institutions at local, national and international levels are on the increase (Cowan, Dembour and Wilson, 2001).

Robins (1996), provides a contrasting (and successful) case of a land claim. The Leliefontein case study shows how unschooled, small-scale livestock rearers were able to mobilise social networks and resources to protect their 'traditional' rights of access to communal grazing land. The strategies used included establishing contacts with mediators in the form of Cape Town-based NGOs, activists, journalists and lawyers, and led to the successful challenge of attempts by the state and local, educated elites to privatise communal rangelands. Whereas in the past local politics tended to be dominated by educated elites, for example, school principals, local officials and business people, through access to cultural brokers, unschooled residents were legally able to challenge these elites and in the process win back their land. Far from being helpless and powerless, by deploying mediators, unschooled

livestock farmers were able to engage successfully with complex legal and bureaucratic practices.

The South African state uses competing discourses of rights to those utilised locally and by civil society groups. Historical or traditional rights to marine resources have only been officially recognised by the state at the level of subsistence resource utilisation (for food or barter; not sale)[37] (DEAT, 2006). This condemns fishers to a vicious cycle of relative poverty – with an accompanying state response of poverty alleviation measures (see chapter seven and Petersen, 2007). The state has implemented a polarised view of small-scale fishers. At the other end of the spectrum from subsistence, small-scale fishers are seen as individualistic business entrepreneurs, yet without investment in the necessary access to the support (including information, credit) and training that many small-scale fishworkers need to enable them to succeed (see Isaacs, 2006; Sowman, 2006). Many fishworkers therefore fall between these two extremes.

In this context, fishers, civil society groups and international agreements (see FAO, 1995) are using the term 'artisanal' fishers in connection with claims for rights. This term covers a continuum from subsistence to small-scale, as used in the South African context. The usage of this term recognises that fishers often move between the two extremes even within a period of one year, and do not make large-scale profits (with a tendency towards a 'satisficing' mentality – making enough to live on – see Charles, 2001). It is also used for advocacy purposes to emphasise the nature of fishers as skilled workers with experience and expertise in their chosen profession, and where these skills are passed on from generation to generation.

Many local claims for rights stem from the demand to be recognised as fishers and fishworkers in the face of increasing state control and centralisation, and accompanying marginalisation of informal or artisanal fishers since 1996. A large

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[37] The constraint preventing the sale of fish by 'subsistence' fishers is a departure from recommendations by the Subsistence Fisheries Task Group (Branch *et al.*, 2002), a body of advisors commissioned by the state. It also ignores the definition of subsistence fishers recommended by this advisory group, allowing local sale of fish by 'subsistence' fishers.

proportion of informal or artisanal fishers have historically fallen outside of the law. Cooper (1996:466) outlines processes of criminalisation of informal economy activities, created by efforts to control and by the very the existence of a dichotomy between formal and informal: 'the irregular character of those who work without being workers provides an excuse for police harassment and bribe collecting'.

In the case of marine resources, the state is using particular competing discourses of rights through a process of individualisation and marketisation of the right to fish under strict national regulations. The right to fish is now controlled by government as quotas, which are nevertheless still termed 'rights' (DEAT, 2005a). The term 'right' (as used in the sense of 'human rights' and in the South African Constitution (Government of South Africa, 1996)), has therefore been recast, and arguably misappropriated, by state discourse and legislation in this context. According to the state usage, the term refers to the allocation of a quota – for an annual amount determined by the state, normally for one species, after a complex state-controlled application and selection process and the paying of a fee (see chapter six). This is essentially a private property-based quota system, the Individual Transferable Quota (ITQ), a system that has been widely associated with adverse social impacts for small-scale fisheries (Copes, 1997; Charles, 2001). It exemplifies a typical modern, market-based response to the 'tragedy of the commons' dilemma (Hardin, 1968). In fact the data gathered for this thesis shows that significant numbers of small-scale fishers choose to fish collectively, and do not necessarily, given an appropriate governance environment, fish purely for profit at the expense of depleting the one single resource to extinction. What is being called for by local people and civil society groups is in essence a communal, predominantly locally-managed system based on a right to fish various species albeit in limited amounts. Crucially, the predominant mono-species, market-based 'rights' allocation system does not take into account current international recommendations for sustainabile governance, which recognises the positive role that more integral involvement of fishing communities in decision-making can play (Charles, 2001; Jentoft, 2006; 2007).

In the context of marine resources in the Western Cape, a particular local NGO-linked use of the term livelihood in the context of rights has emerged. Nevertheless, this theme can also be found in other struggles in southern Africa (Ashley *et al.*, 2003), and in Asia, with similar critiques (see Rao, 2003)). People in fishing communities are calling for the recognition of their right to a livelihood from marine resources, (linked with artisanal or traditional fishers). For instance, Masifundise's mission seeks to assert the 'right of fishing communities to gain access to marine resources for food security and livelihood purposes'. This use of the term livelihood is echoed by international agencies such as the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), as well as NGOs such as the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF)[38]. The FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fishing, for instance, states:

> Recognizing the important contributions of artisanal and small-scale fisheries to employment, income and food security, States should appropriately protect the ***rights*** of fishers and fishworkers, particularly those engaged in subsistence, small-scale and artisanal fisheries, to ***a secure and just livelihood***, as well as preferential access, where appropriate, to traditional fishing grounds and resources in the waters under their national jurisdiction. (FAO, 1995:7, Article 6, paragraph 18; emphasis added)

Similarly, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Fisheries (SADC, 2002: Article 3) has as part of its main objectives: to safeguard the livelihood of fishing communities, as well as to promote and enhance food security and human health, and to alleviate poverty with the ultimate objective of its eradication.

The claim for a right to a livelihood is a socio-economic right (see Government of South Africa, 1996). A related but more general instance is provided by the labour unions' demands around the right to decent employment – including government policies that facilitate this, exemplified by a national mass protest and strike to which

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[38] ICSF, based in India, has programmes in both African and Latin American countries. A recent conference in 2005 organised jointly by ICSF and Centro en Defensa de la Pesca Nacional had the title 'Sustainable Fisheries and Livelihoods: The Imperative of Recognising Artisanal Fishworkers' Fishing Access Rights'.

approximately 30,000 people attended in Cape Town on the 27th June 2005 (*Cape Times*, June 2005a and b). Such demands for rights raise questions around the success of socio-economic aspects of racial transformation policies, especially for those categorised as historically disadvantaged, who do not have access to financial resources in the post-1994 era. They also raise complex questions about what kind of structure-agency balance between government control and individual or communal agency is desirable or practical in a market-based system. Claims such as the right to a livelihood in this context arise from expectations around socio-economic redress and entitlements associated with the post-apartheid racial 'transformation' agenda. Nevertheless, both the concept and reality of the right of fishing communities to a livelihood from marine resources are highly contested by the state and by other competing interests, particularly the industrial sector. The instrumental use of claims to fishing rights and to a livelihood from marine resources can be read as a defence tactic against the state's polarised view of, and attempts to marginalise, informal sector fishworkers (see also Salo, forthcoming). Nevertheless, in unpacking what is involved with claims for a right to a livelihood, we are faced with a multiplicity of meanings of the term, which draw on international development models such as the sustainable livelihoods framework, on international human rights discourses, on anti-apartheid struggle discourses, and on local realities.

NGO activities: teaching about rights

An examination of specific NGO discourses shows a broad emphasis on socio-economic rights. For example, Masifundise's mission and vision appeals to various rights but particularly human and socio-economic rights. One of the primary activities carried out by NGOs such as Masifundise as part of their educational, advocacy, lobbying and capacity building work is to develop understanding about, and to teach local leaders and representatives to use, in an instrumental way, discourses of rights such as the right to a livelihood and food security. Thus in one workshop in February 2006 in Langebaan, participants were instructed to justify their case to government in terms of the right to food security. Nevertheless, the concepts of livelihoods and rights are not new to local communities. Local discourse does

already include the use of these concepts in Afrikaans – '*lewensbestaan*' (a living; existence) and '*regte*' (rights) or more specifically '*visregte*' (fishing rights).

In these local-NGO-linked discourses it is common to link the right to a livelihood to the right to food security (also termed food sovereignty, emphasising local ownership of means of production and distribution – see Windfuhr and Jonsén, 2005). The right to food security is fully recognised by academics (see Sowman, 2006), and in local, national and international debates, including in the South African Constitution: 'Everyone has the right to have access to sufficient food and water' (Govt of SA, 1996: Ch.2, 27.1)b) (see also *Cape Times*, 15th Jan. 2006). Significant work has been done at an international level on guidelines for food security (see Ziegler, 2005): and voluntary guidelines were produced after extensive consultation with civil society groups (FAO, 2005). Nevertheless, the call for the right to a livelihood involves, but is not completely fulfilled by, various rights as contained in the South African Constitution. These include the right to equality, human dignity, health care, food, water and social security, a healthy environment, the right to fair labour practices, to an education, and the freedom of trade, occupation and profession.

Rights, citizenship and the law

Both Enslin (2003) and Ramphele (2001) emphasise the huge gap between the rhetoric of equal citizenship as enshrined in the Constitution, and the claims and daily realities of the majority of South Africans. Nevertheless, both acknowledge that understandings of citizenship are multiple and competing. Enslin points to a popular preoccupation with entitlement to socio-economic rights, embodied in socio-economic goods, as endangering active engagement and participation for the common good and thus challenging notions of collective citizenship. South Africa exhibits a highly consumerist culture where images of conspicuous consumption dominate in the media as well as in the rise of huge shopping centres in urban areas. Nonetheless, socio-economic rights are enshrined in the Constitution, and inherent in recent government policy rhetoric of equity and poverty reduction (Government of South Africa, 2007; McGrath and Akoojee, 2007), which has inevitably raised

expectations. Furthermore, people's claims to citizenship in the new democracy as well as for socio-economic rights are intricately interlinked with the need for basic goods and services that are still not adequately accessible to large numbers of people. Such inequities and divisions are bound up with racial differences, but cannot simply be attributed to them, despite President Mbeki's repeated statements emphasising racial inequalities publicised in the press. Nattrass and Seekings (2001:47) point to two major economic inequality gaps in contemporary South Africa. The first is between an increasingly multiracial upper class and everyone else. The second is between a middle class of industrialised workers, and the black unemployed and rural poor. To the latter category we can add most of those working (both black and coloured) in informal economy or MSE employment (see Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2006).

Rights are dependent on legislation and the process of the law at all levels for their enforcement. Academics (see Moser and Norton, 2001; Ashley *et al.*, 2003) emphasise that not enough attention has been given to the mechanisms of operationalisation and the enforcement level of rights as compared to other aspects. Since rights differ by degree and in kind, a related problem is the selectivity of enforcement of certain types of rights. DEAT appears to utilise and adhere conscientiously to some aspects of international declarations and law, especially those protecting the environment such as in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (UN, 1982)[39], which are legally binding, while appearing to give much less weight to others, particularly the social clauses (including for artisanal and small-scale fishers), which are less legally binding. The latter includes those contained in the SADC Protocol on Fisheries (SADC, 2002) and the FAO's voluntary Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries (FAO, 1995).

By contrast, social clauses in the Marine Living Resources Act 1998 (MLRA) (DEAT, 1998b), the basis for the current allocation system, include clauses to ensure equity and special consideration for historically disadvantaged and subsistence fishers. There is no mention of artisanal or even small-scale fishers, who by

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[39] UNCLOS came into effect in 1994 on ratification by 60 states (the minimum required).

implication are grouped with all – including large-scale – commercial fishers. Socio-economic and poverty elimination concerns and directives, as admitted by one official from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), come directly from central government, but are not well represented in the MLRA (DEAT, 1998b)[40]. Simplistic accounts of 'the state' are therefore inadequate in this context – reports showed extensive active dialogue and contestation both within the department and between different levels of government about the balancing of environmental and social concerns, with environmental directives nevertheless dominating.

Many of the rights in the Constitution that relate to a right to a livelihood (and socio-economic rights in general) from marine resources may be too ambiguous and open to interpretation to be of practical use to certain groups – at least without more comprehensive legislation to refine and back them up. For instance, rights linked to the environment – such as the right to, through reasonable measures, 'secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development' (Govt of SA, 1996), in practice yield contested interpretations. The state-industrial sector claims it is protecting the employment of workers in fishing communities by retaining the status quo in terms of maintaining allocations for big companies, promoting 'stability' and efficiency in the system. Competing claims over a zero-sum allocation system have meant that many fishworkers in the small-scale sector disagree.

Similarly the clause on labour protection rights lacks sufficient definition: 'Everyone has the right to fair labour practices' (Govt of SA, 1996: Clause 23.(1)). Although there is relevant and progressive labour legislation to back this up, enforcement mechanisms are inadequate, especially since some industries, including fishing, are exempt. This is exacerbated by the fact that the fishing sector is not yet covered by international legislation drawn up by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (ILO, 2006; ICSF, 2006).

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[40] Personal communication, Deputy Director of Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods and Socio-Economic Development, Marine and Coastal Management (MCM), 30th January 2006).

On other rights in the Constitution such as the right to food, there is also a huge gap between what is in the constitutional legislation and policies, and the implementation and enforcement of the law. International guidelines and calls for the recognition of the right to food security have not proved able to counter the influence of the powerful forces of global and national export trade and quota policies, which in diverse situations impact directly on the food security and increase the vulnerability of local people (see Sowman, 2006). Furthermore, South Africa has not signed up to the existing voluntary international guidelines, despite the right to food being in the Constitution. Nevertheless, human and socio-economic rights experts assert that the right to food, along with other socio-economic rights are in fact justiciable (Ziegler, 2005; Ashley et al., 2003), but in the South African context few people are coming forward to the relevant channels in order to claim that right (McClain, 2002). The South African Human Rights Commission has a state-conferred mandate of monitoring and working towards the progressive realisation of such rights. Yet the legal, constitutional and human rights experts recognise the limitations of the ability of the state to realise these rights, including that which binds them to working within the currently available resources only:

> I am conscious that it is an extremely difficult task for the State to meet these obligations in the conditions that prevail in our country. This is recognised by the Constitution which expressly provides that the State is not obliged to go beyond available resources or to realise these rights immediately. I stress however, that despite all these qualifications, these are rights, and the Constitution obliges the State to give effect to them. This is an obligation that Courts can, and in appropriate circumstances… must[,] enforce. (Statement by Judge Yacoob, Constitutional Court, 2000; quoted in SAHRC, 2004: x).

Similar Constitutional Court statements emphasise the state's obligation to take reasonable measures towards realising rights:

> The state is obliged to take reasonable measures progressively to eliminate or reduce the large areas of severe deprivation that afflicts our society (Statement, Constitutional Court, 2002; quoted in SAHRC, 2004: x).

The lack of capacity of government both to implement policies and to enforce regulations forms one obstacle influencing the gap between rights and their realisation. The limited capacity of DEAT combined with historical inequalities are

such that the department has not been able to effectively enforce the national legislation and policies that it has promulgated around marine and coastal resources. Multiple sources of evidence in this context confirm that many people in fishing communities, faced with a lack of legal rights of access to the sea, are poaching to put food on the table and to make a livelihood. Furthermore, implementing measures to address socio-economic concerns and rights such as the right to a decent livelihood and food security are in practice highly political, and would involve the political will and substantial co-ordinated work of various diverse government departments across national, provincial and local levels with the private sector (see also Richards, 2006). This level of political will has been visibly lacking. Expectations over entitlements in the post-apartheid era are also high in other aspects of livelihoods (as conceptualised in the SL framework) such as access to basic services, with insufficient provision and even decline in conditions (Bond, 2000). Rhetoric of redistribution and transformation have created huge expectations around access to land and formal housing in urban coastal informal settlements such as Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay in Cape Town. The very slow pace of public provision coupled with a reliance on private intervention have done little to dispel expectations, since they have provided for few households, relatively speaking (450 out of 2,600-3000 households[41] in the settlement). The shortage has caused significant conflict over selection processes and entitlement criteria.

State contestation, participation and environmental sustainability

The entitlements and rights claimed by local people are affected by shifts in the balance of structure-agency in the marine resource sector, with the state department (DEAT) over recent years increasingly asserting itself as the responsible authority charged with managing, protecting and conserving the marine and coastal environment at a national level. Crucially, this includes the right of all the citizens of South Africa to benefit from coastal resources in general (including through leisure activities). Before the promulgation of the Marine Living Resources Act in 1998,

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[41] This is a rough estimate – the minimum was provided by Kenny Tokwe, a community leader (13.12.05). The maximum represents a conservative rounding down through dividing the estimated 20,000 people into households of 6 people (DAG, 2003).

(DEAT, 1998a), marine and estuarine resources were largely a provincial concern. Since 1998, in practice, increased national control for the benefit of all South African citizens has meant that the majority of people living in fishing communities have faced the loss or reduction in their rights to access to coastal resources (see Isaacs, 2003; 2006; Sowman, 2006). The structure of state management of marine resources is such that the resources to carry out management tasks come from the Marine Living Resources Fund, which is funded entirely from the various fees and levies placed on users. This reflects the poor tax base and limited fiscal realities of the South African government. However, the fact that the South African taxpayer is not contributing to the management of coastal and marine resources, and that funds do not come from national or provincial government, raises questions that are not being openly debated, around who should be benefiting from coastal resources, and who can claim just entitlements and rights to those resources.

DEAT is required by the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) 1998 (DEAT, 1998a) to 'ensure adequate and appropriate opportunity for public participation in decisions that may affect the environment'. In 2005-6 DEAT therefore carried out a so-called public participation process as part of its marine resource policy formulation process (DEAT, 1998b). As will be discussed further in chapter eight, participation here took a narrow form that equates with limited consultation, with little space for influence on the process by small-scale fishers or trade unions. This critique has been noted in general criticisms of participation mechanisms (see Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Béné and Neiland, 2006).

The competition over goals and priorities is evident. The state department's assertions over the need for greater control at national level of marine and coastal resources are primarily based around environmental rather than social concerns. The dominance of environmental and scientific concerns is influenced by the department's origin as a scientific research institute, only relatively recently tasked with management and implementation. Nevertheless, there is increasing international research recognising that environmental sustainability cannot be achieved without

the integral participation and involvement of fishworkers and attention to the socio-economic context of coastal settlements (see Charles, 2001; Jentoft, 2007).

NGOs and accountability

One of the key arguments that governments and trade unions have made against including NGOs and those involved with them is a lack of an accountable leadership with an elected (democratic) structure (see Spooner, 2004; Gauri and Galef, 2005) for these criticisms). The questioning of legitimacy as a result of representation issues has been tangible in government rhetoric and attitudes in the South African case of marine resource governance. Gauri and Galef (2005) specifically highlight the tendency for NGOs to be located away from those settlements experiencing poverty, and their heavy reliance on local leaders as their points of contact, both of which are key aspects of NGO work in this context, including Masifundise, that remain open to criticism. These two aspects are crucial elements to Moser and Norton's (2001) key conditions for success, in that civil society organisations need to be able to listen to and respond adequately to local priorities and realities, and to avoid or minimise elite capture.

Research on governance across the educational, rural development and natural resource fields (Ostrom *et al.*, 1993; Davis and Ostrom, 1991; Spreen and Vally, 2006; Jentoft, 2007; Béné and Neiland, 2006) is useful in this context. It points to the importance of accountability of decision-makers towards the people most affected by those decisions (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980). Brown and Ashman's (1996) research emphasises the point that NGO and civil society coalitions do not necessarily have to have highly participatory, grassroots structures to be effective in their aims or in building social capital, if instead they have strong international civil society linkages and networks of support. Their work, based on a comparative study of 13 cases of inter-sectoral cooperation across Africa and Asia, judged civil society organisations to be successful if they concentrated on either one of these two main types of activity and support. Similarly, Moser and Norton (2001) stress the importance of international and national networks in achieving goals of realising rights. As

highlighted in this thesis, Western Cape NGOs such as Masifundise have strong international networks which have lent them significant credibility and weight, in conjunction with local representation and direct action.

Brown and Timmer (2006) outline the specific ways that transnational civil society organisations and networks can contribute to learning and to progressive social change. This particularly applies to the areas of problem definition and direction setting, facilitating the process of getting the view of marginalised stakeholders heard, building bridges between different stakeholders, and monitoring and assessing solutions. Nevertheless, civil society groups need to be able to listen to and respond to local priorities, which requires extensive grassroots level participation and consultation (Moser and Norton, 2001). Ultimately, however, the consensus favours the view that civil society cannot (and should not attempt to) substitute for government in implementation (Brown and Timmer, 2006; Moser and Norton, 2001; Moore and Putzel, 1999). Nevertheless, government can assist in facilitating the activities of other stakeholders including civil society organisations and creating an enabling institutional and legislative environment.

Concluding remarks

This chapter examined in more detail the relevant civil society activities introduced in chapter one. It then related these to concepts of citizenship, human and socio-economic rights, entitlements and theories of social capital, using the theories and concepts already covered in chapter two. This chapter highlighted tensions among individual rights, the collective good (variously defined) and broad societal goals as exemplified by contestation around access to marine resources. This chapter showed that the rights of different stakeholders are essentially competing, representing contested priorities and objectives operating in and through the governance system. Lastly, this chapter used the concept of social capital to highlight the different types of divisions operating in the South African context, and the ways in which NGO and civil society activities are contesting citizenship realities through pushing for greater access to livelihood opportunities.

CHAPTER FIVE:

RESEARCHING CITIZENSHIP: RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHODS AND
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes firstly the research questions, then the main methodological approaches and the methods used. It details the principles and methodological issues associated with the case study and participatory action research approaches. A discussion of the most important issues arising in the utilisation of participant observation and interviews is included. Relevant approaches to analysing the data arising from these methods are also discussed.

Research questions

The following are the research questions emerging out of the literature review and theoretical and conceptual work detailed in previous chapters.

Main research question

What do the characteristics of access to livelihood opportunities and to adult educational access in coastal settlements tell us about citizenship in South Africa since 1994, and what role are civil society educational activities playing in contesting dominant notions and realities of citizenship?

Subsidiary research questions

What are the characteristics, barriers and mediating influences involved in livelihood and adult educational access to livelihood opportunities in coastal settlements?

To what extent are civil society activities leading to contestation and expansion of citizenship for historically disadvantaged groups in coastal settlements?

If access to adult education and training and livelihood opportunities, as well as dynamic civil society educational activity can be seen as crucial aspects of expanding citizenship, what does analysis of the settlements studied tell us about citizenship in relation to historically disadvantaged groups in South Africa's post-apartheid democracy?

Overview of research methodologies and methods used

The above questions were used to structure the data collection and analysis in conjunction with the theoretical approaches detailed earlier and the methodological approaches and methods discussed below.

Methodological approaches

Two main methodological approaches were used for this thesis. Firstly, three case studies were carried out using mainly qualitative data collection and analysis, supplemented by quantitative data analysis from a range of sources including demographic data. The case study sites were selected to provide a range of cases for the purposes of comparison and to be 'telling' cases (Yin, 2003) within the Western Cape context (see below). Secondly, a participatory action research approach was utilised, including working in close collaboration with a non-governmental organisation (NGO) carrying out educational and campaigning work. This NGO was operating in two out of the three case study sites.

Inter-disciplinarity

Issues around access to livelihoods do not fall neatly into one discipline. As a result, this research draws theories and concepts from different academic disciplines including area and development studies, education, anthropology, sociology, politics,

political ecology, and marine resource management. A particular theoretical model is therefore needed in which to place both the comparative dialogue and multi-disciplinary study. Boyer (2003) provides a suitable model in describing the rise in influence of what he terms the 'relevant connections' model – which combines context-specific work with relevant examples and theories from other contexts, including other academic disciplines. Because of the multi-disciplinary and global nature of the issues faced by people in the fieldwork sites, neither of the more traditional 'erudition' (based on locally grounded theory) nor 'science' models (where common assumptions and the limits of disciplinary knowledge are clearly demarcated and agreed) are wholly appropriate. However, any model is a simplification; and Boyer argues that all three modes of research enquiry are usually present to a greater or lesser extent in any piece of research, as they are here.

Comparison

In terms of comparative anthropological method, the core comparisons of the thesis, based on three local cases, follow what Sarana (1975:74 and 1998) terms 'complete-universe comparison by delimitation' – where a regional universe is covered, comparing as the unit of comparison particular reconstructed-types (which can be multi-cultural, forming a reconstructed ideal type rather than an exact empirical reality). The cases were chosen systematically to cover the 'delimited universe' of 'previously disadvantaged' people in coastal towns in the West Coast area of the Western Cape. This involved different types of cultural complex - coloured and black (reconstructed-type), and different sizes and types of coastal towns and levels of isolation – including an urban informal settlement, semi-rural and relatively isolated rural setting. These case studies and the basis for comparison will be described in more detail later in this chapter.

The bulk of the data was collected using interviews, focus groups and participant observation (see discussion below). In addition, primary questionnaire data was used to increase comparability of results and as a tool to ensure that more systematic data was used (see Appendix 1). In terms of comparative anthropological method, cross-

country comparisons used in this research amount to selective illustrative comparison (Sarana, 1998 and 1975). This type of comparison has been used only sparingly to demonstrate the global nature of some of the forces involved including neo-liberalism, market-based models and globalisation. This is not to say that direct comparison is advisable, or even possible – scholars have problematised facile comparisons even in geographically adjacent African countries with significant similarities (see Dorman, 2006; 2001). However, drawing on awareness of living and working in more than one European and sub-Saharan country creates a dialogue, which can potentially provide useful insights if examined critically, and grounded in knowledge of local situations.

For example, marine resource depletion and the decline of fishing communities (as well as the increasing influence of or dependence on tourism and rising real estate value in coastal areas) are as visible in parts of Scotland and elsewhere as they are in the Western Cape, even though the particular combination and influence of individual forces is very context-specific. The policies and underlying models used have common features and influences across countries in both natural resource management and education. Moreover, sustainability is clearly a global concern, as is equity in terms of global distribution chains.

Constructivism and the interactionist approach

The analysis in this thesis is based on a constructivist standpoint grounded in a qualitative / interpretive and interactionist approach to social science research (see Silverman, 1993). It takes an approach to social science research with the understanding that research encounters in their myriad forms such as interviews, focus groups and participant observation do not merely divulge facts about the social phenomena and individual or group which is being investigated (a more positivist standpoint). While fact-finding is usually an important component of such research encounters, it is also illuminating, as well as necessary, to situate these interactions and the resulting data gathered in the specific social context of social, institutional and power relationships. Therefore, the interactionist approach used emphasises

agency and interaction in the research process, taking into account that people who are involved in research, conventionally termed research subjects, actively construct the form and content of the information they give to the researcher. This may vary according to a range of factors. These include the relationship, level of engagement or rapport established with the researcher, perceptions and realities about how the researcher is situated in the social and institutional landscape in relation to the research subject, and the socio-economic position of the person or group contributing to the research. Taking an interactionist approach has the result that such factors form part of the data collection and analysis in addition to factual-orientated collection and analysis (Silverman, 1993).

Furthermore, in the interactionist and constructivist paradigm, it is recognised that because research is constructed rather than simply revealed, in many cases it is an iterative process. Recognising the iterative nature of this type of research allows for the slight modification of the emphasis of data collection, as well as in some cases the research questions and design, in view of new insights gained along the way (see Blaikie, 2000). In sharp contrast to quantitative and positivist paradigms, which emphasise the need for hypotheses to be determined before the research is carried out, qualitative research may generate hypotheses, concepts or theories (see for example Goffman, 1959). Nevertheless, as is sometimes confused in discussions of social science methods, a qualitative or interactionist methodological approach does not preclude the judicious use of quantitative methods of data collection or analysis.

Objectivity, subjectivity and generalisation

Much of the research associated with the positivist social science methodological paradigm emphasises the need to preserve objectivity in the research process. This includes maintaining a distance from research 'subjects' and avoiding possible bias and subjectivity. A significant body of research now critiques this traditional view in terms of whether it is possible to avoid subjectivity or bias in the social sciences, given the complexities and relational nature of studying human beings. Both the researcher and researched are situated within social hierarchies and specific sets of

interests, and therefore it is argued that remaining 'objective' or 'neutral' ultimately means taking the side of the status quo (see Becker, 1966). Some qualitative social scientists therefore question whether it is indeed ethically speaking desirable or justifiable to avoid subjectivity (Scheper Hughes, 1995; Becker, 1966). A significant proportion of social science research is oriented towards understanding relatively powerless or marginalised groups in society. Social science that preserves 'objectivity', even when it ostensibly takes the side of the 'powerless', often demonstrates a tendency to extract information without giving back in any tangible way to those people involved, and can thus maintain or reinforce the status quo.

Objectivity or neutrality are not just goals in positivist paradigms. Typically, participant observation as taught in conventional anthropology and ethnography does not fully encourage political engagement, which is seen to occur at the expense of objectivity (Scheper Hughes, 1995). Thus scholars warn against 'over-rapport' by the researcher with those being researched (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). Such claims are strengthened when it is considered that any group will have specific underlying interests, and typically information tends not to be distributed equally, so that those at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy are likely to have incomplete information (Becker, 1966). However, in the light of postmodern, relativist thought where social worlds are constructed, it can be difficult to maintain that there is only one truth or reality given the complexities of the human condition (see Hammersley, 1998).

Moreover, methodological debates around the level of objectivity or engagement in research cut to the very core of the nature and aims of the social sciences. They are bound up with the question of whether the ultimate aim of the social sciences is to work towards a set of generalisable rules based on facts, or whether this is both unfeasible and undesirable. Increasingly, some social scientists are questioning the appropriateness of generalisation as one of the principle aims of the social sciences, emphasising instead the importance of and need for accompanying contextual knowledge. According to this view methodological issues and theory in the social

sciences are fundamentally intertwined and inseparable (Giddens, 1984; Flyvbjerg, 2004).

Much academic literature in the social sciences outside of geography seems to ignore the huge variations that occur across space, preferring to emphasise changes over time (Harvey, 1990) and to generalise over regional, national or international scales (Giddens, 1984). Such a bias towards generalisation has a methodological dimension: it is often supported by the use of quantitative methodologies at a large (e.g. national) unit of analysis, which can hide or appear to minimise geographical differences and inequities such as in service provision. Policy-makers in international education and in development often tend to favour quantitative methodologies. The implication is that qualitative research is unable to deliver the kind of findings required for evidence-based policy (Crossan and Osborne, 2004; Hammersley, 2002). Evidence-based policy therefore becomes by definition that based on large-scale quantitative research, which tends to ignore the overt and subtle exclusionary factors at work (Lo Bianco, 2004). This skewing of research agendas, with methodological consequences, is not politically neutral – and arguably reflects an elitist and centralist focus through mechanisms of elite social and cultural reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Such a focus is not incompatible with the imperialist project (Harvey, 1990) and with colonial extractive economic agendas in colonised countries that led to wide geographical differences in service provision (Terreblanche, 2002; Beinart and Dubow, 1995). Even in relatively developed countries, the evidence indicates that spatial differences are crucial – students from isolated areas, low socio-economic backgrounds and rural areas in general all continue to be under-represented in higher education institutions (Osborne and Gallacher, 2004[42]). Rural / urban inequalities are important for the later analysis (see chapter seven).

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[42] Based on evidence from Australia in Postle, G.D., Clarke, J.R., Skuja, E., Bull, D.D., Batorowicz, K. and McCann, H.A. (eds.) 1996. *Towards Excellence in Diversity: Educational Equity in the Australian Higher Education Sector in 1995: Status, Trends and Future Directions*, USQ, Toowoomba, Australia.

However, counter-currents to an elitist or centralist bias can be observed, such as the trend towards making development policy and research address poverty reduction concerns across disciplines as evident in the widespread international research around the Millennium Development Goals. Another strand of this alternative trend involves the emphasis on ethnographic and contextually-grounded research including in educational literature such as on literacies (Street 1995; 2000), discussed further in chapter nine. However, such ethnographic research, despite its persuasive and explanatory power, comes up against the above methodological constraints and preference for quantitative methods when it comes to influencing policy. Large-scale comparative international literacy statistical research has therefore taken precedence in literacy policy circles over ethnographic and locally contextualised research (Lo Bianco, 2004; see OECD, 1997). A further and more recent development in educational research in this vein is an emphasis on the importance of space in relation to education as seen in research around learning communities and regions (see for example Duke, Osborne and Wilson, 2005; Duke, Doyle and Wilson, 2006). Such work can be complemented by increasing efforts towards more holistic and inter-disciplinary research originating in scientific fields, such as interest in participatory research and adaptive organisational learning, including in fishery systems (see Charles, 2001; Jentoft *et al*., 1998). Chapter seven further discusses issues around inter-disciplinary research, using a livelihoods approach.

The two main methodological approaches used

The case study approach and analytical generalisation

The case study approach enabled the triangulation of data through multiple sources (obtained through qualitative and quantitative methods) so that statements interpreted as divulging factual content could be checked, and interpretations and perceptions compared and contrasted. The qualitative data and questionnaire, for example, illuminated some of the gaps, inaccuracies and inconsistencies visible in the large scale quantitative data sources used including the 2001 Census and fisheries catch data. Further background on the case study sites is given below.

Case studies are now recognised to be a key tool in knowledge development due to their suitability for contextual research. They typically involve the analysis of a critical or 'telling' case (Robinson-Pant, 2005; Yin, 2003). Moreover, conventional criticisms levelled at the difficulty of generalising from single case studies are now being questioned. Not only is generalisation not the only goal of the social sciences as stated above, but in fact in some instances broader generalisations can be made from a single case, especially through careful selection of the case. The mechanism and criteria by which case studies are considered generally relevant are not the same as for quantitative research paradigms, which are based on statistical generalisation. Instead, case studies involve analytical generalisation – indicating that where the relevant conditions are met elsewhere the same phenomenon is likely to be found as in the single case (Yin, 2003; Flyvbjerg, 2004). Even in some instances where statistical generalisations can be made, the analysis may lack the contextual knowledge for it to be transferable or 'relatable' to a particular situation (Crossley and Vulliamy, 1996).

Some of the disadvantages of the emphasis on generalisation in the social sciences and in educational research can be seen in the use of over-generalised blueprints for development and educational interventions by international donors. This issue will be important for part of the analysis in chapter seven on interventions by the UK's Department for International Development. Interventions have been found to fail because they do not take context or individual and group agency sufficiently into account. It is therefore advocated that for this reason more case studies are needed in educational and other contexts (Crossley and Vulliamy, 1996; see also Petersen, 2007).

Participatory Action Research

Qualitative and interpretive paradigms that encourage active engagement have emerged over a long period of time in the social sciences, including participatory action research (PAR), beginning with Kurt Lewin in the 1940s (Dyer, 2004). Such

approaches seek to address the conventional distance between research and engagement or constructive action, critiquing conventional social science research aimed at objectivity. In PAR approaches, the researcher may take the role of facilitator or resource person to assist a group of people to change their own situation (Blaikie, 2000). In this way the group involved in the research participate in the setting of goals for change that are relevant to them, linking to Freirean notions of conscientisation and empowerment in education. A continuous process of reflection and action is involved (Ragin, 1994). PAR questions the assumption that researchers are necessarily the holders of 'expert' knowledge, based on researchers normally being better educated than the groups or individuals being researched. In the conventional view, non-academic, local and contextual knowledge is conventionally less valued than generalised, academic and theoretical knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Dyer et al., 2003). In this way dominant power relationships are maintained intact, ultimately to the benefit of the research community and by extension those currently in political power. While conventional social science research recognises and acts on the existence of information inequalities, it often does little to try to alter them. Thus, social structures and hierarchies can be seen to be maintained and renewed through higher education research processes (Reason, 1993; see also Bourdieu,and Passeron, 1990).

In the light of the critiques of much conventional and positivist social science research, PAR has been claimed to be a more 'democratic' mode of research. It seeks to break down assumptions about researchers as 'experts' and those being researched as having less (or inferior / less valued) knowledge (Dyer et al, 2002). PAR is often a collaborative and cooperative form of enquiry, although it can also be undertaken by individuals (Crossley and Vulliamy 1996). PAR is an approach rather than a method, and can involve a range of qualitative and quantitative methods. As such it is not a prescriptive approach, and therefore engenders wide variation in the way data is collected and analysed. A lack of clarity is therefore evident on what PAR should or does in fact entail (see Reason, 1994).

In international educational research, except in Latin America, PAR has mainly tended to be focused on formal schooling (primary and secondary level), whether in the school classroom or in teacher training processes (see for example Dyer et al, 2002; Spreen and Vally, 2006; Crossley and Vulliamy, 1998). Nevertheless in South Africa and in the UK (particularly in Scotland), running concurrently with the emphasis on formal schooling is an emphasis on participatory modes of action research integrated with community-based learning, including those based on Freire and popular education, particularly in civil society and non-governmental organisational activities. In South Africa PAR in education has been linked with broader social movements and rights-based discourses (Spreen and Vally, 2006). The approaches taken by civil society organisations are discussed further in the following chapter.

The numerous challenges involved in carrying out PAR, however, including as experienced during this research, result in a complex picture emerging. As an approach it has both advantages and disadvantages. Firstly, its emphasis on participation and engagement means that it can allow access to people and information in situations where it would be difficult for a researcher to gain the sufficient trust normally required. Secondly, relevance and responsiveness to the specific context is heightened. Thirdly, PAR may also potentially bring constructive change to the situation being researched. However, judging research by its development or progressive social outcomes leaves the researcher and research team no easy task in the limited timescale of most research projects. Achieving positive change can be fraught with difficulties, and the combination of local and academic knowledge may be no match for structural obstacles such as a disabling policy or institutional environment.

Additionally, given the iterative and responsive nature of research enquiry in the qualitative paradigm, a balance may need to be struck between collaborative agenda-setting and the ability of the researcher, who is ultimately responsible for the outputs, to influence the direction of the research. Here the researcher must take the funding body's criteria into account, as his or her academic reputation and future depend on

successfully meeting the funder's as well as academic requirements (see Pryor *et al.*, 2007). All this in effect means that the researcher must negotiate multiple and shifting roles, both as 'insider' and 'outsider' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Dyer, 2004). On a practical level, developing positive local outcomes and collaborating with a group or organisation are time-consuming activities, and the extent of the time required to achieve developmental goals may ultimately limit the research outputs.

Accounts of PAR have a tendency to sound normative and at times idealistic, such as in an emphasis on the equality of the collaborative research relationship (see Stuart and Kunje, 1998). In practice, given the standards which most social science research is judged by – entailing an engagement with social science literature and theory, an equal relationship at all stages of the research is very difficult to achieve (see Ragin, 1994). Participatory action research, as in participation itself, is best conceptualised as a continuum of levels of engagement and participation in different stages of the research, the greatest of which is being able to initiate action (Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992 quoted in Béné and Neiland, 2006). Nevertheless, research relationships are complicated by the fact that the importance of local contextual knowledge is often downplayed or underestimated.

Questions around engagement and effecting positive change in local contexts are further complicated when PAR is being carried out in other cultures or situations with which the researcher may not be wholly familiar. In such contexts, cross-cultural complexities and differences need to be negotiated, since both researcher and researched have different and changing cultural practices and values, which impact on the understanding and perceptions of both parties, and ultimately on the data collection and analysis (see Street, 1993; Robinson-Pant, 2005). In such settings the encounter entails dialogue towards creating mutual understanding, and the work of Bakhtin has been used in this regard (see for example Bakhtin, 1986). In unfamiliar cross-cultural contexts, the engagement process runs the risk of elite capture or promoting differential advantage for some groups over others, and it may be difficult to determine who the main beneficiaries should be. Other potential difficulties can

arise from being associated with one group or organisational setting, which may in effect close doors to gaining information from other stakeholders. Such exclusion was encountered during this research process, for example in the context of competitive funding environments between non-governmental organisations.

The following sections examine and reflect on these methodological issues in relation to the research actually carried out. Critical reflection on these methods, in terms of the data collected and analysed for this thesis, is provided towards the end of this chapter.

Discussion of methods used

The data presented here was collected during my fieldwork period of September 2004 to March 2006, using interviews, focus groups and participant observation. To supplement the data gathered in this way, primary questionnaire data collected independently was also used, discussed below.

Interview and focus groups

I carried out interviews with a whole range of stakeholders and informants (see list of key informants below and list of interviewees, informants, focus groups and public meetings in Appendix 1). For certain interviewees such as government officials, semi-structured interviews were carried out on a formal or semi-formal basis, usually in English. Full consent was sought, the identity and purpose of the research provided, and anonymity and confidentiality offered. Due to the difficulties in securing interviews with busy government staff, few repeat interviews were possible. In a few cases, due to a combination of the workload of government staff and the distances involved, telephone interviews were carried out in place of face-to-face interviews.

Interviews with other stakeholders were also mainly semi-structured, but usually more informal. Quotes and brief notes were written down during all the interviews

and focus groups. These were written up immediately afterwards where possible, and always on the same day. A huge amount of material was collected in this way. Where research assistants were used (see below), they were consulted afterwards to check information, statements and quotes. Interviews were not recorded by audio means, in order to maximise trust and rapport, especially where interviewees were divulging potentially sensitive information. (In some cases this involved descriptions of activities such as poaching that would be deemed illegal if the respective authorities had been informed.) Interviewees in fact appeared to be more comfortable divulging information in more informal settings (and in workshops). This combined with the repeated and varied nature of interactions with informants contributed to the decision not to record these interactions. In several cases interactions, for example, interviewing informants in their own home, and then later as participants in focus groups. Key informants also typically assisted with organising and at times participated in further interviews or focus groups with others in their settlements. In addition I interacted with informants and interviewees at numerous NGO workshops and public protests.

For interviews and focus groups where the main language was Afrikaans, and particularly at the beginning of the data collection process, the research involved the input of a research assistant, usually a local informant to assist with organising the focus group or interview beforehand, as well as to translate statements made during the process. Towards the end of my research, translation became less important due to my improved understanding of Afrikaans. Nonetheless, I still asked assistants or informants to check statements made by participants whenever possible.

PAR and participant observation

The PAR component as carried out in practice can be divided into four different aspects, although they intertwine. Firstly, I collaborated and interacted extensively with NGO staff at Masifundise over the eighteen-month period, predominantly in the Cape Town office but also including outreach work and workshops along the west and south coasts. This comprised of assisting with the preparation and delivery of, as

well as attending, workshops and focus groups, as well as other related data collection as required. Secondly, I attended meetings with other stakeholders such as lawyers at the Legal Resources Centre (LRC), and MCM staff in collaboration with Masifundise staff. Thirdly, I was involved in liasing with and passing on information to and from the local NGO participants ('community leaders') in the main areas in which I was carrying out the case studies. The fourth component built on the latter communication function and on the wider case study research. At the request of key informants, I assisted with communication between local people and key decision-makers such as local government officials, including in some cases helping formulate funding proposals. The idea behind these activities was to allow local people to better articulate their development and / or educational priorities and needs to these decision-makers. It therefore meant performing a mixture of facilitation, advocacy and activism functions in addition to collecting data and passing on information to and from a range of stakeholders. I also sought feedback from key informants about my preliminary conclusions where possible. Participant observation was used as an integral part of the PAR component of the research. This method was useful for checking statements that people made, information found in other sources, and to establish greater rapport with informants over a period of time.

Questionnaire

Data from a questionnaire was used to supplement the data collection described above since it was not part of the research design. (The basic questionnaire given to Masifundise members, known as 'community leaders' is provided in Appendix 2). This format was also slightly modified with some parts taken out for the purpose of Masifundise members who were trained by NGO staff to administer the questionnaires to individual community members. The questionnaire had been translated into Afrikaans, but not into isiXhosa, which was a shortcoming in the case of the data from Imizamo Yethu. The use of the primary questionnaire data served to complement the qualitative data and to provide a less intrusive source, as well as to provide a source of data where the interviewer / researcher effect was minimised, and in this way to maximise disclosure. The results of the questionnaire, carried out by

Masifundise and their members in their own communities, were analysed. In total data from 121 questionnaires were made available by Masifundise for use in this thesis.

The questionnaire data has been used only partially, to supplement the other data. The questionnaire data presented a number of inadequacies, gaps and problems in terms of execution and analysis, and as a result the data is not fully comparable. Approximately 30 of the 121 questionnaires had to be almost completely disregarded, as did about 5% of the answers across all questionnaires. Nonetheless, the questionnaires provided useful information when analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, although because of the inadequacies, the majority of the data is not suitable for complex statistical analysis. The questionnaire originally had two aims. Firstly, to provide background information for the use of Masifundise's donors. Secondly, it was intended by the NGO as an exercise to involve participants in a learning process of data collection for their own and for the NGO's use for lobbying purposes. As such it included the objective of raising awareness of the importance of backing up any claims to government or other officials with concrete information. This type of inclusive process is a common feature of PAR. As such, the comprehensiveness and academic content of the data produced was not the only consideration.

For the questionnaire data to be comprehensive and comparable, much more training of those collecting the data (Masifundise members) would have been required. On analysing the responses it was clear that in some cases those that attended the training did not carry out the data collection themselves, and did not fully pass on information to those that did about how to use the questionnaires properly. Moreover, for a few responses it was clear that those interviewing using the questionnaires had answered *for* respondents rather than simply recording answers. This was shown through too much similarity in the answers. In other cases, despite the questionnaire undergoing a piloting process, interviewers misunderstood the question or did not think it necessary for respondents to provide full information. However, the questionnaire data, provided such constraints were taken into account,

did provide useful insights into a variety of aspects of livelihoods in the case study sites (see chapter six).

Furthermore, taking its flaws as evidence in themselves, the questionnaire data also shed further light on literacy capabilities, and some of the difficulties that local people demonstrate in understanding of the kind of language used in official (and academic) text-based processes (see chapter nine). Nevertheless, due to these characteristics, turning this information into useful knowledge that could be used by local communities and the NGO to help lobby and back up their cause (see Martin and Rahman, 1999) proved more difficult than envisaged.

Details of key informants and interviewees

For reasons that will become clear in chapter six and later analysis chapters, Papendorp, Ebenhaeser and Doring Bay are treated as one linked case study site. Ongoing discussions were had over an extended period with the following key informants (also listed below):

Table 4: List of key informants[43] in the case study sites

Location	Information on key informant
Paternoster	- Sonia Fortuin, female, local leader and (former) community activist and fish processing worker - Selma Brutus, female head of household, fisher (small-scale) and Masifundise member
Papendorp Ebenhaeser Doring Bay	- André Cloete, male, community activist / tourism entrepreneur, former chairman of Ebenhaeser fishing committee and Masifundise member - Hannetjie Don, female head of household, small business entrepreneur, member of Ebenhaeser fishing committee - Pieter Cloete, male, chairman of Ebenhaeser fishing committee, engineer (later Masifundise member) - Auntie Saartjie, female, member of Ebenhaeser fishing committee - Peter Owies, male, MPRC staff member and community activist, Masifundise member - Jacki Klaasen, male, small business entrepreneur and Masifundise member, ANC leader, former MPRC staff member
Imizamo Yethu	- Patrick, male, tour guide and ex-fisher (small-scale) - Nicholas Muhlengi Zungu, male, fisher (small-scale) and community activist - Nolitha Mngomezulu, female, traditional healer, wife of fisherman (large company)

These informants included Masifundise members, community leaders and activists, and others involved currently or in the past in the fishing industry as fishers or allied fishworkers. Most of these key informants (except Sonia Fortuin and Pieter Cloete) acted informally as research assistants at other times, helping to organise meetings or interviews with other community members. André Cloete was particularly helpful

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[43] Some names have been changed or shortened to respect requests for confidentiality and / or anonymity.

with translation and interpreting, and was one of only three who requested or accepted nominal remuneration for this role.

In addition to local key informants and staff at Masifundise, a wide range of people with relevant knowledge and expertise were interviewed, both formally and informally (see list in Appendix 1[44]). This included local fishworkers and other community members, local leaders, academics, provincial government department officials, local government officials, education and training providers (public and private), NGO staff at various different organisations, health workers, advice centre workers, and fishing industry staff. Informal or semi-structured interviews were carried out, except for those listed as focus groups (see below). I also attended a range of public meetings and workshops, some run by Masifundise. In addition, the questionnaire data used to supplement the data gathered thus covered between 22-30 people in each settlement. To avoid potential sensitivities about disclosure of information, such as about illegal fishing practices, Masifundise carried these questionnaires out anonymously.

Background and selection of the case study sites

This section gives some background on the process by which the case study sites were selected, and outlines the characteristics of the case studies relevant to this choice. The three case study sites consist of the single or closely linked settlements Paternoster, Papendorp / Ebenhaeser / Doring Bay and Imizamo Yethu. These were chosen not because they are representative of the Western Cape or of South Africa as a whole, but because of their telling status (Yin, 2003), and for the purposes of comparison (see Sarana 1998). The selection relied on a combination of four characteristics – the occurrence of civil society educational activities, the presence of issues around access to livelihoods and natural resources, urban and rural differences,

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[44] This list marks 'ongoing' any informant who was interviewed repeatedly or who I interacted with over extended periods of time as part of fieldwork, workshops or public meetings. (Where 'date and ongoing' is stated, the date indicates the primary interview or interaction for the purposes of the data collection.)

and settlements covering or crossing more than one racial group. These are examined briefly below.

Civil society intervention and background

The first criterion for selection was the presence or absence of civil society intervention in the case study sites in order to shed light on processes of contestation over citizenship. This research was designed to bring together livelihoods and educational concerns with theoretical and methodological underpinnings regarding civil society as the site of struggle for social change. A focus on civil society activities was also crucial for examination of mediating influences in relation to the SL framework (see chapters two and seven).

The selection of organisation was influenced partly by the topicality and media interest in issues around access to natural resources in the Western Cape at the time, particularly in relation to the small-scale fishing sector. This meant that the topic provided a rich source of data. In addition, the choice was to some extent influenced by the fact that there are few organisations involved in working on issues of access to livelihoods in coastal areas of South Africa. Logistical factors and considerations of access for a foreign researcher also played a part in what is quite a competitive and difficult institutional environment. The fieldwork involved working most closely with an NGO called Masifundise Development Trust (Masifundise) (see below). However, the research places their work in the context of civil society organisations and activities more generally in the Western Cape (see chapters four and eight). The three settlements selected had varying levels of civil society and NGO intervention, enabling the research to see beyond the NGO's agenda.

Some background to Masifundise is relevant here. Masifundise carries out rights-based educational work, capacity building and lobbying on fishing policies. It draws on roots as an educational (including literacy) provider in black townships of Cape Town during the anti-apartheid struggle. Since 2005-6 Masifundise has been prominent in national and regional debates and in the media on fishing policies

around the small-scale fishing sector. Masifundise is allied with two networks of organisations – one of educational NGOs across South Africa called the Trust for Community Outreach Education (TCOE), and the other an international organisation based in India called the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF). Masifundise's organisational base is located in Cape Town but they work in coastal settlements along the West and South coasts of the Western Cape, and increasingly coastal areas in other provinces of South Africa.

Issues around access to livelihoods and natural resources

After initial background work, the case study sites were chosen to encompass issues around access to livelihood opportunities, including natural resources. They were selected to illuminate the differences that characterise west coast settlements in this regard. Access characteristics differ considerably among the three settlements – including the types of employment (both formal and informal) and livelihood opportunities available, local institutions and power relationships, the legal access to natural resources (predominantly marine and land), and the types of marine resources available locally. These differences are intertwined with other characteristics, particularly the rural or urban nature of the settlements (see below).

Rural / urban differences

The third criterion used was a spread of rural and urban settlements in historically disadvantaged and relatively low socio-economic status coastal areas. This included an urban informal settlement in Cape Town (Imizamo Yethu), a rural settlement situated reasonably close to significant industrial centres (Paternoster), and a relatively isolated set of linked rural settlements (Papendorp, Ebenhaeser and Doring Bay). This range of settlement types was designed to enable examination of the similarities and differences between the kind of social and political processes occurring in the urban informal settlement and in rural areas. The case study sites also underline the relationships and strong linkages between rural and urban areas.

Crossing racial boundaries

The fourth main criterion considered in selecting these settlements was the contrasting ethnic or racial element in the context of spatial aspects of legislation and residential development prior to 1994. Thus a range of so-called coloured and black settlements were chosen, recognising that these categories disguise significant integration and overlap in many senses, including linguistically and culturally.

In order to meet this criterion, in all cases the selection centres predominantly but not exclusively on one part of a settlement – Kliprug in Paternoster where the majority of fishworkers live, and Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay, which retains a certain separate character from the rest of Hout Bay. For the third case study site the focus was primarily the settlement of Papendorp. However, both administratively and practically Papendorp is allied very closely with Ebenhaeser and Doring Bay. Papendorp is the centre of the small-scale fishing activity of the vast majority of fishers from Ebenhaeser as well as Papendorp.

Fieldwork visits and key informants for the research

The fieldwork visits were of varying duration, spread throughout the 18-month period in South Africa. Visits were longest (up to two weeks) to Papendorp / Ebenhaeser and Doring Bay, (numbered approximately ten in total) due to the greater distance from Cape Town and logistics involved. For Paternoster, more frequent but shorter visits were made (typically up to five days or shorter where attending a meeting or workshop). The proximity of Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay allowed fieldwork visits there to be of the highest frequency but of least duration (see Appendix 1). Fieldwork visits were interspersed with periods located in Cape Town for the purposes of NGO collaboration, analysis of data, literature review and networking.

Key informants from the settlements played an important role in the data collection, typically two main informants for each site, supplemented by other household

members, members of the community, local leaders (including staff from the multi-purpose resource centre (MPRC) in Doring Bay) and government officials. At least one female and one male informant were sought in all three sites. Some of the key informants were initially introduced through Masifundise activities and contacts, others were found subsequently through other contacts in a snowballing process (Blaikie, 2000). Language skills (English) played a part at least in initial selection, as well as availability and willingness to organise or assist with meetings with others in the community. Interactions with key informants were in most cases repeated over many months.

Critical reflections on the research methodology used

Multiple roles, disclosure and power inequalities in the research process

The case study approach was particularly useful for triangulating and checking data collected through the use of multiple sources, and for facilitating the comparative element within the overall design and analytical framework. Balancing multiple roles in terms of gathering case study data and carrying out the participatory action research component (in collaboration with the NGO and with local community members) proved to be difficult and time-consuming. The participatory action research component would have been insufficient on its own if judged on the basis of comprehensive and exemplary data, even where the questionnaires were included.

The difficulties associated with the questionnaire aside, in general terms of access to contacts and to civil society processes, disclosure, as well as background information and understanding, the participatory action research component was critical. Local people in the case study sites were already quite used to and at times suspicious of researchers and their extractive agendas, especially in the context of perceived or actual wealth and status inequalities, and general hostility based on colonial and racial legacies. They seemed, understandably, to have few illusions about the power of pure research to bring lasting change to their situations. The collaborative component enabled the research relationship to be more of a two-way exchange, and

at times facilitated disclosure, especially where it was perceived that the researcher could play a useful role such as in transmitting information or speaking with officials. Efforts were consistently made to give something back to those involved in the research as appropriate, including in some cases nominal remuneration (e.g. R100 per day for a full day's research assistance including translation and organising interviews with others where necessary), food or lifts. Other types of assistance given to participants were finding out information or liasing with and facilitating contact with government staff (e.g. pushing for the local clinic to provide a wheelchair in one instance) or assisting with formulating funding applications. Feedback on provisional findings was sought where possible through two seminars given at the University of the Western Cape, and during workshops and informal meetings with key informants.

Nevertheless, these research processes were not straightforward, and sometimes working cooperatively with local people to understand the local dimensions of their struggles involved being asked to play roles that sat uneasily with the research objectives and timescale. An example of this aspect was being asked to attend meetings with government officials in order to lend power to certain struggles or causes, without being fully aware of the details, the power relationships or of the intended agendas and associated expectations beforehand. The research relationships were also highly gendered, influenced by local gender relations and practices. Gender has been highlighted as a key factor affecting the relationship between the researcher and researched (see for example, Pryor *et al.*, 2007).

Scholars particularly within qualitative research traditions have emphasised the plurality of roles that researchers find themselves carrying out during fieldwork (see for example Betts, 2001; Dyer and Choksi; 2001), sometimes with tension between different roles such as that of researcher (maximising the quality of the data) and activist (see Kell, 2005). Moreover, Dyer and Choksi (2001) stress that the fieldwork processes may lead to researchers being forced into roles that they do not always wish to carry out. Such influences can mask and distract underlying power and wealth inequalities between the researcher and those being researched (Betts, 2001).

Nonetheless, the lack of knowledge by the researcher about local power relationships, contexts or cultures can subtly alter the power dynamics between the researcher and the researched. The lack of local or place-based knowledge (see Duke, Osborne and Wilson, 2005) may tip the balance of power away from the researcher in some situations (especially where they are expected to be experts). Therefore, those involved in research may be able to shape the outcomes of the research in ways that may not be immediately evident. This is an important underlying consideration for the later analyses.

PART II:

DATA AND ANALYSIS

CHAPTER SIX: OVERVIEW OF CONTEXT AND LIVELIHOODS FOR THE THREE CASE STUDY SITES

Introduction

Using the sustainable livelihoods framework and Amartya Sen's work, this chapter gives an overview of the characteristics of access to livelihood opportunities in the three main settlements in which the research was carried out, linking these to citizenship debates.

The first section introduces the specific case studies and focuses on an overview of the livelihood strategies and asset base (including tangible and intangible assets) in the three case studies, outlining the similarities and differences. It draws out some of the most relevant characteristics of the five categories of assets – natural, social, human, physical and financial capital, following the sustainable livelihoods (SL) framework in which all five of these contribute towards the basis from which local livelihood strategies are built in a dynamic process over time. Intangible assets are also highlighted along with related claims to rights and entitlements. (Such claims will be dealt with more thoroughly in chapter nine.) Next, this chapter outlines relevant livelihood sustainability and vulnerability considerations, which exhibit some similarities in all the case study sites. Lastly, the chapter gives more detail on the three case study settlements using the SL framework categories.

Livelihood assets and overview

The following analysis draws on the salient characteristics of the SL framework – including the five types of assets or capital mentioned, and the characteristics of access to services that together contribute towards the level of well-being (Sen, 1999; Carney, 1998) and experiences of citizenship of people in a particular place. Drawing on the sustainable livelihoods framework, this analysis focuses on the following six themes:

- Overall context of each case study site;
- Access to basic services;
- Access to natural resources – land and marine resources;
- Access to education and training; and
- Livelihood strategies including informal economy employment.

An overview, including a discussion of comparative estimates of income, employment status and highest educational attainment, along with sources of vulnerability will be dealt with separately first, taking all three case studies together. The remaining five aspects will be considered together for each site. Other aspects relating to the SL framework, such as transforming structures and processes (mediating influences) are dealt with in chapters seven and eight.

In terms of these themes, a number of key similarities and differences emerged from the three case studies. The contexts show three different historical trajectories and livelihood environments. The three examples chosen illustrate the complexity and dynamic nature of inequalities and racial demographics in the Western Cape. Access to basic services is a vital part of people's livelihood strategies, without which they may remain, or be pushed farther into a situation of poverty. Health services are an obvious example. The lack of adequate health care impacts directly on a household's ability to provide income and food to eat, therefore affordable and accessible health services are crucial, especially given the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in South Africa (29.1% national average amongst pregnant women – SADH, 2006) (see Schneider *et al.*, 2007). Specific capabilities (Sen, 1995), which this thesis emphasises may be developed through formal education and training provision or otherwise such as through acquisition or informal learning (Rogers, 2003), are also critical for the current and next generation to build sustainable livelihood strategies and improve on the well-being of individuals and households. The importance of employment opportunities and / or of access to natural resources, such as land and marine resources to a household's overall well-being and livelihood strategies needs no further elaboration. Infrastructure including adequate and affordable transport

(physical capital) is also a crucial part of access to health services, employment and to education and training provision.

Basic services, livelihood strategies and incomes: a brief introductory overview of the case study sites

Access to basic services such as health services, housing, water and electricity are patchy in general across all three case studies, but show significant differences across the sites. Access to housing, electricity and water are much inferior in the urban informal settlement, Imizamo Yethu, than in the rural areas researched. This is partly because of sheer numbers of the huge influx of people, associated overcrowding and logistical difficulties, but also because of glaring historical and continued under-investment in infrastructure (see Schneider *et al.*, 2007 on health) and under-allocation of land (see Mayson *et al.*, 2001). To a greater extent in the rural settlements, access to health services is affected by inadequate public transport and associated problems with reaching the services, and by the lack of a fully integrated system of health care. Access to education and training beyond primary school level is also patchy, and dependent on socio-economic status, particularly the ability to pay fees.

Given the coastal location, the relative productivity and abundance of high-value resources, and the historical tradition of fishing in all the case study sites, marine resource access is a key preoccupation that has profoundly shaped the development of the whole region. Yet all of the settlements researched are experiencing difficulties with access to marine resources for small-scale fishers and for fishworkers in general, as a result of the new fishing policies and allocation system introduced since 1996. Nevertheless, the questionnaire data showed significant differences between sites in terms of access to marine resources. Respondents[45] in Imizamo Yethu and Paternoster indicated the joint greatest number of species available in their local area (disregarding legal access or permits). Both stated up to

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[45] This analysis combines data from two questions (19 and 32) on the questionnaire, the first on species available locally, and the second on what other species the respondent catches regardless of legal access or permits.

seven species, the majority of respondents in both harvesting five species. Papendorp and Ebenhaeser showed the least availability in the local area, with only one other species apart from southern mullet (*harders* the lowest value resource) declared, as this is the only species they are allowed to catch legally. (Data from participant observation indicates that they quite commonly catch the only other species mentioned (elf / silverfish - *Argyrozona argyrozona (Val.)*), and further species only rarely, such as if the river floods.) Doring Bay came in between with the majority of fishers catching between two and four species.

Additionally, all three settlements have been subject to contestation and conflict over local land issues, adding to a lack of viable alternatives. Employment opportunities are least numerous in and around Papendorp / Ebenhaeser because of its relative isolation, and at least potentially, highest in Imizamo Yethu, due to its urban location and proximity to central Cape Town. However, the type of work available is in all three case study sites mostly informal economy, low-paid and casual or temporary work, and therefore does not constitute 'decent work' in the majority of cases (see Devey *et al.,* 2006; ILO, 2005).

Income, employment status and educational attainment

The following table (table 5) details the estimates given by respondents of their average household monthly income from fishing and the average total household monthly income in the first two columns. The third column is an adjusted figure for the total household monthly income in view of other information that was provided by respondents in response to earlier questions. For this estimate the maximum value was taken, that is, without taking seasonal and other fluctuations into account. Seasonally, then, income is particularly low in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser.

Table 5: Income: summary of questionnaire data

	Average household monthly income from fishing	Average total household monthly income as stated	Average total household monthly income (max. value)
Paternoster	**R2495** (800-9000)[46]	**R1595** (330-9000)	**R2295** (600-10000)[47]
Papendorp	**R450**[48] (200-700)	**R1360** (600-3000)	**R2010** (600-4920)
Ebenhaeser	**R510** (200-700)	**R855** (350-1880)[49]	**R855** (350-1880)[50]
Doring Bay	**R930** (300-1500)	**R1290** (180-4500)	**R1630** (700-4500)
Imizamo Yethu	**R1230** (600-2000)	**R1315** (700-3000)	**R1760** (1030-3660)

Clearly these are just estimates of income, and they hide a great deal of complexity. They need to be considered bearing in mind the sources of unreliability indicated in the methodology discussion in chapter five. Data from participant observation indicates that incomes from fishing and from other sources, especially tourism, vary significantly and are typically less over the winter months, although to a lesser extent for the Imizamo Yethu community. The high value for income from fishing for Paternoster (higher than the estimated household income) can be attributed to two main interweaving factors. Firstly, that this applies mainly to the summer months during the WCRL season. Secondly, that it does not represent legal access to the

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[46] All figures given in rand (R) - £1 was equivalent to R10-12 during the fieldwork period. The range of values is given in brackets (and figures have been rounded to the nearest R5).

[47] All figures taking fishing at 'good month' value (max estimate given).

[48] The responses for Papendorp were insufficient or ambiguous for average household monthly income from fishing – therefore this average figure is supplemented by data from interviews and participant observation.

[49] Five respondents in Ebenhaeser stated they were getting additional unspecified income from farm labour (seasonal).

[50] The estimates based on other information given in the questionnaires was the same as those stated for the Ebenhaeser responses.

resources. For Papendorp, additional data collected[51] indicates that the values have been pulled upwards by figures that represent relatively large extended family households with multiple sources of low-waged income plus benefits, rather than elevated individual incomes (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 22.02.06). For example, Hannetjie stated:

> Some people here like single mothers have got houses but can't afford to pay for water and electricity and to buy furniture. So they still stay with their Mum and Dad (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 22.02.06).

This data is supplemented and put into wider context by Census 2001 data (StatsSA, 2001), given below (tables six and seven). The figure for respondents with no income is particularly high, as is the statistic representing the number of unemployed people. The data collected both by participant observation and through the questionnaire indicate that the census data appears not to have captured some of the sources of informal economy income, and therefore the unemployment figures (table seven) do not give the whole picture. A table providing some idea of demography (using former apartheid ethnic groupings) is given below (table eight) to indicate the contrast between the settlements. The figures for Doring Bay disguise the extent of the settlement of former migrant workers in the town from the Eastern Cape originally brought as seasonal employees in the fishing industry.

Statistics are also provided for the highest educational level attained for the purpose of comparison amongst settlements (table nine). The questionnaire data indicated that the highest educational level reached (as disclosed by the individual) is relatively low amongst fishers and fishworkers, with the seemingly lowest value in Imizamo Yethu, where the majority of fishers stated only that they had the now compulsory basic safety certificate (SAMSA). In the other settlements the average attainment was Grade 7 (Ebenhaeser), Grade 8 (Doring Bay) or primary school (unspecified, Papendorp). There are significant limitations and gaps to this data due to misunderstandings, as indicated in chapter five. Nonetheless, the questionnaire data indicates significant literacy levels, particularly in the Afrikaans medium. A

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[51] An Excel spreadsheet of all household members in Papendorp and basic details including occupation was completed using data compiled by André Cloete over a period of time. This was checked and modified slightly on 22.02.06 by Hannetjie Don.

noticeable increase in educational attainment is evident for the younger generation (the children of fishworkers or respondents), especially for respondents in Imizamo Yethu. Interview data also indicated that key respondents, particularly in Imizamo Yethu, placed high priority on the schooling of their children as a pathway towards improving their socio-economic situation (e.g. Nolitha Mngomezulu, Imizamo Yethu, 19.01.06; Patrick, Imizamo Yethu, 17.01.06). Census data on educational attainment demonstrates the relatively low numbers of people overall who have finished high school and gone on to higher education from these settlements. Nonetheless, due to inadequacies encountered elsewhere in the Census data these figures may not be wholly accurate.

Table 6: Average individual monthly income (StatsSA, 2001)

	No income	R1 - R400	R401 - R800	R801 - R1 600	R1 601 - R3 200	R3 201 - R6 400	R6 401 - R12 800	R12 801 - R25 600	R25 601 - R51 200
Doringbaai	741	61	181	81	30	33	12	3	-
Ebenhaesar[52]	209	15	45	27	21	30	9	-	-
Paternoster	721	55	243	214	117	60	33	3	3
Imizamo Yethu	4849	408	949	1355	385	84	21	6	-

This table provides the average individual monthly income (as opposed to data by household as given in the questionnaire data). Data for Doring Bay (Doringbaai) have been included due to its inter-linkages with Papendorp especially in connection with the fishing industry.

Table 7: Employment statistics (StatsSA, 2001)

	Employed	% employed	Unemployed	% unemployed	% unemployed (expanded)	Scholar or student	Home-maker or housewife	Pensioner or retired person/old or work	Unable to work due to illness or disability	Seasonal worker not working presently	Does not choose not to work	Could not find work	Not applicable (younger than 15 and older than 65)
Doringbaai	201	18	233	20	30	52	74	30	42	63	18	9	420
Ebenhaesar	69	19	30	9	18	31	33	18	21	3	6	9	135
Paternoster	607	42	30	2	9	87	45	45	18	9	44	75	487
Imizamo Yethu	2850	35	2479	31	34	369	95	79	72	86	45	109	1874

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[52] Papendorp is included within the figures for Ebenhaeser.

Table 8: Demography of settlements (StatsSA, 2001)

	Black African	% black African	Coloured	% coloured	Indian or Asian	% Indian or Asian	White	% white
Doringbaai	54	5	1029	90	-	-	60	5
Ebenhaesar	-	-	355	100	-	-	-	-
Paternoster	130	9	1219	84	-	-	102	7
Imizamo Yethu	7693	95	363	5	6	0	-	-

These figures may not reflect the relatively recent influx of people into various settlements, notably those from both white and black groups to Paternoster.

Table 9: Percentages of highest educational level attained (StatsSA, 2001)

	% no schooling	% Grade 5 or below	% Grade 12 (matric)	% post-matric[53]
Doringbaai	9	28	4	3
Ebenhaesar	7	20	9	17
Paternoster	7	30	12	2
Imizamo Yethu	14	32	10	2

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[53] The figures for post-matric correspond in the overwhelming majority to post-school certificates (unspecified), rather than undergraduate or post-graduate degrees.

Vulnerability and sustainability

Vulnerability continues to be a key theme in development studies research, usually associated with shocks (unexpected events) but also with regard to structural factors (see Blaikie *et al*. 1994; Smith, 2003). This focus on vulnerability reflects a general concern with poverty alleviation and eradication, but also as the flip side of sustainability, now defined broadly to include socio-economic well-being of whole communities, rather than just environmental sustainability (see Charles, 2001; Carney, 1998). The primary vulnerabilities in the coastal settlements researched relate to a lack of sustainable sources of income and employment, since much of the available employment is temporary or seasonal. Insecurity and casualisation or informalisation is a characteristic of work in the fishing industry in general, but has been exacerbated by the decline of the large-scale fishing industry in the context of few viable or sustainable alternatives. Other sources of vulnerability include structural funding gaps for participants in government employment schemes (such as CoastCare and Public Works) that function predominantly as social welfare assistance, especially in one of the case study sites, Papendorp. Marine resource utilisation in general is a risky business, both in terms of its operations and general lack of sustainability. It involves vulnerabilities associated with potential loss of life at sea, with environmental and seasonal changes affecting access, as well as more long-term and widespread depletion due seemingly to resource exploitation combined with environmental factors. Because of the increasing macro-economic value of fish and seafood as exported products, and a corresponding shift to marine resources being controlled centrally by government through the 'modernisation' of the allocation system, policy (and access) changes have become a key source of vulnerability.

Other important sources of vulnerability are shocks such as unexpected loss of employment, death and illness in the family, particularly of the primary wage earner. Illness may create a multiplying effect through the loss of another household wage earner as a carer. The lack of viable and sustainable employment means that

migration, especially of males, from rural settlements is common. This manifests in varied ways, for example, in that single mothers were grossly over-represented for the number of households in Papendorp (30 living in 32 households – most with the extended family[54]), leaving these households potentially more vulnerable than normal to lack of adequate income and to shocks. The strategies employed to overcome such vulnerabilities include to rely on extended family and other social networks for assistance including sharing of food, although some said this was increasingly difficult in the current economic climate:

> Ek kan nie nou vra iets van die mense nie – dan met ek die iets terug gee. En ek moet vir die mense betaal om na Lutzville te ry sodat ons die kos kan koop (I can't ask people for anything now – then I have to give them something back. And I must pay people to drive me to Lutzville so that I can buy food) (Elizabeth Hein, Papendorp, 30.11.05).

Diversification of employment and income-generating activities is a key strategy to minimise vulnerability, including in fishing communities in general (Allison and Ellis, 2001), although opportunities arise predominantly in the informal economy employment category. Nevertheless, the current access framework for marine resources penalises diversification (see DEAT, 2005a; 2006b). Relying on those individuals with more access to financial resources in times of need was found to be a commonly utilised strategy, particularly observed in Papendorp and in Imizamo Yethu. Such reliance included casual work for friends and relatives, often exploiting vertical relationships with individuals with better socio-economic status, and making claims based on perceived or actual entitlements to food and / or money.

As highlighted above, the questionnaire data overall suggests that access (including entry and length of attendance) to schooling is higher for children now than it was for their parents, providing hope for the future in the post-1994 context. Nonetheless, numerous reports of problems in paying school fees at Masifundise meetings, as a result of vulnerabilities in livelihood strategies, may continue to jeopardise this improvement.

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[54] Data taken from the spreadsheet outlined above.

This next section will examine the three case studies in more detail emphasising the five themes and drawing out important similarities and differences.

Papendorp and Ebenhaeser

Context

Photograph of part of the settlement in Papendorp showing the estuary.

Papendorp is the smallest of the three settlements, although if taken together with Ebenhaeser of which it is officially part, it is larger than the second case study, Paternoster. Papendorp has a population of around 155 people (32 households); Ebenhaeser as a whole of 4036 people (StatsSA, 2001[55]). As indicated using Census data above, the residents are ethnically quite homogeneous. All households except one are coloured, and they almost exclusively Afrikaans-speaking; the remaining white household is composed of relatively recent incomers. According to the historical record the people in this coloured community (and in Ebenhaeser) were originally Khoekhoe (indigenous) sheep-herders. Today, these roots and identity are

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[55] The population of Papendorp is estimated from local sources as statistics from Census data do not disaggregate.

downplayed. Instead people identify themselves as 'bruin' (literally translated as brown), and as being part of a shared identity associated with the 'coloured' Afrikaans-speaking community. The term 'bruin', as opposed to 'kleurling' or 'coloured', was used by informants in rural areas such as Papendorp (e.g. André Cloete, Papendorp, 15.05.05). This reflects a rural / urban division in the conceptualisation of ethnic identity in these communities (see also Barnard and Kenrick, 2001), although these terms are sometimes ambiguous (see discussion in chapter nine).

Because there has been little permanent influx into this small settlement, the households are closely interconnected. They value and have preserved some of the old traditions (e.g. baking bread with yeast from potatoes in an outside oven). The post-1994 decade brought new housing and the provision of electricity and water, although power cuts were quite frequent during the period of fieldwork. Participant observation data indicates that the division of labour tends towards traditional gender roles. The female members of the household, together with the children, generally do most of the household chores. Male members take responsibility for much of the heavier work such as building repair and maintenance, or gardening. Both male and female household members share fish processing tasks.

Community values are strongly influenced by the environment in which they reside. Fishing activity is central to the village, and associated processing and sale is done on a household basis. The vision of development (including tourism) that people in Papendorp have, as expressed in the mission statement of the village development committee, is intertwined with the conservation of their immediate environment[56] – the estuary, salt marshes and coastal area. Residents stated that they value and enjoy the tranquillity and natural beauty of the area where they stay, and even though they see the need for development and the improvement of services and employment opportunities, they say that this must not jeopardise the character of the natural environment. They also realise that for the purposes of tourism the relatively pristine environment is a potentially strong draw factor.

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[56] Visie: Papendorp 'n welvarende en unieke toerisme bestemming, waar die vertroeteling en die verbintenis van mens en die ekologie essensieel is.

Farming in Ebenhaeser

Ebenhaeser as a whole is a mixed farming and fishing area, dominated by subsistence and small-scale agriculture including grazing of cattle. Community life, values and the fabric of social connections, as in many 'coloured' settlements in the area have been influenced by the historical and religious roots of the settlement as a United Dutch Reformed Church mission station. Many in Papendorp still go to church, but there are other contemporary communal activities that provide opportunities for building social connections, notably television. The most popular Afrikaans-language soap opera, '*Sewende Laan'* (Seventh Street) attracts more viewers on a daily basis than weekly church services. Other social and leisure time, particularly at weekends, is based around drinking, with seemingly few other accessible activities on offer. A closer look at social connections and trust (social capital), however, reveals shifting socio-economic and political divisions. These characteristics, and some of their consequences relevant to this thesis will be detailed further in later chapters.

Land

The settlements of Papendorp and Ebenhaeser have been strongly shaped by the forced displacement in the 1920s of the original community from the better-irrigated area close to Lutzville, further up the Olifants river. This occurred to make way for the white agricultural development of wine and fruit farms that are visible in the Lutzville area today. According to the historical record[57] the coloured community who were displaced were originally Khoekhoe (indigenous) pastoralists. Those who settled in Papendorp close to the river were drawn into working for white ex-farmers residing there at that time, who started to harvest marine resources primarily in order to supply nearby agricultural workers with fish products. According to this same source those in Papendorp were incorporated into labour relations similar to those found on commercial farms, including the use of the 'dop' system – part payment for workers through the supply of alcohol (see Du Toit, 2004; Du Toit and Ally, 2003).

Olifantsdrift residents, Ebenhaeser

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[57] Source – original archive material collected by the Legal Resources Centre for the purposes of the land claim.

The displacement of the whole community of people to Ebenhaeser and Papendorp has resulted in a land restitution claim post-1994, the implementation of which is still being put into practice. I attended one public land claim meeting in Ebenhaeser (27.11.05) and discussed the issue with various informants (e.g. Dennis Taylor, Ebenhaeser, 20.02.06). The plans revolve around buying back some of the original land – a very costly exercise – as well as the development of land adjacent to Ebenhaeser and Papendorp for commercial agricultural development – wine farms. The informants and meeting indicated a high level of contestation around the land claim and future plans, and that a significant amount of the money associated with the claim had also been spent on an external team of consultants.

Marine resource access

Boats for fishing harders at the Olifants river estuary.

The current access for fishers to marine resources is limited – only 45 legal permits have been issued for Ebenhaeser as a whole (including seven for Papendorp) and these are only for fishing in the river, not in the sea. These permits are for *harders*, the low-value resource that has been traditionally caught in the area for decades using gill[58] nets and is sold locally, found in the sea and in estuaries. These are sold

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[58] So called because they are designed with the appropriate mesh size to trap the target type and size of fish by the gills (see Charles, 2001).

either fresh on the morning after they are caught (since most catches are done at night), or dried and salted, as *bokkoms*. It has been stated by the government department responsible that this form of access is to be phased out within the next 10 years (2016) (e.g. Noel Williams, MCM, 24.11.05).

Picture of harders in the final stages of being dried to be sold as bokkoms

Previously, particularly in the 1960s – 1980s, much of the employment for men in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser was in fishing for WCRL situated in nearby Doring Bay. These three settlements are therefore closely interconnected. Due to the depletion of local resources by the large-scale industrial exploitation and export of this resource, coupled with environmental factors, the vast majority of the large-scale activity had now moved south again (and all of this activity subsequent to my fieldwork period; Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 15.05.07)). This has left a large gap in terms of employment in the whole area. As detailed above, it has also shaped the demographics of the area, since many of the migrant workers subsequently settled.

As a result of the resource depletion of WCRL and of widespread changes in the way fishing rights are allocated, access to this high-value resource has become difficult for people in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser. Very few (less than ten, including a joint venture with a large commercial company in which local people are not necessarily

directly involved in fishing themselves) were successful in the long-term allocations in 2006. Practically also, access is difficult since people have to travel to Doring Bay (approximately 15km) in order to catch crayfish, and public transport is inadequate. (No WCRL can be caught on the sandy shores adjacent to Paternoster). Marine resource access in this context is therefore a contentious issue, and will be returned to in detail in later chapters.

Infrastructure and access to basic services

Papendorp

The infrastructure in and around Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, including roads and public transport, services and shops, is relatively undeveloped compared to the other case study sites, although Ebenhaeser is better served than Papendorp. The distribution of infrastructure in the area reflects socio-economic inequalities and the historical trade and industry routes. These were primarily based around the formal fishing industry (Doring Bay), and the large-scale white-controlled agricultural development (Lutzville, Vredendal and the upper reaches of the Olifants River valley), where there has been huge investment in infrastructure.

All of the households in Papendorp have been provided with access to formal housing since 1994, dominated by small 'RDP' houses, built as part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (size 5x6m)[59], although some of the more traditional structures are also still used. All the new houses have electricity and water supplied, but as indicated earlier, a few households struggle to pay for these services, and it means that households still tend to amalgamate into an extended family structure to minimise costs. Water for agricultural purposes is, however, in short supply, and a subject of contestation. This water supply is affected by agricultural and other development further up, especially since a dam has been built near Clanwilliam in the Cedarberg mountainous region upstream.

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[59] Other limitations of these houses include the interior roofing, which is made of asbestos, although the dangers associated with asbestos did not seem to be widely known or understood (André Cloete, Papendorp, 17.02.06).

Picture showing housing and electricity infrastructure in Papendorp.

Because of its location about 10km from the main centre of Ebenhaeser, Papendorp is quite isolated. This affects its access to health and other services, since there is no public transport between the two (except the school bus, which is overcrowded and leaves at about 5.30am, returning at around 2pm on weekdays) only private forms of transport (which could be hired at a fee of R20-40 for access to local settlements during the time of fieldwork). Ebenhaeser consists of five settlements quite spread out. The other main fishing community is at Olifantsdrift situated some distance from central Ebenhaeser towards Papendorp. As a result, the inhabitants of Papendorp have a closer relationship with residents in Olifantsdrift than most of those in central Ebenhaeser.

Access to education and training

Access to basic schooling for children currently seems to be reasonable and with transport provided at primary level, although a few households struggle to pay the fees (approximately R150 per year for 1 child), especially for the period (several months each year) when the government employment schemes are not running (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 15.05.07). Access to secondary schooling is more

problematic and involves travelling longer distances to either Lutzville (about 20km) or Vredendal, the regional capital (about 50km). The main opportunities for vocational training are in Vredendal and so require significant transport costs, although there is some local literacy / adult basic education and training (ABET) provision in the village itself. The theme of adult education and training, including more details about the institutions involved in provision, is covered in detail in the following chapter.

Livelihood and employment strategies

The majority of the employment opportunities available in the immediate area are low-waged, casual, temporary, seasonal, sub-contracting, and often precarious. They therefore fall under the category of informal economy (or micro- and small-enterprise (MSE)) employment. This includes those actively fishing, with catches sold locally.

Non-fishing employment includes in commercial agriculture (nearby wine and fruit farms - up to about R250 / £25 per week), construction (R50 per day for labourers; R80-120 for skilled workers[60]), diamond mining (sub-contracting; around R1000 per month) and part-time domestic / cleaning work (about R50 per day), the main income source for women in the settlement. Trading (including informal and illegal) is also a common source of income, as are services related to relatively new community-based tourist facilities (a guest house and chalets) and government development / poverty alleviation projects (Public Works, CoastCare) (around R38 per day). Only one informal shop was operating in Papendorp and this only at the end of my fieldwork period, bringing in an income for one person. A system of informal work also operates within the community – where people assist with work of varying sorts when certain more affluent households require it – but it is difficult to quantify and goes largely under-reported in official figures and statistics.

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[60] The category of skilled workers here includes plasterers, bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers and electricians.

Given the shortage of adequate employment, exacerbated by poor or non-existent public transport infrastructure, those people that stay in these coastal communities adopt various and multiple livelihood strategies in order to survive and bring up their families. Others migrate either temporarily or permanently to nearby towns or to Cape Town in search of employment. There is some permanent employment if people are prepared to go further afield, including in municipality offices, but this requires a high capability level, particularly in computer and administrative skills, and opportunities to develop these skills are few (see chapter five). According to local sources[61], approximately 17 people from Papendorp are estimated to be working elsewhere but still contributing to household income in Papendorp. At least 20 more adults have left Papendorp and are supporting their own families where they are living, and are therefore not now contributing to household income in Papendorp.

In practice, the majority (27 out of 32) of households in Papendorp are reliant to a significant extent on a mixture of government income, including pensions (state pension (now for everyone) or from former government employment), child support and government employment schemes (CoastCare and Public Works – see below and the following chapter for more detail on these programmes). Both the Census and the questionnaire data corroborate observations (and expectations) of significant inequality in terms of income within Papendorp, and to a greater extent in some cases compared with some of the residents in central Ebenhaeser. Those households in Papendorp that are better off are those that are able to draw their income from a variety of sources (mitigating for example the months when government employment schemes don't run and other seasonal variations such as in fishing), clearly showing a correlation of household diversification with sustainability. The success of multiple sources of income particularly includes those households with one or more either current or former workers in formal employment.

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[61] Indicated in the data used to compile the spreadsheet.

Paternoster

Context

Picture of Paternoster showing mainly tourist infrastructure and guest houses.

Paternoster is a small town, which according to Census 2001 data has a total population of 3283 people, consisting of a majority of coloured people (73%) with significant numbers of white residents. An influx of both black African and white people in recent years will have altered these figures significantly since 2001. Paternoster grew in size originally predominantly to serve the fishing industry, providing labour for the fishing operations and processing factories in Paternoster and in nearby St. Helena Bay (see also chapter nine). It is therefore regarded as a 'company town', similar to Doring Bay near Papendorp (see Isaacs, 2003). Coloured people settled in the area well before the turn of the nineteenth century. Since then they have been fishing in the area, at times independently but later drawn to an increasing extent into working for white fishing industry entrepreneurs and landowners, because of the latters' increasing control over capital, real estate and fishing gear in the apartheid context (Masifundise, 2003[62]). After the area was

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[62] This piece of work also draws heavily on the unpublished PhD of Lance van Sittert at the History department of the University of Cape Town (UCT).

declared white, which occurred as late as 1981, 147 of these coloured people (34 households) were eventually displaced from their houses on prime land adjacent to the sea. Most moved to Kliprug slightly inland, still within Paternoster. This forced displacement is subject to a land claim, called Vaalplaas (*ibid.*).

Picture of typical house in Kliprug, Paternoster

Although Paternoster is known within the Western Cape for its history as a fishing village, it now has a well-developed tourism industry. It is one of the better-known West Coast tourist and holiday destinations for South Africans and international tourists alike. It benefits from its location and natural beauty – it is not as over-developed as nearby Langebaan, yet it is relatively close (only one and a half hours drive) to Cape Town. It still retains some of its original character as a traditional fishing village, a fact much exploited by the white-controlled local tourism industry. The bay and settlement is surrounded by nature reserves and by agricultural areas – mainly wheat and sheep, with some cattle.

Paternoster is mainly Afrikaans-speaking. Those in Paternoster who regard themselves as 'kleurling' (coloured) come from diverse origins, including people brought over as slaves from East Asia, Europeans (including the Portuguese adventurers), and other origins such as St. Helena Island. Some emphasise their

European origins over coloured identities and / or use ethnic identity in an instrumental way (Sokolovskii and Tishkov, 1998) (see chapter nine). Fishing is central to the contemporary identities of the coloured settlement, and some traditions have been maintained. Evidence suggests that this may once have been quite a close community, but several local informants stressed that the cohesion has been affected by the large influx of people in recent years (detailed further in chapter nine). It has also been influenced by conflict over marine resources due to the new allocation system and reductions in access – between those benefiting and those not (the 'haves' and the 'have nots'). The reduction of access to marine resources also means that significant numbers of fishers are operating on the edge of or outside of the law. Different factions of the coloured residents of Paternoster are close and very sociable, and they share information, skills and sometimes food as the need dictates. Households and even streets in some cases are based around extended families. The church is also a focal point to a significant extent for the residents, especially the coloured community, including fishers.

Paternoster appears generally more prosperous with a higher standard of living than Papendorp and Ebenhaeser. However, inequalities are very visible, and most of the wealth and property is concentrated in the white households who own and run the burgeoning tourism infrastructure – hotel, restaurants and guest-houses. The coloured residents claim that they are benefiting little from tourism, although some low-waged part-time or seasonal employment for coloured residents results from these businesses. Fishing households are in the main more prosperous than those in Papendorp because of the higher value and numerous resources they can catch nearby, even if this is at a reduced level and on the edges of the law (as detailed above in relation to the questionnaire data). Nevertheless, taken over the whole year, actual average incomes can still be low. According to Census 2001 data (StatsSA, 2001), 85% of people in Paternoster had monthly income in the bracket R0-800 in 2001 (R800 is the approximate value of a state pension). This compares unfavourably with 77% for Ebenhaeser (and Papendorp), and 63% for Doring Bay. Nevertheless, according to the same source, conversely Paternoster compared favourably to both Ebenhaeser and Doring Bay in terms of the percentage of people

with no income at all – 56% for Ebenhaeser, 46% for Doring Bay, and 30% for Paternoster. However, these figures are unlikely to be accurate even for 2001, given the under-estimates of informal economy work and income, as well as uncertainties or gaps in disclosure of certain income sources (including in the questionnaires).

Within Paternoster, the levels of cohesion, trust and the relationships of coloured people with individuals from other racial groups vary considerably. However, as groups they are separated both by wealth and by the legacy of apartheid spatial distinctions. The adjacent area of Hopland is fairly integrated between coloured and black residents, especially those who came originally as migrant workers to the fishing industry, but negative attitudes towards black residents by coloured residents are still in evidence, particularly with regard to recent incomers from other provinces (see chapter nine).

Access to natural resources: land and marine resources

The displacement of the coloured community from their land (as evidenced by the Vaalplaas land claim) has not affected people's livelihoods to the extent that it has in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, and moreover has not significantly hampered their physical access to the sea as it has in other communities along the West Coast. However, the increased national regulations governing marine resource access have had significant effects. (The subject of national fishing legislation will be returned to in more detail in the following chapter.) The most significant differences between access to marine resources amongst people in Paternoster and in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser is that in Paternoster they have some access (although limited) to higher-value and more abundant resources in the sea in this area, as well as more available work nearby in the formal fishing industry. Formal industry employment includes within nearby fish processing factories, and as fishermen catching for large companies.

Four main species caught in and around Paternoster according to questionnaire data include WCRL, harders, linefish species of which the most common is Cape Bream

('hotnotsvis' - *Pachymetopon blochii),* and snoek. The depleted abalone was also caught (see Cardoso *et al.*, 2006 for a summary of fish species) (although it is now banned). Fishing 'rights' have up until very recent concessions (see chapters four and nine) been allocated for single species only. Two or three people have permits to catch harders in Paternoster using wider nets than the gill nets in Papendorp and utilising the beach seine technique which can yield greater numbers of fish in one go than gill nets[63]. The rest fish with gill nets.

According to local informants (e.g. Sonia Fortuin, Paternoster, 2.02.06) and the Paternoster focus group data (see Appendix 1), Paternoster contains an estimated 60 households dependent on fishing, many of which fish for WCRL. WCRL was the second most lucrative smaller-scale and non-deep sea marine species, after abalone (FIH, 2004), and is in demand as a luxury food both locally for the tourist market, nationally in restaurants and hotels, and internationally in China and Japan, Europe and the USA. Local people say that it used to be primarily eaten locally, but local fishing households now favour its sale due to the higher market value.

Infrastructure and access to basic services

The Paternoster area has better infrastructure on the whole than Papendorp and Ebenhaeser and is less isolated. In terms of services, and employment opportunities if people are prepared to migrate, Paternoster benefits from its proximity to two important regional centres – Vredenburg, the main administrative and commercial centre, and Saldanha Bay – the main industrial centre, particularly for the fishing industry. As in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, the housing infrastructure is reasonably good in terms of numbers, but problems were also reported with some people not being able to pay for the services (electricity and water) that they should have access to. This may be made worse by difficulties with accessing the free amount of electricity and water to which all residents are entitled, due to the private rather than public nature of the companies providing the services (Selma Brutus, Paternoster, 28.10.05). Nevertheless, overcrowding is a problem since several families are

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[63] This technique requires about 15-20 people, or about 10 people and 1 boat. A net is used to trap the fish in an arc from the beach, and then is hauled in.

reported to be living in others' backyards, especially in the Hopland area, due to the influx of people from other parts of South Africa to join relatives already living there. Further housing development is planned in the area by local government. Nevertheless, characteristic differences in size and design can be seen between the different types of housing occupied by different sections of the community, exhibiting continuity with apartheid divisions as elsewhere in the Western Cape.

Hopland, Paternoster

Access to education and training

As in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, access to education and training beyond basic primary school level is patchy and dependent on the ability to pay the fees and transport costs. There were some vocational training courses reported to be running in the more urban area nearby of Saldanha Bay, including a year-long food and beverage packing and processing (known nationally as 'FoodBev') Sector Education and Training Authority course run by the Department of Education, intended for those wanting to take up employment in fish processing factories. The frameworks used, institutions involved and particular difficulties associated with vocational training are covered in more detail in the following chapter. The FoodBev course typically accommodates around 15 participants, and only a few usually come from Paternoster. (Participants receive about R800 per month for attending.)

The CoastCare scheme, run by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), also operates in Paternoster and accommodates 5-10 people when the funds are available. Participants do beach cleaning work and receive training in literacy and basic business skills. The fish market, a poverty alleviation scheme set up in the last six years, also included National Skills Fund training run by the Department of Labour. As part of this, 24 people were trained in business skills when the fish market was set up. Only three of these people now have stalls in the market, in the context of a lack of fish to sell locally because of increased fishing regulations and the corresponding reduction in legal access. A further reason for the lack of success in the outcomes of this training is the lack of availability of assistance with credit to start up shops and stalls, combined with the fact that most of those trained didn't have the capital to establish themselves (Sonia Fortuin, Paternoster, 17.01.05).

Employment / informal economy

According to local sources, the main employment apart from fishing is reported to be in construction and domestic work for tourism - guest-houses, hotel and self-catering accommodation. Limited work is also available at the crèche and the two restaurants, one of which has reportedly trained people up as chefs (Selma Brutus, Paternoster, 17.01.05). 5-10 people are also accommodated on the CoastCare scheme when operating. Domestic work is usually, but not always, casual, part-time and / or seasonal work. However, several informants independently complained that most of the jobs go to people from outside that incomers bring with them – employers exhibiting a tendency to favour hiring those that already have the skills and experience (and loyalty) rather than having to train local people up to do the job (e.g. Sonia Fortuin, Paternoster, 17.01.05). At the end of each day it was common to see workers queuing up on the main road out of Paternoster waiting for a lift back to Vredenburg or elsewhere. Migration from Paternoster to find work is common – mainly to Vredenburg, or to Saldanha Bay where there or several industrial employers such as the mining-related industries Saldanha Steel and Namakwa Sands. Other sources of employment relatively nearby are the tourist resorts in and around Langebaan such as Club Mykonos.

Census 2001 statistics (StatsSA) put the official employment rate for Paternoster at 68% employed; 4% unemployed, with 28% classified as other (including 1% scholars and students). This compares favourably with figures for Ebenhaeser of 28% employed; 21% unemployed and 50% other (includes 14% scholars)[64]. However, the unemployment rate is a vast under-estimate since it uses the narrow official definition and does not take account of those who for various reasons have not looked for work in the last seven days[65]. Figures from the same source providing a breakdown of people employed by industry seem to be so inaccurate that I have not included them here. The high level of informal economy employment, coupled with the fact that multiple livelihood sources are very common, means that it is difficult to give such estimates except from qualitative data in Papendorp (see full list in Appendix 3). These indicated benefits as the most common income source (usually combined with other occupational income sources), numbering 39 people. Second were the public programmes CoastCare and Public Works, with 34 people involved (not all at the same time). Third was fishing (including fishing for harders and involvement in a WCRL company), with 13 people. Fourth were skilled and semi-skilled trades (including upholstery, carpet cleaning, truck driving), with 7 people. The total number of adults in this settlement is 115. These figures include those who had multiple income sources (including state benefits), amounting to 31 people, 11 of which were involved in fishing.

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[64] Doring Bay according to the same source has 48% employed, 15% unemployed and 36% other (8% scholars).

[65] The expanded official definition defines unemployed people as: those people within the economically active population (age 16-64) who: (a) did not work during the seven days prior to the interview, (b) want to work and are available to start work within a week of the interview, and (c) have taken active steps to look for work or to start some form of self-employment in the four weeks prior to the interview. It does not include those who are: home-maker or housewife; pensioner or retired person/too old to work (it is presumed this applies to women as men are only considered pensioners at 65), unable to work due to illness or disability; seasonal worker not working presently; does not choose to work; could not find work (only includes people aged 15-64).

Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay

Context and infrastructure

Informal housing in Imizamo Yethu

Imizamo Yethu (meaning 'through collective struggle'), is an informal settlement situated in Hout Bay, on the side of the mountainous ridge that is part of the Table Mountain National Park (TMNP). Hout Bay lies on the Atlantic side of the Cape Peninsula. Hout Bay remains full of contrasts - the harbour area and expansive beach is a tourist and local attraction, with huge investment having gone into this area in recent years. (The facilities now include several restaurants, souvenir stalls, shops and takeaways.) Expensive and exclusive predominantly white residential areas with elaborate mansions lie side-by-side with the informal settlement of overcrowded shacks where the majority of residents are black. Adjacent to both of these areas lie blocks of flats and small houses in a built up area where most of the coloured residents live, near the harbour. The continuation of apartheid spatial divisions is clearly evident, with the same gradation in types of housing and living conditions roughly corresponding to racial groups as elsewhere, including in Paternoster, but with more marked inequalities.

Imizamo Yethu grew out of a settlement for migrant workers who were employed in the fishing industry and on local farms. Imizamo Yethu is bordered roughly by two very high-value residential estates (Hughendon and Penzance estates) on two sides; by the Table Mountain protected area above, and the main road below. On one side, there is an area of land belonging to the government forestry department in between part of the informal settlement and Hughendon estate. As highlighted earlier, Hout Bay became a centre for harvesting and processing of WCRL from the late 19th century, using first slave and then migrant labour (Van Sittert, 2003).

As reported by several older fishermen in Imizamo Yethu, large numbers of people have migrated from other parts of South Africa and elsewhere to work on fishing boats operating from Hout Bay. Migrants were initially housed in a male-only compound for black workers in the harbour area. Some moved out of the compound and built temporary structures in nearby undeveloped forested land in Hout Bay in order to have more freedom than the strict rules enforced at the compound (including male segregation). However, living in the bush was illegal and they were often harassed by police and their property damaged or taken, and made to move on. Eventually in 1991, after extensive campaigning, the original 450 families were allotted the Imizamo Yethu site of 18 hectares where they were allowed to build more permanent housing structures (DAG, 2003).

Culturally Imizamo Yethu is very different from the coloured areas as found in the other two sites. Despite obvious cohesion and integration between the different nationalities and language groups, local people did point to significant sources of conflict including competition over resources, employment, housing and complaints of corruption of leaders. Compared to the other case study sites, widespread income poverty is visible, as are vast inequalities in housing types within the settlement. The older generation have fished for decades in the area, and marine resources remain a key concern for a significant proportion of people in Imizamo Yethu. According to local sources (Nicholas Muhlengi Zungu, and Patrick, Imizamo Yethu, 17.01.06), about 800 people applied in the 2005-6 long-term applications for WCRL alone.

Although land is in short supply and a contentious issue in Imizamo Yethu as it is in the other case studies, the most immediate concern is for land for housing. Very little spare viable land is available for cultivation, even on a small-scale, or other livelihood-related uses. The site of the informal settlement has now expanded from 18 to approximately 28.5 hectares (560 housing units ('erven')), with at least 2600 families living on the site. This includes 102 residential erven on a former landfill site, occupying land that is unsuitable for formal housing development for this reason (DAG, 2000). Residents of Imizamo Yethu, as well as the Niall Mellon housing project (an Irish aid / housing construction project operating in Imizamo Yethu), have been attempting to access adjacent land of 16 hectares belonging to the forestry department. According to local reports, in legal agreements made in the 1980s it was agreed that this area was not to be used for residential purposes. However, residents are calling for this now to be changed in view of the pressure on existing land in the settlement. Such claims have been resisted strongly by the Hout Bay ratepayers association, stalling the process (DAG, 2003). According to staff at the Development Action Group[66] (DAG) who were involved in the housing study and in the original struggle to obtain land for the settlement Imizamo Yethu, the Hout Bay ratepayers association is dominated by the interests of the white residents of the more wealthy residential parts of Hout Bay. Disagreement over this issue has also taken the form of fierce political rivalry (DAG, 2003).

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[66] The Development Action Group is an organisation of 'progressive architects, town planners, civil engineers and environmentalists, which works with disadvantaged communities towards the long term, equitable, sustainable and non-discriminatory urban development for a new South Africa.', Statement of Support for the Homeless People of South Peninsula and Hout Bay, 22nd June 1990.

Houses built as part of the Niall Mellon project, Imizamo Yethu

Legal access to marine resources for people in Imizamo Yethu is at a difficult juncture. It is limited by the policy and allocation framework on the one hand, as well as by new regulations and geographical limits set by the expansion of restricted fishing areas around Hout Bay as a result of the recently set up Table Mountain National Park (TMNP) marine protected area (MPA). None of the 800 applicants for WCRL were successful in applying for individual fishing 'rights' (results of the appeals process are still not clear at the time of writing). The interview data indicated that most who are actively fishing from Imizamo Yethu are doing so by working on large commercial boats operating from Hout Bay harbour often on unfavourable terms. Others are fishing very limited amounts informally with recreational permits, or illegally. Not surprisingly, the problems that authorities are having with enforcement of the TMNP MPA fishing regulations are at their height in the Hout Bay area (Paul Sieben, Marine Manager of the TMNP, Cape Town, 30.08.05).

Oceana boat, Hout Bay

The top species caught according to both interview and questionnaire data are WCRL, snoek, chokka squid (*Loligo vulgaris reynaudii*), hake and tuna including yellowfin (*Thunnus albacares*). They are harvested from boats operating out of Hout Bay that travel the whole South African coast and beyond. The industrial fishing companies use a piecework system to remunerate fishers. Depending on the species, fishermen reported that they had to work more or less constantly (one cited as much as 32 hours in one shift) in order to take back a reasonable wage. Fishermen can be at sea on commercial boats for long periods at a time, from 21 days up to 3 months. Hake is the most lucrative fish species overall[67] since one species (*M. paradoxus*) can be trawled at deep sea. Deep-sea hake is therefore fished by large vessels and exported in large quantities in frozen form. Nevertheless, several informants reported independently that their catch was often not weighed properly so that they were not given the full pay that they were entitled to. Several fishermen also said that they are given no formal contract and have no rights – so they can be fired on the spot (e.g. Edwin Mdluli, and Patrick Sikepe, Imizamo Yethu, 10.01.06). Exploitative working conditions and relationships were reported in other settlements, but to a lesser extent than from workers living in Imizamo Yethu.

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[67] See Marine Stewardship Council website: http://www.msc.org/html/content_1092.htm downloaded May06].

Infrastructure and access to basic services

Access to health services appears at first glance to be much better in the informal settlement than in rural areas – there is a clinic in Imizamo Yethu, and two hospitals relatively nearby. However, the local clinic deals with only a few types of illnesses and preventative care (including HIV testing and treatment, antenatal care, and birth control). This means that for most illnesses patients must travel to one of the hospitals, and pay both transport and the fee. Significant gaps emerged including a lack of integration and co-ordination of health services and under-developed infrastructure – exemplified by the discharge of a man from hospital who had had a stroke, was blind and couldn't walk – without providing him with a wheelchair or any further support (Philip Sangiki and Julia Sotomela, Imizamo Yethu, 19.01.06). Such illness has a huge impact on household well-being and livelihood strategies, including schooling of children. HIV/AIDS amongst antenatal women attending the local clinic is approximately the national average of 29% as opposed to the average of 15% for the Western Cape (Quinlan and Willan, 2005). Migration may be a key contributor to the higher than average level for the province (see Kissling *et al.*, 2005; Allison and Seeley, 2004).

The majority of houses in the lower areas, both formal and informal, have access to electricity (legally or illegally – with a multitude of wires criss-crossing the settlement) and water (either in homes or at public water points). However, higher up on the hillside the services have so far been unable to reach people. In some but not all of the areas situated on the steeper slopes higher up there are communal toilets and water points. Housing varies in size and type, from shacks made of wood and corrugated iron to formal housing. One building programme, the Niall Mellon housing project, funded by an Irish philanthropist in combination with government subsidies, has made some impact on providing adequate housing but this is minimal in terms of the settlement as a whole. This R30 million (about £3 million) project was intended to give houses to the original residents (450 households) of Hout Bay and has so far built close to that number, with more planned. Residents receiving a

Niall Mellon house have to pay R300 per month towards the house. (These houses are bigger than RDP houses at 42 square metres.) Additional (including government / RDP-style housing) has not been built primarily because local white residents from the Hout Bay area have opposed the granting of additional land for Imizamo Yethu residents.

Imizamo Yethu benefits from the infrastructure of the Hout Bay area in general and from its proximity to central Cape Town in terms of services and transport links. Nevertheless, infrastructure such as roads are not universally available within the informal settlement. Because of the urban location, public transport is better than in the other two research sites. (Regular and well-used private mini-bus taxis serve the settlement that are reasonably priced and efficient.) However, within the informal settlement itself most roads are rough dirt tracks and are quite difficult to negotiate, and the upper parts are inaccessible by road.

Access to education and training

In terms of formal schooling, more than one option is available at least in theory, but accessing quality education may be linked with the ability to pay higher fees for private education. For instance, two key informants with children independently emphasised the importance of – and difficulties involved in – raising the fees for the type of schooling that they wanted their children to have (Patrick, 17.01.06 and Nolitha Mngomezulu, 19.01.06). Both said they were willing to make significant sacrifices in order that their children can go to a decent school. The local Afrikaans-speaking public secondary school is reported to be over-crowded, although new school infrastructure is planned over the next few years.

In terms of adult education and training, access is quite patchy and is also in the majority of cases dependent on the ability to pay, especially for adequately run and managed courses in subjects such as computer skills. A few exceptions are in place such as CoastCare, and the occasional Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA) course, for example, a year-long manufacturing SETA course in 2005 which

attracted over 100 participants. However, this, according to local reports (and corroborated by a local ANC leader (Kenny Tokwe, Imizamo Yethu, 13.12.05)) was not sufficiently linked to efforts to find subsequent employment for participants, and many ended up in unskilled employment. According to the same source, other SETA training was provided in building and bricklaying skills, and some people were subsequently employed on the Niall Mellon housing project. Nonetheless, complaints were voiced about who got such opportunities (see chapter nine).

According to interview data (see list of Imizamo Yethu interviewees in Appendix 1) and the questionnaires, the main training course that fishermen had reported attending specifically related to their occupation was the short SETA course Safety and Security at Sea (now a requirement for obtaining fishing 'rights' since 2005 in the normal application system). The vast majority of fishermen interviewed reported that they had not really been trained formally at all to do their job – they had either learned from relatives before becoming employed, or they had learned on the job from colleagues by copying what they did (acquisition learning – Rogers, 2003). The majority of those consulted reported that no managerial training or training to progress to senior positions had been available. One of the key informants spoke about the lack of opportunities for people in Imizamo Yethu:

> It is like we have been locked up here with no way out. People don't know what's out there… They can't afford training… It is no different from apartheid for poor people in South Africa (Nolitha Mngomezulu, Imizamo Yethu, 19.01.06).

Employment / informal economy

It is difficult to determine accurately the unemployment rate in Imizamo Yethu – local estimates differed significantly at between 50% and 24% unemployment (and Census data places this at 31-34% according to the definition). The most common types of work are domestic work, gardening, construction, and work in restaurants, the vast majority of which are part-time or casual, low-paid, relatively unskilled jobs categorised within the informal economy (Kenny Tokwe, Imizamo Yethu, 13.12.05). Informal economy retail employment – selling food and other items is a major source of income. Products are sold from small local shops, and shebeens (illegal alcohol

stores, often operating informally from someone's house) of which there are estimated to be over 100 in Imizamo Yethu alone. Local service outlets such as hairdressing salons and public telephone points were also to be seen almost on every street corner.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has looked at some of the key similarities and differences emerging from the three case studies based on five main themes arising from the sustainable livelihoods framework. The three contexts show three different historical trajectories of development, with differing access to services including housing and transport, and distinct developmental gaps as well as livelihood inequalities that ultimately reflect on the realities of citizenship in contemporary South Africa. They show significant similarities over the three case studies – crossing the rural and urban divide – in terms of gaps in services and education and training provision – pointing to the lack of historical, and to a varying extent, current investment in these geographical areas that plays a large part in existing inequalities. This analysis introduces the different types of utilisation and availability of marine resources and how this relates to livelihoods of the fishing communities in this area. This is visible against a backdrop illustrating the complexity and dynamic nature of citizenship in the Western Cape, characterised by race, class and spatial inequalities.

Building on this overview, the following chapter will look in detail at the transforming processes and structures (international, national and local) mediating access to livelihoods based on marine resources and to adult education and training in the three case studies.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MEDIATING INFLUENCES ON ACCESS TO LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES: THE INTERWEAVING OF INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL AND LOCAL STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the mediating influences involved in access to adult and vocational education and training provision and to livelihood opportunities in the coastal settlements studied. It uses the sustainable livelihoods approach in combination with the concepts of citizenship and social capital to analyse the data. This chapter highlights the usefulness of a cross-sectoral approach in understanding how access to adult education and training provision relates to citizenship concerns. I draw the findings from one group of small rural settlements, Doring Bay, Ebenhaeser and Papendorp. I focus on these settlements due to the wealth of data available on these aspects.

People in the West Coast area are operating in a difficult institutional environment. New national fishing legislation and policies have produced new requirements that fishworkers must fulfil in order to gain access to fishing rights. The new policies, implemented progressively since 1998, are heavily influenced by current neo-liberal international models, and have led to a tendency towards polarisation (Castells, 1998) and inequalities in the industry and in fishing communities (Isaacs, 2006). They view fishing as a specialised full-time activity, rather than as a part-time, seasonal activity or one of several diverse livelihood strategies that is the reality in many developing countries (Allison and Ellis, 2001). Allocation of fishing rights is often made in the form of single-species quotas rather than the multiple species that would allow fishers to respond to seasonal changes or depletion of stocks. The combined effects of the changes have been damaging to local fishing livelihoods.

The number of fishers who have legal access to marine resources has been reduced since 1998, as well as the range of species they have access to (Isaacs, 2003, 2006).

Some of those people excluded from catching high-value resources are faced with at best reduced access to low-value resources. Many others who have traditionally fished have been left out of access to marine resources altogether, while large companies such as Oceana continue to fish in large quantities and make huge profits (see DEAT, 2006a). Furthermore, the activities of industrial companies have led to global resource depletion (Copes, 1997), negatively affecting small-scale fishers' livelihoods. The process of allotting fishing rights as quotas to small-scale fishers has meant that those catching high-value resources destined for international export, such as WCRL, must run MSEs, competing with and / or selling to large companies.

The nature of the mixed activities of fishing and agricultural activities (including small-scale farming and commercial wine farming) in the areas studied has led to a struggle for priorities within local institutions, particularly in Ebenhaeser. As the data and analysis in this chapter will show, this means that in some cases these small-scale or informal fishers are marginalised even at a local level within their own communities, as well as by national and international processes. This struggle over priorities occurs in the context of a fight for redress in the form of the Ebenhaeser land restitution claim.

Obtaining and managing a fishing quota through the normal application process (as in 2005-6) requires a high level of business, marketing and accounting knowledge, as well as the ability to negotiate complex application procedures in English. The government department responsible also disseminates much of the necessary information on the internet, a medium to which few in these fishing communities have adequate access. MSE development and skills training are therefore particularly pertinent. Such skills also relate to the category of 'functional literacy' skills—the range of skills needed to negotiate the specific 'real life' literacy tasks involved in securing access to marine resources (see FAO, 2006).

This chapter will utilise the SL framework to look at inequalities in adult education and training provision. It will then examine briefly the characteristics of local livelihood strategies and access, before turning to an analysis of the structures and

processes mediating access to adult education and training provision in the context of livelihoods in fishing communities.

Inequalities in adult education, training and literacy

Despite the shortcomings of the SL framework noted in chapter two, it has particular strength in terms of cross-sectoral analysis. The type of cross-sectoral analysis used here has the potential to make adult educational and training interventions more responsive and relevant to the people they are trying to serve.

People in rural fishing communities are often thought to have low levels of education, and statistical analysis across sub-Saharan Africa supports this in comparison with urban residents (FAO, 2006). The low levels of education can be attributed to general geographic variability of and inequalities in educational access, as well as in some cases the often migratory and / or mobile nature of fishworkers. The lack of perceived relevance of formal education provision to fishing communities, coupled with the need to earn income from a young age can also be a factor. In some cases, however, other rural groups such as agricultural workers have been found to have lower educational and literacy levels than fishworkers, who demonstrate significant literacy uses and capabilities in their everyday sales and marketing activities (*ibid.*). The majority of small-scale fishworkers interviewed (see previous chapter and Appendix 1) stated that they had some formal schooling, typically 3-8 years of primary schooling, and all have some literacy and numeracy skills including those required for sales transactions and reading letters, at least in Afrikaans.

Notably, the tradition in the fishing communities researched is for female members of the household to carry out the bulk of the tasks associated with accounting practices and sales of marine resources caught, as well as managing household finances. Such tasks involve significant numeracy skills and in some cases associated literacy skills.

Although since 1994 significant efforts and progress have been made to address educational inequalities in South Africa in terms of race, public skills training provision is still predominantly concentrated in urban areas (McGrath, 2004b), which constituted approximately 59% of the total national population (2005 figures, UNPD, 2007). Equally, a survey of private vocational providers, including not-for-profit training, found significant geographical and rural / urban inequalities in provision (Akoojee, 2004).

For the settlements included here, the main centre of public adult and vocational education and training provision is West Coast College, in the urban municipality capital of Vredendal. People in two out of three of the settlements (Ebenhaeser has a population of approximately 3878 people and Papendorp of about 155—combined population around 4033) are less able to access private and public educational and training compared to the third, Doring Bay, due to the location of provision and lack of public transport. This is despite Doring Bay's smaller population size (about 963 people) relative to Ebenhaeser (2001 Census data: StatsSA, 2001). This could be attributed to several reasons, but the higher level of formal employment in Doring Bay is likely to be a significant factor, coupled with poor public transport links, particularly from Papendorp. Moreover, West Coast College is one of the smallest and most fragile in the country (McGrath, 2004b).

Informal economy livelihood strategies in fishing communities

Local livelihood strategies are heavily influenced by global and national institutions and processes – including neo-liberal influences – on national policies and international models of resource management limiting local access to marine resources. This includes an orientation of the formal fishing industry in South Africa towards the export of high-value resources in order to produce foreign revenue for the state, which is contributing to resource depletion (see Hersoug and Isaacs, 2001). The export orientation in practice operates in tension with the need to provide local livelihood strategies.

In view of the lack of access to marine resources for these traditional fishing communities, and the few alternatives, a significant proportion of people across the three settlements, and particularly in Papendorp (22 out of 32 households, almost 69%), are at least partially dependent on the two government employment / poverty alleviation schemes Public Works and CoastCare. These bring a small income of R38 per day (around £3.80) for participants.

The next section analyses the structures and processes that mediate access to vocational education and training (VET) and adult education provision in relation to informal sector livelihoods in fishing communities. The categorisation of transforming structures and processes into international and national scales outline the strong interweaving linkages between these levels and local level structures and processes.

Transforming structures, institutions and processes: International influences

International influences, structures and processes in adult education and training

This chapter asserts that several institutional-related aspects are affecting the ability of adult education and training to enhance equitable or democratic citizenship in the new South Africa and to tackle poverty reduction concerns in South Africa. The first is the implementation of imported, essentially neo-liberal international models used, such as the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), for education and training, which are contributing to excessive polarisation in provision. The South African NQF came into existence as an attempt to deliver both on international economic competitiveness and equity (including poverty reduction). However, competitiveness has won out (Allais, 2003; 2007). Institutional factors (provided in more detail below) and lack of cohesion and agreement between the Department of Labour (DoL) and Department of Education (DoE) have been central to this failing. The Department of Education has not done enough to promote equity, and the focus on

the NQF has sidelined the much-needed capacity building of adult and vocational education and training providers (Allais, 2007). In addition, the policy framework for non-formal education, now integrated into the state system discourages or even prohibits non-state (e.g. civil society) educational provision (see Aitchison, 2007).

In the DoL system, the tendency towards competitiveness has translated into a reliance on in-house company training and private as well as not-for-profit VET providers, with accompanying criticism of 'fly-by-night' operators (Akoojee, 2004) for lacking accountability and thorough needs analysis work. Neither public nor private provision has adequately served rural areas, although there are exceptions in both cases, such as in some rural ex-'homeland' ('black') areas, which are better off than rural areas in the Western and Northern Cape provinces (*ibid*). The lack of rural facilities is exacerbated by the direct costs of transport to get to what institutions there are, plus the opportunity costs of lost income whilst undertaking courses of study.

International donor influence: the DFID Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods Projects

The second key finding of this chapter is that some international donor efforts such as the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) sustainable coastal livelihoods projects have at times been adversely affected by inadequate attention to the local and national structures and processes mediating access to VET and adult education provision, as well as to livelihoods based on fishing. As a result these programmes have been hampered by national resource allocation policies and in some cases by local and national institutions.

The Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods Programme (SCLP) was implemented nationally through DEAT. The programme evaluations judged the major successes to have been in the realms of policy – with the drawing up of a national integrated coastal development White Paper (DEAT, 2000), and in related consolidation work on governmental institutional development. The evaluation also judged the

programme overall to have raised the profile of sustainable livelihoods and poverty reduction issues. Nonetheless, this aspect was found to have been less effective in the Western Cape, with its concern with economic growth and competitiveness, than in other provinces such as the Eastern Cape. The evaluation emphasised that, in general, government institutions are still hampered by the need for a realignment towards addressing livelihoods and poverty reduction concerns, which are likely to slip down the agenda again (DFID, 2005).

The lack of influence of poverty reduction considerations is visible in the national fishing allocation policies, finalised in 2005 (DEAT, 2005). While poverty reduction is a stated aim in the general policy, this in practice has proved to be essentially incompatible with, and subordinated to, the neo-liberal aims of stability and consolidation in the industry, favouring larger and more established companies (Isaacs, 2006). The DFID-influenced SCLP vision and emphasis on livelihoods therefore seems to have had very limited influence (except rhetorical) on the (subsequent) national mainstream policies of 2005-6.

The SCLP was shorter than originally intended – its funding was cut in the final year of planned implementation owing to a decision by DFID to discontinue its South African programmes, justified by a shift in favour of lower-income rather than middle-income countries. This shift can be argued to illustrate a preoccupation of international institutions with targets in educational interventions (see King and Rose, 2005), at the expense of attention to context and to seeing programmes through to their end. According to the evaluations, the cutting short of the implementation had an effect on the scope and success of some parts of the programme, including individual projects. The crucial importance of understanding the local institutional context is clearly illustrated by the Doring Bay and Ebenhaeser projects, which were part of the SCLP. In both settlements, a multi-purpose resource centre (MPRC) was set up, to facilitate local access to training opportunities and act as local advice centres, as well as to develop local business activities.

The implementation of the projects, conceptualised as 'demonstration' projects, was judged to be one of the weak points in the programme, with only a few successes. This had a wider impact since the projects were the most visible part of the programme, especially at the local level. One of the reasons for the lack of success in the individual projects, according to the evaluations, was a lack of linkages with local government structures. Where they were involved, this was usually subsequent to the inception of the project. In addition, local (non-governmental) implementing agents with the capacity and suitability for carrying out sustainable livelihoods projects were also found to be few and far between (DFID, 2005; AICDD, 2005).

An examination of the two projects in 2005–2006 is illuminating. In Doring Bay the project has proved to be much more sustainable than in Ebenhaeser (Peter Owies, Doring Bay, 20.02.06; André Cloete, Papendorp, 19.02.06; Dennis Taylor, Ebenhaeser, 20.02.06). In April 2006, the Doring Bay MPRC finally secured some local government development funds to enable it to carry out its work. Its success has partly been due to its recognition of the importance of raising its profile and fomenting strong linkages with local government. This success occurred after several years with very limited funding and staffing subsequent to DFID financial support running out, during which time funds were solely coming from its small business and advice activities. The funding from local government has allowed it to broaden its role to include facilitating local access to training, dealing with access issues for fishworkers, and bringing together different government departments and NGOs in order to tackle the reported appalling conditions for farm workers in the area (Peter Owies, Doring Bay, 5.04.06[68]). Partly because of the existence over many years of a formal sector leading player (Oceana) in the fishing industry located in Doring Bay, and because of the insistent efforts of staff members, fishing issues have always been central to the MPRC's work. The MPRC has also benefited from close political links at local and provincial level with the ruling party, the ANC.

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[68] Email correspondence.

Nevertheless, in terms of training, the MPRC is able to play only a limited role, including lobbying for provision and liaising with public and private providers as it is not an accredited provider itself. VET provision in the year 2005 was limited to Transport Education and Training Authority (TETA) courses, predominantly very short courses only for those fishworkers living in Doring Bay. This was run by a small private service provider called 'Sunbeam' based further south in Langebaan (near Saldanha Bay), which specialises in fishing-related TETA courses. One of the major shortcomings that seems to be common to such ad hoc, private provider-led implementation (Akoojee, 2004) was that no background needs analysis was done prior to implementation. Moreover, inhabitants of Ebenhaeser and Papendorp were excluded from this round of provision (Training meeting, MPRC, Doring Bay, 22.03.05).

In Ebenhaeser, the MPRC is no longer functioning – it has no staff and has been subsumed by the Ebenhaeser Land Claims Committee. The Land Claims Committee has resisted getting involved in fishing issues at all, concentrating on the local land claim. Few outputs have materialised for local people in terms of many of the aims of the project – including training and small business opportunities.

Whilst one of the outcomes of the Ebenhaeser land claim is supposed to be the general development of the area, scant attention has been paid to anything other than the planning of commercial agricultural development. The informal sector/small-scale fishing activities, and thus fishing communities themselves, are generally regarded by local leaders as being of lower status and importance than agricultural activities. At the public FET provider, the West Coast College in Vredendal, the responsible officials charged with training expressed a lack of awareness of the existence of any organisation dealing with fishing in Ebenhaeser/Papendorp, as well as any significant need for training provision other than for agricultural development. Opportunities and information regarding training needs were clearly being filtered by local ANC and land claim priorities, which the DFID project may have been able to foresee and address, if sufficient background and contextual work had been done. Because of the shortcomings of the Ebenhaeser MPRC in addressing fishing issues,

fishers from Ebenhaeser and Papendorp have been turning to the Doring Bay MPRC for advice. However, when forced to ration its activities the Doring Bay MPRC concentrates its lobbying and training activities on the needs of its own community.

International influences on access to marine resources and fishing livelihoods

The fishing allocation system has been heavily influenced by an international, predominantly neo-liberal model, the Individual Transferable Quota (ITQ) system. The ITQ system internationally, as in the South African case, has often been introduced as a response to the environmental decline of marine resources and as a means of imposing greater control over access in order to maximise revenue (and foreign currency) for the state. However, one of the basic assumptions of the system is not fulfilled in South Africa – namely that the enforcement and governance aspects of regulations are adequate (Charles, 2001; Copes, 1997). Fieldwork data, along with repeated reports in the South African press, show that the DEAT lacks the capacity and resources to police fishing regulations in order to protect them adequately from large-scale depletion predominantly by industrial fisheries.

Although some international agencies such as the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) have sought to protect and facilitate access for small-scale fishers through international agreements such as their Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries (FAO, 1995), these have so far made few inroads into the dominance of the ITQ approach. The effects of international influences in both adult education and training and in marine resource allocation are heavily intertwined with local as well as national structures and processes. In order to understand the national context of adult education and VET provision in the settlements studied, the next section looks at national influences on livelihoods in fishing communities.

National level influences, structures and processes

National institutions and influences on local fishing livelihoods

The biggest influence on livelihoods based on marine resources in recent years has been the changes in national policies since 1998, as legislated in the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 (DEAT, 1998; see Isaacs, 2006). According to policy statements, one of the major thrusts of the changes was to 'transform' the industry – to address the racial inequalities that had been inherited from the apartheid system. In practice, however, despite the rhetoric, those 'historically disadvantaged' (formerly classified coloured and African) people who have benefited have been predominantly those who already have skills, financial resources and access to information and knowledge, through business and/ or political connections (Hersoug and Isaacs, 2001; Isaacs, 2006).

In terms of small-scale fishing at the local level, national regulations represent a disabling institutional environment, which undermines local livelihood strategies. Disabling regulations include the tendency towards allocating a quota for one species only at the small-scale level, which means that in some cases fishers can catch their only annual quota in three days or less. In addition, the application process for long-term rights (and for permits for low-value resources as in Ebenhaeser/ Papendorp) discourages fishers (through point penalties) from gaining income from other sectors, and in some cases from any other species (DEAT, 2005). This type of regulation grossly undermines the strategies, such as diversification on a temporary/seasonal basis, that fishworkers may employ to feed their families and to earn enough income for the household (see also Allison and Ellis, 2001). Local fishermen report that in the past, they favoured catching a range of fish according to abundance and season, and sought other types of employment as necessary. These practices still continue to some extent, albeit on the edges of or flouting national legislation, with the risks that this entails.

National influences, structures and processes in adult education and training

2005 saw the announcement of a new national development strategy, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) run from the Deputy President's office, integrating an economic framework with concerns about skills development and equity. This programme is complemented by the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition (JipSA). This is a move that may have some positive impact in the future although it is currently too early to tell. Nevertheless, concerns have been raised that AsgiSA is merely a repackaging of current provision, with no extra funding allocated. Training for the informal economy (often termed the second economy in the South African policy context) is seen as a particularly weak point in the initiative (McGrath and Akoojee, 2007). This may jeopardise its positive impact in rural coastal settlements in the future.

The NQF still has an influence on the current education and training system and on the realities of provision in coastal settlements. The aim of the NQF was to address (and 'transform') the racial inequalities of the apartheid educational system, including to integrate all academic education and adult and vocational training into one overarching framework. However, development of the NQF has been hampered by slow progress resulting from resistance to this unification process (Ensor, 2003; Allais, 2003). At the heart of this are concerns about compromising standards from the academic and formal schooling side, and difficulties with effective co-operation between the DoE and the DoL (Ensor, 2003; McGrath, 2005c). As a result, national adult and further education and training policies are producing highly polarised and patchy results. At one extreme, SETA courses are aimed at those already in employment or likely to obtain formal employment (Walter Davids, Construction SETA provider, Doring Bay, 25.01.05). At the other, they tend to be part of poverty alleviation measures, with poor resources, lack of capacity and over-stretched officials allotted to them, such as in the rural settlements covered here (Andrew Josephs, 29.11.05 and Johan Engelbrecht, 15.02.06, both staff at West Coast College, Vredendal). This polarisation is limiting access to training opportunities to develop

both fishing-related and alternative livelihood strategies for people in these coastal settlements.

Adult and VET in fishing communities also operate in the context of a disabling government policy environment – for the informal sector and in marine resource management. The different types of adult education and training provision currently available are detailed below.

The main categories of adult education and VET provision implemented in the West Coast area are Learnerships and short courses through the SETAs and the National Skills Fund, all under the DoL's jurisdiction. Literacy and numeracy under ABET are provided by the DoE. Vocational courses typically in engineering and business studies offered by West Coast College are part of the DoE's set of awards. In addition, there are two separate poverty alleviation/employment training schemes— Public Works and CoastCare, which are run by different departments again (the Department of Public Works and DEAT). Both Public Works and CoastCare schemes combine work experience with some training including ABET. The multiplicity of departments and institutions dealing with these training opportunities has produced confusion and a lack of communication and co-operation resulting in large gaps and inconsistencies (McGrath, 2004b).

SETA-led Learnerships and skills programmes in the West Coast area have been concentrated in urban/industrial or formal sector centres. Their nature as employer-led courses inevitably means that opportunities are patchy and scarce in the rural area researched. Only two rounds of SETA courses were reported in 2005 for the three settlements – one advanced SETA course for workers in the formal construction industry, and the short, predominantly basic level courses based at the MPRC in Doring Bay mentioned above.

Relevant programmes for the fishing sector in the West Coast area fall under either transport authority (TETA-SETA) (presumably stemming from an initial focus on safety of transport) or Food and Beverages. The latter SETA offers a Learnership

intended for workers destined for the formal fish processing and packing industry. Learnerships provide a mixture of on-the-job training and theoretical learning. Participants in both types of SETA courses and skills programmes receive a nominal monthly sum (around R600 (£60) per month) for attending. While SETA courses tend to be short, most learnerships last for a year. Nonetheless, for both, employment afterwards is far from guaranteed.

SETAs have also been encouraged by the DoL to run programmes funded through the National Skills Fund. Such training is arguably more orientated towards the informal/MSE sector and the unemployed. It is funded by the Skills Development Levy, and run by the DoL. Participants in order to qualify have to be 'historically disadvantaged' (particularly black people, women and the disabled) and to have the prospect of being employed within three months of completing the training, for at least a short period. Within this category, small, micro and medium enterprise (SMME) training is available, which is applicable to fishworkers, as long as they can demonstrate legal access to marine resources over a significant period of time (Lizel Wicomb, Vredenburg, 8.03.05). This has been very difficult for a considerable length of time, both in the transitional period in the run up to the allocation of long-term rights (which were still being finalised in mid-2006) and afterwards.

Fishers faced a period of considerable uncertainty lasting from early 2005 to June 2006 when the new long-term (10–15 year) fishing allocation policies were being formulated, consulted on and finalised. During this period the majority of small-scale fishers would not have been able to prove any lasting access to marine resources to a credit-granting organisation. The staff member responsible for this training provision covers a large geographical area, and admitted that very little outreach work had been done in order to publicise the existence of such assistance for training. She also indicated that no SMME courses had been run so far for fishworkers either on an individual or group basis in these West Coast areas (Lizel Wicomb, Vredenburg, 8.03.05). SMME courses have been run much further south at Saldanha Bay, the centre of the west coast large industrial fishing sector. In practice generally, SMME

development provision in South Africa has favoured emergent black businesses over micro to small enterprises (Rogerson, 2004; Akoojee et al., 2005).

The West Coast College in Vredendal runs other vocational courses in engineering, computer and secretarial skills, but participants have to pay 60% of the transport fees (a prohibitive R400 (£40) per month) and all of the accommodation costs and fees, although they can get a loan to pay for fees. Moreover, such programmes are based on very old syllabi, with very little relevance to industry and workplace needs[69] (McGrath, 2004b).

At the other end of the extreme from the above training schemes lie under-resourced poverty alleviation schemes – Public Works and CoastCare – and ABET training. The Public Works scheme is run by the department of that name, and involves work experience and some training in road maintenance and repair. In practice, participants clear the hard shoulders of the main tarred road in the area, and have negligible opportunities to use their newly obtained repair skills due to exclusive local government tendering processes.

CoastCare is run by DEAT, and was conceived specifically to take the pressure off marine resources in the context of increased regulations on small-scale fishing. These programmes have produced few tangible results in terms of income generating projects or other opportunities in these communities, and this is a particular problem during the several months each year when the CoastCare (and Public Works) funding runs out. Although useful training is included, such as in drawing up a business plan, the financial resources or credit and transfer of marketing expertise are lacking in order for local people to take ideas forward where they lack exposure to such business activities. The tendency of the DoE's ABET classes in South Africa to follow a formal schooling method has been documented elsewhere (see, for example Kell, 1996). The sector suffered a serious decline after 1994 when many innovative NGOs closed as funds were shifted to government (Jean Pease, Cape Town, 9.01.05).

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[69] Since the fieldwork was carried out a new curriculum has been implemented (in 2007). Further research would therefore be needed to assess whether the new curriculum has significantly increased the relevance of the FET training provided.

Several accounts have emphasised the fact that formal schooling models of literacy do not value the skills and experience that adults already have in carrying out literacy tasks in their everyday livelihood strategies and personal lives (Rogers, 2005; Kell, 1996).

Current thinking stresses that literacy and numeracy instruction is likely to be far more effective if linked to multiple 'real-life' uses and to vocational education and livelihoods (Rogers, 2005, 2006; Street, 2001). Completion rates for ABET classes in the areas studied are very low – one round of ABET classes in 2004–2005 facilitated by the MPRC in Doring Bay resulted in five participants out of approximately 100 completing the course (Peter Owies, Doring Bay, 22.03.05). The ABET provision in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser (one class in each settlement, reported in 2005 to have less than five participants in each) has had similarly few participants complete recent courses, reflecting a general trend in South Africa (Akoojee et al., 2005). ABET and literacy provision have therefore not addressed the new requirements including for 'real life' or 'functional literacy' skills that fishing communities are facing.

Concluding remarks

Three main conclusions arise from the analysis above. Firstly, both public and private adult educational provision are failing to adequately serve rural areas. The implementation of imported, essentially neo-liberal international models including the NQF for education and training and the ITQ system in fisheries, have contributed towards excessive polarisation of VET provision, as well as for livelihood opportunities based on marine resources. The drive for international competitiveness has won out over equity, exacerbated by institutional obstacles. VET provision has focused on the demands of formal industries but failed to address provision for the informal sector, supplemented by patchy and poorly resourced provision aimed at tackling poverty alleviation. This leaves a huge intermediate gap, especially in rural areas, including for small-scale fishers. Secondly, international donor efforts, in this case DFID sustainable coastal livelihoods projects, have been adversely affected by an inadequate attention to the structures and processes influencing access at local and

national level, and have therefore been hampered by national marine resource allocation issues and local institutional power struggles. This example demonstrates a concern with targets at the expense of the background work required for successful provision. Thirdly, this chapter has highlighted the usefulness of a cross-sectoral analysis bringing together livelihood and adult educational access characteristics. In conjunction with the following chapters, this enables us to better understand local experiences of citizenship in contemporary South Africa.

CHAPTER EIGHT: LITERACY MEDIATION, BUREAUCRATIC LITERACIES AND RURAL LIVELIHOODS IN SOUTH AFRICA[70]

Introduction

This chapter examines the role of literacy mediation in access to livelihood opportunities in the rural coastal settlements studied. Literacy practices involved in the application process for WCRL are examined here for Paternoster, and for Doring Bay, Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, reflecting the rich sources of data available on literacy mediation in these settlements. Drawing on the New Literacy Studies and theories of social capital, this chapter critiques first of all a tendency for literature on literacy mediation to emphasise either the positive or negative role of literacy mediators, instead of examining conditions under which different types of mediation assistance are likely to be available. Secondly, this chapter illuminates seemingly neutral bureaucratic literacy requirements in the 2005-6 application process for marine resources, which hidden behind modernising and globalising aims served predominantly to exclude those with subaltern[71] literacies in other languages who had worked in the industry most of their lives. Thirdly, it underlines the difficulties involved in accessing positive or neutral literacy mediation assistance where competition over resources is high and where ethnicity is a significant factor. Fourthly, it contends that an enabling environment in terms of institutional literacy practices, including mechanisms of accountability of literacy mediators, are key factors that can ultimately improve the capabilities of small-scale producers to develop their own livelihoods. Lastly, this chapter shows how by questioning bureaucratic literacy and related requirements in these processes, civil society activities have been able to improve access to livelihoods and ultimately to expand and question official notions of citizenship.

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[70] A previous version of this chapter was presented at the 2007 UKFIET Oxford Education Conference, September, 2007.
[71] Also termed vernacular literacies, usually referring to literacy practices in languages other than the national language, especially used in reference to developing countries (Barton and Hamilton, 2000).

Literacy mediation unpacked

What is literacy mediation? The term has been defined as the enlistment of mediators of literacy both formally and informally, to accomplish literacy purposes (Baynham, 1993:294). Literacy mediators are thus those who engage with literacy tasks on behalf of or in collaboration with others (see Malan, 1996:105). Literacy mediation typically involves switching between activities focused on reading and writing to talk about these activities, that is between oral and literate modes (termed 'mode-switching'). It implies collective endeavour, including joint reconstruction of meaning and collaborative construction of texts (Baynham, 1993; Kalman, 2000). Such literacy mediation practices also often involve switching between different languages, types or genres of literacy ('code-switching') (Baynham, 1993:294). Such practices are common in formal and bureaucratic contexts where a text in an unfamiliar language, genre or register (such as a formal letter) is involved, but are also found in a range of more informal contexts (ibid; Barton and Hamilton, 2000). The literacy mediator role can in some cases be distinguished from that of interpreter, which involves translation between languages but not necessarily involving texts. However, in multi-lingual contexts the same individuals may be enlisted for both functions, and in practice there are significant structural commonalities between the two (Baynham, 1993).

Literacy mediation and the New Literacy Studies

Much of the recent literature on literacy mediation has been located within the New Literacy Studies. Drawing on this approach, this chapter takes an overview of the concept of literacy mediation, and seeks to work towards a more pluralistic and less one-dimensional view of literacy mediation practices. It attempts to shed light on those conditions under which literacy mediation has a tendency to be positive or negative. It draws on data from bureaucratic literacy practices involved in the 2005-6 application process for WCRL – a high-value marine resource. It provides an

additional contrast with the literacy requirements for access to a low-value resource, harders.

The New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Street, 2001 and 1995; Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič, 2000; Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Gee, 1991) emphasise the plural and contextual nature of literacy practices within particular social contexts, and reject the so-called 'autonomous' model of literacy that has dominated educational theory and practice over decades. The autonomous model holds that literacy is a set of universal skills that can be learned in a standardised way and applied and transferred to most contexts. Recent research, including a body of work within the NLS, has shown that literacy skills are in fact highly dependent on the social context in which they occur, and that certain literacies (termed dominant literacies) are favoured over others (local, subaltern or 'vernacular' literacies) (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič, 2000; Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Street, 2001 and 1995). The dominance of certain types of literacy over others is therefore intertwined with citizenship characteristics and with their relationship to official or dominant languages. Thus, a person who can read and write in one language may not be considered 'literate' unless they have mastered certain skills in another, official language of their society (Maddox, 2001), or unless they can demonstrate particular formal written language skills in an official context (Mace, 2002).

The relationship between actual skills and the status of being 'literate' is not simple, especially since being 'illiterate' (according to the autonomous model) is considered a deficit and is value-ridden. To be 'literate' entails far more than the possession of basic reading, writing and computational skills, and the difference between being 'literate' and 'illiterate' is often relative. To be considered 'illiterate' is not simply the lack of these skills but implies a degree of social and political marginality (Stites, 2001), implies an inability to lead a 'normal life' (Mace, 2002). The often decontextualised nature of 'literacy' is also a problem. Those who can carry out everyday tasks using reading and writing but who may struggle given an abstract situation or under pressure may therefore still be classed as 'illiterate' (see Mace, 2002). Being considered 'literate' may also be conflated with attendance in formal

schooling up to a certain standard. Such assumptions are obviously problematic in an era when the lack of universal access to primary schooling worldwide is so well documented[72] (see UNESCO, 2005).

Central to understanding the NLS approach to the study of literacy is the concept of literacy practices. Scribner and Cole (1981) define literacy practices as a combination of technology, skill and social knowledge, implying much more than an individualised and purely technical activity. The concept of literacy practice has been applied to a wide range of uses of literacy, including the rise of pictorial and other types of multi-modal literacies associated with ICTs (Kress, 2003; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). One of the most distinctive elements of the NLS approach is its emphasis on the social and collective aspects of literacy, as well as its tendency towards the use of ethnographic methods of research (Street, 2001, 1995 and 1993a; Barton, Hamilton and Ivanič, 2000; Barton and Hamilton, 1998). Based on numerous studies, it highlights that literacy is not just an individualised activity, but that often literacy practices are carried out collectively or in groups, where someone assists with particular aspects of the reading and / or writing task in a social situation (e.g. with understanding, drafting a letter, suggestions for specific wording). This mediating role can be played by a range of people from scribes or brokers, government or legal officials, acquaintances, friends or family (Mace, 2002; Kalman, 1999; 2000), including in multi-lingual contexts (see Baynham, 1993; Bayhnam and Lobanga Masing, 2000). Those using the concept of literacy practice have primarily emphasised the embeddedness and inseparable nature of specific uses of literacy from the context in which they are used – and have criticised assumptions about the transferability of grammatical and other competencies across contexts (Barton and Hamilton, 2000; Kell, 2005).

Genre approaches to literacy and critiques of the NLS approach

Genre approaches to literacy have foregrounded the importance of purpose in relation to literacy – recognising the different genres or registers of writing in which

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[72] Measurement of literacy is also fraught with difficulties (see Petersen, 2004).

distinct characteristics of grammar and style are deemed appropriate (e.g. the differences between a report, letter or recipe) (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993; Kress, 1993). Academics working within the NLS tradition have also acknowledged the importance of purpose in writing texts and literacy mediation practices (see Kalman, 2000; 1999). Scholars from the genre approach also illuminate how some literacy practices have come to dominate educational institutions, in the process illustrating linkages with ideas about the creation and perpetuation of social hierarchies (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Cope and Kalantzis (1993) highlight how certain predominantly middle-class modes of literacy and expression have come to be 'standard', the style that all have to follow, thereby in effect labelling other modes (including minority cultures) as deviant. Thus learners who are already or easily socialised into the 'standard' modes of expression and writing, perhaps as a result of overlap with social and cultural capital from their home and family life, are thus recast as the 'best' learners (see also Collins and Blot, 2003).

More recently advocates of the NLS approach and literacy researchers more generally have sought to respond to critics stressing an over-emphasis on the local (and on ethnographic study) at the expense of the general and the global issues around literacy (Brandt and Clinton, 2002; Collins and Blot, 2003; Street, 2003a and b). The second key criticism centres on the fact that these mainly ethnographic accounts have failed to reformulate the conventional or traditional debates about literacy (Collins and Blot, 2003). The latter fact nevertheless relates to the the broader methodological issue in education mentioned earlier, in that what is defined as 'evidence-based' research required by policy-makers usually only applies to quantitative research, which tends to ignore exclusionary factors at work (Crossan and Osborne, 2004; Hammersley, 2002; Lo Bianco, 2004). To counter some of the other criticisms, new emphasis has been placed within the NLS on addressing more clearly issues of power and identity in relation to literacy practices, as well as the linkages with wider social theory (Street, 2003a and b). However, such connections are already visible or implicit in much of the research broadly within the NLS approach. This chapter draws on these strands in linking literacy mediation with

questions of citizenship and social capital. It also seeks to illustrate the connections between the global, national and the local in a coherent way.

Literacy practices and mediation as part of the WCRL application process

Overview of bureaucratic literacy practices
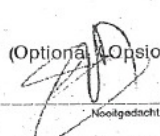
In the 2005-6 process, WCRL access was effected predominantly through a complex written application process. Racial transformation and poverty reduction are key objectives of the relevant policies. Nevertheless, at national level these objectives must compete with the aims of modernisation, efficiency and stability in this highly globalised industry (DEAT, 2005; Hersoug and Isaacs, 2001).

In South Africa's post-1994 context, changes in policies and implementation of market-based systems of access to marine resources have brought new challenges for small-scale fishing communities. These have become manifested in shifts in application processes that require a high level of literacy and related competencies, including business skills and the ability to interpret legalistic English. As a result, applicants turned to a range of people that performed a literacy mediation role, some at local or community level, others in the relevant government department, MCM, as well as outside consultants.

Both research sites were covered by the same overarching bureaucratic procedures in 2005-6, but differed in how the processes were carried out, and in the types of literacy mediation available to and utilised by applicants. In general terms, the application process was outsourced to an independent international financial consultancy firm, Deloitte and Touche. This implied a certain level of apparent neutrality, anonymity and standardisation of the process at central level, and in effect meant that MCM could distance themselves from the process and any resulting disputes. This occurred in conflict with the previous experience of some applicants,

as well as with the fact that other written documentation had been received and stored about some of the applicants' cases and their past complaints.

An array of complex information was required on, or accompanying the form, including detailed accounts, marketing agreements and past records, as well as a non-refundable fee of R300 (around £30 at the time), a significant amount for small-scale fishers. Related exclusionary factors played a considerable part in disadvantaging certain applicants. The process was confounded by the lack of transparency and specificity of the written proof required on the application form. 'Proof of historical involvement' was required – but it was not clearly specified what this should be. Applicants therefore provided different written accounts such as letters from local leaders. After the application process was completed, it emerged that what had been required was '*bakkie slips*' as proof of actually going to sea – a *bakkie slip* being a piece of paper that documented that the applicant had spent that day at sea on a particular boat (see below). Not everyone had *bakkie slips*, since this was something more often found on large commercial boats, rather than for small scale fishing trips.

An example of a *bakkie slip* from applicant's appeal form

Language operated as an important exclusionary factor in some cases. The relevant policy documents had been produced in the four main coastal South African languages (English, Afrikaans, isi-Xhosa and isi-Zulu) in their draft form for the purposes of the public consultation process, although there were complaints about mistakes in the translations of both the Afrikaans and Xhosa versions. The final policy and application form, however, was produced only in English, and complex

legalistic terminology was used that required applicants to understand the consequences of the provisions in order to fill in the form adequately. The use of legalistic English produced strong potential for making mistakes on the application form.

Assumptions were also made about applicants' access to ICTs, since in some cases the relevant information about the process was provided principally (or in other cases only in good time) on the internet. This did not take into account the lack of access to computers, and scarce opportunities to gain the requisite ICT skills in the rural communities concerned.

Literacy mediation in Paternoster

Complex factors influenced the application process in Paternoster including the previous use of a consultant, Juliet Grove, in a mediator role to help gain access to WCRL. This consultant was later implicated in a court case concerning an association with 35 members, the *Paternoster Klein Vissers Assosiasie* (Paternoster small scale fishers association) (PKVA), another association consisting of around 50 women members, *Klein Begin* (meaning small beginning) and several other similar associations across the Western Cape. The consultant had played a mediating role between Marine and Coastal Management (MCM - the government department responsible) and the local fishworkers, carrying out most of the bureaucratic literacy and numeracy practices involved including the filling in of necessary forms, collecting of permits and transfer of fees. The role of such consultants was encouraged by MCM as facilitating their job of liasing with quota holders, and this particular consultant was, according to local reports, even held up as a model example. However, the consultant later disappeared and simultaneously a significant proportion of the money went missing. Furthermore, she left without fulfilling her mediating role in full, therefore leaving the association members without their annual permit to go to sea. The confusion caused also led to the collapse of the PKVA through the significant bad feeling created, since the members were left unsure of what had happened and therefore blamed each other for the disappearance of the

money (Naomi Cloete and Albertus Slingers, Paternoster residents, at Masifundise meeting in Langebaan, 2.02.06).

As part of the policy consultation process in 2005 in Paternoster, a government official was sent from MCM to give information and reassure residents, including the previous WCRL quota holders who were part of these two associations. These residents knew the official personally, from the anti-apartheid struggle days, as well as in his MCM post. This official's coloured, Afrikaans-speaking, west coast background, allowed him to draw on shared sources of social capital and trust (see Field, 2003). As a result, he was able to mediate between spoken Afrikaans and the more text-based official bureaucratic practices and requirements. The applicants were confident that because he had come and listened to their story personally, and that they had been in touch with him and other MCM staff previously about their specific situation, that he would push their case: 'Hulle ken die storie' (they [MCM] know the story) (Naomi Cloete, Paternoster resident, Langebaan meeting, 2.02.06). However, in the light of this familiarity they did not fully appreciate the outsourced and anonymous nature of the application process, and the fact that this official had no official role in any of the drawing up, decision-making or implementation of the fishing policy and application processes.

What happened in the actual literacy practices involved in the application process then further confounded these factors. One person from PKVA was asked to play the role of literacy mediator for most of the former PKVA members, and also for members of *Klein Begin*, ostensibly because he had more formal schooling, but also because he had eventually successfully negotiated administrative hurdles after the consultant disappeared (Jackie Sunde, Masifundise, 3.02.06).

Three major issues emerged from the application forms filled in with his assistance. Firstly, on the form the applicant was required to state whether anyone else in the household had also applied for WCRL. In the policy it clearly stated that two people from the same household would not be given a WCRL 'right', unless they could prove that they were not involved in the same fishing operation. It later emerged that

the mediator misunderstood this question and thought it asked for the next of kin –
and therefore wrote the name of each applicant's next of kin in this space on the
form. This in effect disqualified many of the applicants since they had not provided
the proof of separate fishing activities that this information implied.

The relevant section from applicant's (Christa Kuilders) original application form.

The following is part of the statement accompanying appeal forms to clarify the
mistakes made[73]:

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[73] Translation: I declare that I made a mistake on Mrs. Christa Kuilders' application forms. I
misunderstood question 2.14 and thought that the form asked for the next of kin of the person. Mrs.
Kuilders' husband did not apply.

A further written statement appeared on the applicant's appeal form[74]:

The second problem was that the applicants, on the literacy mediator's advice, did not specify that they had been 'rights' holders in the medium term as part of the PKVA and of *Klein Begin*, which it is likely would have assisted their case. Thirdly, the applicants did not include specific information about why they had not been able to catch the whole of their allocated quota for the medium term period (2001-5), which was primarily because of the actions (or inaction) of the consultant. All of these three problems occurred as a result of difficulties in understanding the legalistic English contained on the form and in the policies, and of the misunderstanding of the outsourced nature of the 'rights' allocation process.

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[74] Translation: With this piece of writing I want to explain to you why I feel I must get WCRL again. Four years ago I caught (obtained a permit for) 200kg WCRL and I want to therefore find out why my application was not good enough (this time). In the first place I want to give my fishing background – I was born a fishers' child, my grandfather was a fisherman as well as my father. Since school I have worked in different fish factories including Sea Harvest, Visco, St. Helenabaai. I caught my own allocation of 200kg four years ago.

Ultimately, only three people from Paternoster obtained WCRL 'rights' out of 38 that applied. None of those who had been involved in the PKVA were successful, and neither were any of those in *Klein Begin*.

Masifundise had provided some advice on applications although this was not their main focus. Therefore, they did not assist people directly with filling in initial application forms. Masifundise objected to the rights allocation process in principle, and continued to lobby for a complete change in policies and approach. The staff, however, did later help with appeals forms since their assistance was specifically sought in this regard. The impression from Masifundise staff was that local people had not wanted to rely on outside help because of their previous negative experiences with the consultant and their corresponding lack of trust of outside literacy mediation (Jackie Sunde, Masifundise, 14.02.06). However, Masifundise's initial resistance to getting involved in individual applications may also have contributed.

The appeals process by which unsuccessful applicants could contest their decision provided further pertinent literacy issues. The primary difficulty was in deciphering the information provided about why applicants had been unsuccessful. This was provided on score sheets which were both difficult to understand, and not available for every applicant. The score sheet was the list of all the applicants and what they had scored on all the criteria used. This information was written in English, with wording that was rather unclear in many cases, and which even lawyers at the Legal Resources Centre in Cape Town and Masifundise staff found difficult to decode.

An example of a score sheet supposed to clarify why applicants were unsuccessful:

The criteria included numerous ambiguities and less than obvious double negatives. For example, one column was labelled 'Not improperly lodged' – with the options Y/N where Y meant properly lodged. Adjacent to this was a column termed 'Material defects' where Y meant no material defects[75]. The score sheets were also printed in very small writing, so were physically hard to read as a consequence. Masifundise requested an electronic copy in order to assist the applicants in the areas in which they work, since this could then be magnified electronically and thus understood more easily. However, this option was not open to most applicants who were without easy access to computers and email. No successful appeals resulted for people in Paternoster through the normal process. Such exclusionary bureaucratic literacy practices as those listed above meant that in these processes the vast majority of small-scale fishers were pushed out of legal access to WCRL, except for recreational access (maximum four WCRL per day) where they are not allowed to sell their catch[76]. Several were subsequently fined for poaching (Jackie Sunde, Masifundise, 14.05.07).

Literacy mediation in Doring Bay, Papendorp and Ebenhaeser

In Doring Bay, the local leadership was keen to get involved in issues around fishing but was occupied with its own fishers' interests and application processes. They were therefore unable to fully cater for Papendorp and Ebenhaeser applicant fishers in addition. The situation was exacerbated by Papendorp and Ebenhaeser's local political ANC power struggles over the land claim which meant that the leadership paid scant attention to the fishermen's plight (as detailed in the previous chapter and in Petersen, 2007).

For the application process in Doring Bay, the policies relating to WCRL access were read by those interested in applying in group processes with the assistance of

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[75] Score sheet for Nearshore WCRL available from: www.mcm-deat.gov.za .
[76] According to local sources, approximately 50 people in Paternoster fish with recreational WCRL licences. Very recent developments have also led to interim measures being put in place (see chapter six).

community leaders. This was perceived as a helpful process for many, involving literacy mediation and collective processes of trying to understand the complex documents. When asked, one ultimately unsuccessful Doring Bay applicant replied:

> We looked at the policies as a community. Yes, I understood the policies (Dinah Claasen, Doring Bay, 22.11.05).

Staff at the Doring Bay multi-purpose resource centre (MPRC) assisted as literacy mediators for many applications based on the information they could obtain from the policies, relevant government and political contacts, and from the internet, although constrained by lack of financial resources. These two parallel processes, however, by no means guaranteed success – in fact in the main application process none of the applicants were successful, indicating that the process was more complex than people had understood from their communal reading of policy documents. This is despite the fact that some had literacy skills applicable to this context, including in English. Several of those interested were employed or had worked in the past as fishermen or in the fish processing factory, owned by one of the largest companies operating in South Africa, Oceana, and had been required to read and understand written texts in English in the course of their jobs (Dinah Claasen, Doring Bay, 22.11.05).

The community and MPRC staff were outraged that no-one had been successful, and through political connections (and personal statements – see below) were able to secure a separate process to interview the Doring Bay applicants personally – that is, bypassing bureaucratic literacy requirements. 43 people were put on a reserve list and 11 of these later successfully obtained quotas. This was only carried out in two communities around the whole Western Cape coast, and no other on the west coast, thus excluding countless more applicants who had experienced similar difficulties. The fact that 11 people were later deemed to be suitable for successful allocation of WCRL through the more informal, detailed and predominantly oral process indicates that the literacy requirements for the normal bureaucratic application process carried out were inappropriate.

The following is a Doring Bay applicant's written statement:

> As a resident of Doring Bay I cannot believe that not one of our people that applied got a [fishing] right. Doring Bay is a very small fishing community where the community is dependent on the sea. If we look at Doring Bay's economy it is still very small and the tourism industry is still in the hands of white people. The WCRL process should have been the means in order for the coloured community to bring control of businesses into their own hands. As a very concerned fisherman I want very much to ask the Minister's help to look after Doring Bay.[77]

In Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, 11 people applied in total (only two from Papendorp) with only one person being successful. Others would have liked to apply but either were not able to raise the money in time to apply, or had been put off by being unsuccessful in past bureaucratic application processes:

> Ons moet weer betaal en weer aansoek doen en dan kry ons niks soos in die verlede. (We must pay again and apply again and then we get nothing as in the past) (Pieter Cloete, Ebenhaeser focus group, 15.04.05).

Access to computers and the information available through the internet was very much more difficult in these two settlements, and therefore applicants had to rely on contacts and on staff at the MPRC in Doring Bay.

Access to a low-value marine resource harders

The above cases of WCRL access provide a stark contrast with access to the local low-value resource harders. The process of gaining access to this resource was implemented using a subsistence permit or exemption. This was a completely different official procedure with very limited need for literacy or related skills. The process in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser, for example, was mediated through the community by a committee, who were asked to choose on the basis of a number of criteria including experience, reliance on the resource, and access to other sources of

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[77] As inwoner van Doringbaai kan ek nie glo dat nie een van ons mense wat aansoek gedoen het geen reg toegestaan was nie. Doringbaai is 'n baie klein vissers gemeenskap waarvan die gemeenskap van die see afhanklik is. As ons kyk na Doringbaai se Ekonomie is dit maar baie klein waarvan die toerisme bedryf nog in die Blanke mense se hande is. Die kreef proses sal ons instaaf gestel het om van die besighede in die bruingemeenskap se hande te kry. As 'n baie bekommerde visserman wil ek graag die Minister se hulp vra om te kyk na Doringbaai. (Written statement by Albertus Winston Jordaan, from Doring Bay MPRC documentation, dated 15th December 2005.)

income at an individual and household level (André Cloete, Papendorp, 30.11.05). This did not entail anything like the same bureaucratic literacy requirements as the application process for the high-value resource WCRL. While in these two settlements this process was mediated with the assistance of the University of Cape Town (see Sowman, 2003) and so was not directly comparable to WCRL, similar permit systems are operating throughout coastal areas of South Africa (see Hauck and Sowman, 2003). The implication was that it was deemed appropriate for people without the requisite literacy skills (and financial resources and political lobbying power) to only be enabled to obtain access to the means of making a meagre rather than a decent living.

Power relations, citizenship and social capital in relation to literacy mediation processes

In the case studies above, adequate sources of literacy mediation in the process of gaining access to the relatively high-value resource WCRL were not available. This was primarily as a result of how power relationships played out, accountability issues, and trust factors – either a lack of trust of outside assistance (including consultants) as a result of previous negative experiences, or misplaced trust in the authorities.

The nature of the literacy task involved also impacted, since a close reading of policy documents and at times specialist knowledge was required. The gap between the new centralised bureaucratic procedures and literacy requirements, and local communicative strategies and understandings, was huge. This is a characteristic also found in other contexts undergoing the effects of modernisation and globalisation processes (see Jones, 2000a). Difficulties in finding helpful or positive literacy mediators for this particular task were exacerbated by the fact that those who were likely to be able to fill this role – local elites and those involved in the fishing industry (mostly the large companies or consultants) – were effectively in competition for the same resources or were looking to gain by the application process.

These factors contributed to the limited success of the application process for these applicants. This reinforces research indicating the need for attention to the nature of power relationships and the potential for exploitation, exclusion and gatekeeping through the literacy mediation process, associated in some cases with disempowerment and dependence (Zubair, 2001; Mace, 2002; Taylor, 1996; Jones, 2000a and b; Malan, 1996; Lévi-Strauss, 1973). Lévi-Strauss (1973) highlighted a historical tendency of those in power to use literacy practices and mediation for the purpose of domination and exploitation. He connected writing practices with the formation of large socio-political units, often involving grading of the population into castes or classes. This therefore underlines the connection between literacy practices and the perpetuation of inequalities in citizenship. Literacy accounts have underlined the important link between literacy mediation and governmental bureaucratic practices (Taylor, 1996; Jones, 2000a; Malan, 1996; Mace, 2002). Writing and literacy practices have been central to achieving administrative and managerial purposes since the earliest historical times (Jones, 2000a). Literacy has formed an integral part of the 'civilising' mission, modernisation processes and the spread of the dominant colonial language (Aikman, 2001; Collins and Blot; 2003). Recent work on literacy emphasises the importance of the 'literate environment' (e.g. UNESCO, 2007) or the 'literacy environment' (Chhetri and Baker, 2005), which include official documents and literacy uses in the public space (Van Ravens and Aggio, 2007), as well as reading materials and opportunities to use them.

Scholars have emphasised the exclusionary aspects of bureaucratic literacy procedures, including those in which official mediators play a part in literacy mediation, for example in access to welfare and social assistance in the USA (Taylor, 1996) and in the Welsh farming context (Jones, 2000a). Both Malan (1996) in the South African context and Jones (2000a) in a multilingual Welsh agricultural context similarly point to the potential negative role that literacy practices can play in the context of official bureaucracy (although both in practice describe predominantly facilitative and positive experiences of official literacy mediators). As advocated by Taylor (1996), bureaucracy, and by implication the literacy practices that represent

people's engagement with, and experience of, government bureaucracy, can be seen in themselves as ideological, serving the interests of particular groups in society (see also Fransman, 2005 on the dark side of literacy).

At the other end of the spectrum, a significant strand of work on literacy mediation stresses the positive role that literacy mediators can play (Kalman, 1999; 2005; Robins, 1996; Baynham, 1993). Such studies have underlined the role of kin-based or social group literacy mediators in promoting the opportunities for empowerment, personal or social gain of those seeking literacy assistance. On the other hand, scholars such as Dyer and Choksi (2001:31) have downplayed the power aspects altogether. In their account, they dismiss the Rabaris' legitimate concerns about power and agendas held by people outside of their community carrying out a literacy mediator role as a 'distortion of the moral order'. Rather than exploring perceptions and realities about power differentials in literacy mediation in detail, the authors perhaps imply that the Rabaris' belief that they are constantly being cheated must be false. Mace's (2002) account on the other hand illustrates the complexities and shifts in such power relationships, contingent on the situation. She emphasises that in many cases forms of reciprocity and exchange are implicit in the literacy mediation process, rather than a simple one-way skill transfer (see also Kell, 1996).

The need for accountability of literacy mediators has been highlighted by others (see Malan (1996) in a separate South African context). The crucial importance of accountability has also been highlighted in relation to access to livelihood opportunities (see Moser and Norton, 2001), and to access to marine resources (see Charles, 2001; Béné and Neiland, 2006). Other research has indicated the need for multiple accountabilities to be held in tension, underlining the complexity inherent in institutional and bureaucratic systems (Hill and Hupe, 2006).

In the case studies covered here, other forms of mediation and utilisation of social capital through civil society activities have produced more visible results than the ordinary bureaucratic process (see the next chapter). This includes interim relief for approximately 1000 small-scale fishers, and promises by government to review the

policies (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07[78]). These alternative types of mediation included the use of existing social capital through political connections, and the building of new forms of solidarity and influence through civil society networks, advocacy and legal means. These have ultimately impacted positively on livelihoods, and questioned official notions of citizenship as operating through the policies outlined above.

Robins (1996) describes another instance in which people in coloured settlements drew on diverse literacy mediation assistance in order to win a land claim in Namaqualand, Northern Cape, South Africa. They successfully mobilised civil society actors (from Cape Town NGOs), local activists, sympathetic lawyers and journalists to their cause as mediators or cultural brokers to mediate between local coloured spoken modes of communication and the predominantly urban, legal and written text-based English literacies required. Other researchers have pointed to the need for literacy activists as mediators to counteract the dynamics of dominant bureaucratic literacy processes (Kell, 2005; Taylor, 2000; Robins, 1996; Canieso-Doronila and Cuevas-Sipin, 2005).

Nevertheless, such civil society networks and types of mediatory assistance operate subject to constraints, including in capacity and in democratic accountability (see Spooner, 2004). In the contexts studied, these civil society networks are not all-inclusive (see the discussion in the following chapter). The civil society organisational landscape operates subject to divisions in aims and constituencies. Such divisions result from conflicting interests and competition for the same resources, rural / urban differentiation by organisations despite significant commonalities, as well as limitations of financial resources. Such mediation and forms of social capital therefore operate in positive and negative ways.

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[78] Supplementary interview conducted by telephone.

Concluding remarks

In South Africa's post-1994 context, changes in policies and implementation of market-based systems of access to marine resources have brought new challenges for small-scale fishing communities. These have become manifested in shifts in application processes that require a high level of literacy and related competencies, including business skills and the ability to interpret legalistic English. As a result, applicants turned to a range of literacy mediators, some at local or community level, others in the relevant government department, as well as outside consultants. Nevertheless, the struggle for increasingly scarce marine resources in the context of globalised trade raised the stakes at local and national level, restricting people's ability to access positive or neutral literacy mediation assistance. The mechanisms and complexities of the official bureaucratic process and its use of existing social capital confounded people's confusion over the level of information and the types of written documentation or proof required in the application process. The lack of success was in many cases a result of limited accountability of official literacy mediators, local leaders as well as consultants in the past, which in turn impacted on the levels of trust and the particular mediators that local people were willing to turn to.

The outcomes of the bureaucratic processes described occur in stark contrast to the ANC government's rhetoric of racial transformation and poverty reduction. This research shows how an apparently neutral and consultative bureaucratic application process in effect was found to disguise hidden inequities and agendas that have ultimately impacted on historically disadvantaged people's livelihoods and citizenship in the post-1994 democratic context. The chapter argues that in this case the bureaucratic literacies required involved a simultaneous modernising and globalising agenda remote from local realities, which served predominantly to exclude those with subaltern literacies in other languages. Yet these actors nonetheless show that they have developed a range of practical skills, as well as Afrikaans and English literacy competencies, in spite of limited formal training provision. The data collected indicates that in common with other development

contexts (see Papen, 2001, Betts, 2003), local people in coastal settlements are able to manipulate and utilise various national and international discourses (e.g. human rights, 'tradition' and 'transformation') (see also following chapter) to resist dominant modes of control over access to resources, through public processes and using literacy. In addition to their uses of literacy, these fishworkers are skilled and experienced in their chosen profession, with skills gained through on-the-job learning and informal apprenticeship – forms of informal or acquisition learning (Rogers, 2003; 2000).

Ultimately, what produced results for small-scale producers was not adherence to the inequitable bureaucratic processes described above, but the use of other types of mediation – existing social capital (political connections), or building of new forms of solidarity and social capital through civil society networks. Yet because of capacity and other constraints, including rural / urban divisions, power differentials and resource conflicts (see following chapter), these only operate selectively.

CHAPTER NINE: RIGHTS, ENTITLEMENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION

Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data on the civil society activities researched, including the PAR component with Masifundise and local communities. This reflects the wide variety of data on civil society activities that was collected through participant observation during numerous public events and workshops, in addition to that obtained through focus groups and interviews (see Appendix 1). In this chapter I draw out some of the key relevant themes, linking these with the theories and concepts covered in chapters two and five, particularly the conceptual discussion of civil society activities, aspects of citizenship and social capital.

Civil society educational activities exist in the gaps left by state adult education and training provision detailed in chapter seven. In Akoojee's (2004) research, such not-for-profit organisational activities are included in the category of private providers. However, such activities are not necessarily a substitute for adequate state provision. As in other contexts (Rose, 2007), civil society educational activities usually only complement state provision. Nonetheless, using purely an educational lens to focus on civil society activities here would risk missing much of the significance of the work being carried out relating to processes of contesting citizenship.

Participation, accountability and civil society

A concern with participation and accountability is a key aspect of efforts to contest and expand citizenship in this context. This section examines first of all the issues of participation and accountability in relevant state processes, before turning to a discussion of civil society activities and the data from the PAR component of the research.

Participation, consultation and accountability in state-influenced processes

Participation in the state-controlled marine resource governance processes researched took the form of 'consultation' mainly through a series of public events. The state processes of 'consultation' as part of the 2005-6 marine resource policy formulation and allocations were very limited. The draft policies were written by a consultant, and then taken around to coastal settlements and presented in public meetings. These meetings involved presentations by MCM staff, followed by a short time for questions. These meetings (see Appendix 1) were often heated and noisy events, and participant observation showed that those attending did not feel that their views and concerns were being adequately heard. In theory, it was possible for anyone to comment on the draft policies, and thus be 'consulted'. However, in practice, the majority of people did not obtain the draft policies in advance, and the time for comments and questions during these public events was limited. Organisations and individuals were also free to comment in writing, and many did so. Judging by the final policies, however, the large commercial sector, seemed to be at an advantage at the time due in part to their more suitable organisational structure, their greater capacity and staffing, and their historical links and therefore influence with the state. The way that the 'consultation' process was carried out reflected a lack of accountability to the small-scale sector, and raises questions around whether such stakeholders can claim equal citizenship in practice when compared with the large commercial sector. Accountability issues are discussed in more detail separately below.

Co-management in Ebenhaeser and Papendorp

MCM have also worked with other partners in the non-state sector over several years, with a stated aim to move towards a more locally-governed system, termed co-management. The Environmental Evaluation Unit (EEU) at the University of the Western Cape manage a co-management project in Ebenhaeser and Papendorp in conjunction with MCM, which has been running now for several years (see Sowman, 2003; Van Sittert, 2003; Hauck and Sowman, 2003). The aims of this project consist

of firstly increasing local control and participation in decision-making over small-scale fishing activities in the Olifants estuary area. The project has made a significant contribution to capacity building of fishers in these settlements e.g. on environmental issues and working collaboratively, as observed in various workshops (see Appendix 1). Secondly, the project has a research aim – it aims to increase information about the biological resources themselves, through monitoring and keeping of detailed catch records. Nonetheless, one of the drawbacks of this project is that it is an isolated initiative dealing with access to one low value resource, harders, for which access is to be phased out in under ten years. Partly because of MCM's central but at the same time quite remote role in this initiative, combined with a local geographical focus, it has not appeared to enable fishers to engage with wider issues around access to marine resources. The links formed with Masifundise later in my fieldwork period (September 2004 to March 2006) seem to have enabled greater sharing of experiences and information, as well as the inclusion of these residents in broader relevant civil society activities.

Masifundise: Background on organisational activities

Masifundise in its current organisational form and existing staff base draws most of its historical involvement from coloured communities (although the organisation previously did educational and literacy work in Langa, amongst black communities). (Masifundise means 'let's teach' in isiXhosa.) Although Masifundise consists of a small group of staff members, only five full-time personnel, they represent all three main language and ethnic groups in the Western Cape. Two staff members are from a formerly classified coloured background and speak both Afrikaans and English, two are black and mainly isiXhosa and English speaking, but speak some Afrikaans. The remaining staff member is white, and is English and Afrikaans speaking. Because people in the settlements around the Western Cape coast are predominantly Afrikaans-speaking, this was the main language of organisational workshops and activities with members during my fieldwork period, with English used intermittently. IsiXhosa has nonetheless become of increasing importance in order to

include urban coastal residents, and towards the end of my fieldwork translation was increasingly being used.

Of all three case study sites, Masifundise have had the greatest involvement to date with people in Paternoster. Historical links play a role – Masifundise was involved in the Vaalplaas land claim, and the Director has had long-standing contact with residents through working previously in that area. The level of involvement is also influenced by geographical location, particularly the relative accessibility of Paternoster from Cape Town, despite it being a rural settlement. Involvement of Masifundise with communities in Papendorp, Ebenhaeser and Doring Bay was less extensive than for Paternoster, partly because of the greater distance from Cape Town. Doring Bay had developed separate political links, as a result of the Oceana factory, and so were less reliant on information and advocacy work from Masifundise. Ebenhaeser fishers were not involved with Masifundise at the beginning of my fieldwork, despite the participation of Papendorp local leaders, but later joined.

At the time of beginning the research, Masifundise had had no direct involvement with people in Imizamo Yethu, because of the organisation's focus on rural rather than urban fishing communities. However, because there are few civil society organisations involved in fishing issues in Cape Town, fishers were aware of Masifundise's work. Several people from Imizamo Yethu during my fieldwork period attended public meetings and organisational workshops, run by Masifundise in partnership with other organisations.

In addition, smaller civil society organisations and groups also operate, particularly in the Papendorp and Doring Bay settlements (see further discussion below). Union activity in coastal settlements is mainly by FAWU, centred on fishworkers employed in the main areas of the formal fishing industry along the west coast, mostly in major towns such as Saldanha Bay, but also in Doring Bay (although the Oceana factory and operations have since closed).

Masifundise's current aim is to promote a locally governed system of co-management of the small-scale fishery sector along the South African coast, in conjunction with MCM. However, Masifundise acknowledge that there are conceptual obstacles, in the form of a lack of agreement on what this will actually mean in practice, which may hamper progress towards local governance as a shared goal. The actual model of co-management intended by Masifundise is where local people have a much greater say in and control over the whole system in their area, with a people-centred vision, which is not necessarily shared by MCM with its marine resource focus (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07).

Shifting civil society tactics: Analysis from the PAR NGO component

This section examines the civil society activities in more detail. The activities I attended as part of the PAR component, such as the protest marches and public events (see Appendix 1) drew heavily on vibrant traditions of civil society contestation during the anti-apartheid struggle, and brought together a range of civil society organisations. Yet over the course of my data collection, a visible strategic shift occurred.

Relations between Masifundise and MCM during my fieldwork period were on the whole very strained. The attitude from both sides was mainly combative, expressed in the media through newspaper articles (e.g. *Cape Times* November 2006; December 2006) and radio programmes, and formally through court case documents. Later, as a result of a combination of ongoing sources of pressure, including the demonstrations and public events by small-scale fishers in conjunction with Masifundise, as well as the court case and the support from academics (described in chapter one), relations became more positive. What also enabled this shift was a change in attitude of government towards a more cooperative stance, where Masifundise's assistance was welcomed with regard to small-scale fishers:

> We are in a very different place from where we were a year ago. Now MCM have a cooperative attitude and we have joint meetings, and there is lots of agreement. If there is a problem I can call MCM and they will arrange a meeting with us the next morning (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07).

The change in stance by government and the increased cooperation have brought benefits in two different forms in 2007. Firstly, interim relief for approximately 1000 fishers who were given interim permits, administered by Masifundise. These are to fish a 'basket' of marine resources of a nominal amount each (e.g. four WCRL per day plus snoek, yellowtail and silverfish), which they are allowed to sell. Secondly, MCM have agreed to change the national policies for small-scale fishers in line with Masifundise's recommendations. For policy formulation purposes, Masifundise are carrying out a wide consultation process through a series of workshops and other activities. The aim is to consult on local priorities and formulate the policies in a more participatory manner than the previous government-managed process (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 14.05.07[79] and 15.10.07).

Nonetheless, the distribution of these benefits between different stakeholders is still highly contested. One of the major disjunctures is between those working as small-scale fishers, and those working for large companies (and ex-workers in this sector). The latter are considered to fall under trade union activity, and are therefore not eligible for interim relief. This includes most of the fishers interviewed in Imizamo Yethu.

Another division is between 'traditional' and 'new' fishers, such as those in Imizamo Yethu who were given subsistence permits after 1998 (such as many who attended the Imizamo Yethu focus group, 28.07.05). However, where fishing has become the norm over ten to fifteen years, Masifundise hope to include such fishers, despite the fact that other stakeholders such as the Artisanal Fishers Association disagree (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07).

Furthermore, in the context of competition over resources and allocations, large companies have sought to ally themselves with and to sub-contract small-scale fishers. Such practices have been poorly regulated, however, and have left small-scale fishers open to exploitation and corruption, as claimed in countless cases during

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[79] Also an interview conducted by telephone.

the data collection process in focus groups and in meetings (e.g. MCM meeting, Woodstock, 5.04.05; Protest march, Cape Town, 18.05.05; Imizamo Yethu focus group, 28.07.05). The recruiting of hundreds of fishers as members around the coast to some of the big name companies, without them having any active involvement or giving them any real benefits (typically R500 or £50 per year maximum) has exacerbated divisions.

In practice, the civil society sector in coastal settlements is subject to fragmentation, not just between formal and informal (small-scale) fishers, but also within the small-scale sector according to geographical, organisational and resource-related differences.

The implementation of government policies is causing major difficulties in the light of these multiple divisions, in some cases exacerbating them. This includes, in general terms, through the decrease in funding available to civil society organisations, the co-option of key civil society leaders into the ANC government, the difficult policy environment for non-state non-formal educational activities (see Aitchison, 2007), and the perpetuation of inequalities already detailed in terms of fishing rights.

Capacity is a key issue here in respect to tackling divisions. MCM, the state department is asking Masifundise, an externally-funded[80] NGO, to carry out what should fall under its own role as the responsible authority for policy formulation and implementation. The state does not appear to have the capacity to fulfil this task itself. Formerly, this caused conflict with the NGO:

> At the meeting with MCM they wanted to train our staff to explain the score sheets to community people, but we refused – this is MCM's job (Jackie Sunde, Masifundise, 16.03.06).

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[80] Masifundise may be getting governmental funding in the future for two pilot projects: 1) aquaculture and 2) training of youth in monitoring of future co-management implementation and alternative livelihood opportunities. This would not cover their main activities (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07).

However, in the new cooperative atmosphere, Masifundise have accepted their new role in implementation. However, staff capacity is also an issue for the NGO itself:

> We are just a small organisation with the same capacity as before, but now we are taking on this huge task. We don't have enough capacity, but we just have to manage with what we have… Plus, we are working nationally now, not just in the Western Cape (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07).

These capacity limitations are a problem for implementation of the small-scale fishing policy, particularly in urban areas, because of the high level of conflict within urban coastal settlements around marine resource issues. Masifundise in its current organisational form, since they shifted to working in coastal settlements, have primarily involved people in rural areas, although several workshops were located in urban areas during my fieldwork period (see Appendix 1). In view of the new developments, Masifundise have now made the decision to comprehensively include urban areas in their activities (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07). Nonetheless, because of the divisions and constraints discussed above, they acknowledge that this will not be an easy task.

Accountability and representation

The stated lack of capacity of MCM, the government department responsible for marine resources, is a more complex issue than just staff capacity alone. It also concerns the existence and level of accountability of the department towards people in coastal settlements.

However, the level of organisation also plays a role, since the state only recognises organised representative bodies at a policy level, and does not feel it can engage effectively at the level of individuals or non-registered groups. This meant that before Masifundise had firmly established its member base and level of organisation, including its allied arm, Coastal Links, MCM was not engaging adequately with small-scale fishers or with the NGO itself.

Nevertheless, accountability was also an issue within the NGO and its member base during the length of my fieldwork. Along with the geographical distance aspect, the difficulties arose because Masifundise has a policy of engaging with and relying mostly on 'community leaders'. They charge these 'leaders' with the task of involving and feeding back information and knowledge gained through participating in Masifundise activities to people in their own settlements. As a result of local divisions and relations, it was an ongoing characteristic that such communication did not always take place, found both in staff complaints and through participatory observation in the case study sites. Nonetheless, significant efforts have been made to build this aspect of local engagement, especially through strengthening an allied organisation of fishers, Coastal Links. Furthermore, the types of problems encountered by the NGO in terms of representation and accountability reflect the existence of such issues within the settlements themselves, as discussed below.

Representation and accountability in case study sites

Several informants expressed issues around the lack of representation and accountability of local leaders. These reports were worst in Imizamo Yethu:

> We don't hear about opportunities that are there – they [local leaders] give them to their friends and family (Nolitha Mngomezulu, Imizamo Yethu, 19.01.06).

> They [the local leaders] don't know about the fishing, they are too much corrupt… But we are part of the problem – if there are opportunities for jobs etc. we call our family members in the Eastern Cape to come (Charlemagne (Nkosinathi) Mguga, Imizamo Yethu, 10.01.06).

Other sources of repeated complaints about the lack of accountability of local or ANC leaders included housing, due to competition for the provision of formal housing units in conjunction with the Niall Mellon project. This was an ongoing issue for several key informants in Imizamo Yethu (e.g. Nolitha Mngomezulu, Imizamo Yethu, 19.01.06), confirmed by the local ANC leader (Kenny Tokwe, Imizamo Yethu, 13.12.05).

One informant outside of the case study sites linked contemporary defects in administration, including corruption, with the strategies developed amongst black

communities to overcome the constraints of legislation and policies governing opportunities during apartheid:

> One thing that was better during apartheid was the administration. Administration was more efficient than it is now. And there wasn't so much corruption. But during apartheid black people became highly skilled in certain things, in surviving – using connections and power because they had to. That is one of the reasons why we are getting corruption now (Evelyn Petersen, Lecturer at UWC, Cape Town, 15.01.06).

However, accountability and issues around the distribution of livelihood opportunities were also a problem in other sites of predominantly coloured people such as Papendorp:

> Only a few people are benefiting from the guest house project. If there is catering work then CoastCare people get asked, not others like me (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 16.02.06).

One informant sometimes felt at the sharp end of complaints, as a local leader with a crucial organisational role in the guest house project:

> When I went round with the questionnaire to people, I felt like I had failed them somehow (André Cloete, Papendorp, 15.02.06).

Nonetheless, such complaints are in some ways a function of insufficient opportunities (in the case of Papendorp) and inadequate service provision (including housing in Imizamo Yethu), in view of the number of people who have a legitimate claim to benefiting from these initiatives and opportunities.

ANC participation and support

Partly arising from concerns about representation and accountability of leaders, ANC support was mixed in the case study sites. The stereotypical view of people formerly classified coloured is that they don't support the ANC. However, in the rural areas such as in Papendorp, Ebenhaeser and Doring Bay, there is significant ANC support. Nonetheless ANC support is not universal:

> The majority of people in Papendorp do support the ANC but the majority are not ANC members. There is a lack of knowledge about how to go about it. Then there is the membership

> fee [R12 per year or R1 per month]… But some households don't support the ANC. Hannetjie's family have always voted DA [Democratic Alliance], and at least one other. My uncle wanted to stand as an independent candidate, but was unsuccessful (André Cloete, Papendorp, 1.09.05).

Other informants expressed some ambivalence about local ANC support:

> Some people are ANC – they support the ANC but a few go then and vote for other parties secretly (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 16.02.06).

In these communities there was also some support for the Independent Democrats (IDs) led by Patricia de Lille, but seemingly only in connection with the contentious issues around the Ebenhaeser land claim. Widespread or more general political support for and activities of the IDs was not evident.

In Imizamo Yethu, because of perceived corruption in local political (and economic) processes and the lack of assistance by local leaders to residents on issues around marine resources, ANC support was not high amongst key informants and focus group participants (Imizamo Yethu focus group, 28.07.05). However, interactions with the local leader and associates showed that the ANC leaders enjoyed significant support in the settlement as a whole (Kenny Tokwe, Imizamo Yethu, 13.12.05 and 19.01.06). Nonetheless, this leader indicated that at this time there was only one elected councillor for the whole area (the whole of Hout Bay, Clifton, Camps Bay and Llandudno), and that he had never set foot in Imizamo Yethu or addressed a public meeting there (Kenny Tokwe, 13.12.05).

International and national NGO linkages

Masifundise as an organisation draws on extensive international as well as national links. They are a partner of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF) in India, an international NGO carrying out campaigning and capacity building work in developing countries. This linkage allows organisational staff to participate in global civil society forums, conferences and events, and provides a significant source of support and credibility (or currency) in terms of ideas, capacity building and in campaigning and advocacy work.

In terms of national links, Masifundise is allied to the Trust for Community Outreach Education (TCOE), an umbrella organisation that works across several provinces including the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces. Until 2005, Masifundise was an integral part of TCOE. TCOE carries out rights-based educational work focusing mainly on land issues, and Masifundise's work was seen as departing from TCOE's main focus, leading to the shift in organisational structure. Nevertheless, Masifundise still benefits from this linkage in the form of significant cooperation and shared events.

As outlined in chapter five, such alliances have shown their strategic and practical value, especially the international linkages. These seem to have outweighed local representation difficulties, and have ultimately contributed to success in Masifundise's provincial and national lobbying and campaigning activities.

Rights talk

A whole variety of rights discourses were found during this part of the data collection process, and underpin discussions about processes of contestation over citizenship.

Fishing 'rights'

People in coastal settlements applied in 2005-6 in large numbers for long-term (10-15 year) 'rights' (quotas), particularly for WCRL. The policy documents clearly stated that this resource was already over-subscribed (i.e. that the resource is declining sharply and the number of allocations was therefore likely to be reduced). Claims of entitlement to access fell largely on deaf ears in this case. Approximately one in ten applications were successful, with a total of approximately 4500 applicants for WCRL nearshore (small-scale) alone.

However, the state's environmental claims hide the fact that, through previous court rulings, MCM has faced strict limitations in its scope for redistribution to the small-scale sector, by the influence of the powerful industrial fishing sector (see Ponte and van Sittert, 2007). Therefore, in effect, the state utilised environmental sustainability arguments to exclude small-scale fishers, while letting large companies catch on a far bigger scale relatively unhindered. This was allowed despite the huge environmentally damaging impacts of normal industrial gear such as trawlers (Charles, 2001).

Furthermore, some of the key scientific arguments used by MCM in connection with giving small-scale fishers a small and arguably inequitable share in marine resources as compared with the industrial companies, are not adequate when closely examined. The allocation in this case relies on past catch records based on differentiation between particular industrial practices and gear, rather than a comprehensive stock assessment (unpublished data, pers. comm.. Mike Bergh, March 2006). Catch records are notoriously inaccurate (Charles, 2001), and in this case they grossly underestimate the catches made by small-scale fishers since a large proportion goes unreported.

Reports also indicate that the proposed policy shift in favour of small-scale fishers is likely to be contested legally by the large commercial sector, again using rights talk. They argue that their rights will be negatively affected by the move to include more small-scale fishers in allocations (Naseegh Jaffer, Masifundise, 15.10.07).

The utilisation of the term rights in this way by governments and large companies is contested, and competes with civil society-led rights talk. For instance, the utilisation of rights talk by government was referred to in a public meeting for west coast residents:

> I asked the question "Wil jy 'n kwota hê of wil jy 'n reg hê?" (Do you want a quota or a right?) [at a public meeting in Vredenburg]. It caused chaos and a lot of noise amongst the fishermen – they didn't calm down for half an hour (Dr. Moenieba Isaacs, UWC, Cape Town, 16.01.06).

This illustrates the level of confusion and contestation around ideas about rights in this context, including the difference between human (or socio-economic) rights and fishing 'rights'.

Rights talk in NGO activities

Rights discourses also constitute an important aspect of the currency of international ideas drawn on by Masifundise and other civil society organisations. As discussed in chapter five, the use of rights talk reflects a concern with promoting and expanding the citizenship of marginalised groups, and echoes a global tendency amongst civil society organisations. During the data collection process, civil society activities, including workshops and public events, enabled people in coastal settlements to talk about and reflect on discourses of rights in the marine resource context. For example, in one Masifundise workshop with west coast members, staff were emphasising the use of rights talk to frame and give weight to their claims. This included justifying claims to rights to access to marine resources based on the right to food security, and because they needed to pay their children's school fees (Jackie Sunde, Langebaan, 2.02.06). In other workshops, events and media statements, discussion about the right to a livelihood, or the right to employment (Trade union-led protest march, 27.06.05) were common themes.

Grassroots activities and local priorities in Papendorp and Doring Bay: the PAR component continued

In order to obtain a more in depth understanding of local priorities in one of the case study sites, I interacted closely with three key informants, two in Papendorp (André Cloete and Hannetjie Don) and one in Doring Bay (Peter Owies), two of which were also Masifundise participants (see Appendix 1). Either accompanied or facilitated by these key informants, other interviewees contributed to this process. The PAR component involved exploring local priorities and where possible linking key informants and promoting communication with relevant stakeholders such as local government officials and MCM staff.

The priorities differed amongst these key informants. Hannetjie, a very pro-active resident, for example, was most interested in education and training with the ultimate aim of assisting her children to obtain employment:

> Papendorp needs some computers for the school children and for the young adults, so they can do homework and learn how to use them (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 30.11.05).

At this time Hannetjie had already accessed a crafts training course for herself, and utilised relatives living in the regional capital, Vredendal, to enable her eldest children to attend a training course in computer and administrative skills. She was also concerned with wider community issues such as searching for assistance for households unable to pay school fees.

André, on the other hand, was more interested in improving business links and capabilities, and applying for funds (e.g. from local government) for tourism projects such as the guest house project and related activities. I assisted with writing funding applications for various initiatives to take to local government officials. André was involved in advocacy work in connection with marine resource issues, but after having worked over a considerable period of time on these matters, they were no longer his main priority. Over a series of discussions, as well as visits to the local government offices, it emerged that he had become disillusioned with the local government funding process, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). This applied also to the level of consultation of local government officials about local priorities. The IDP process, by which planning is made to address local issues has not been wholly successful (see Sowman and Brown, 2006). As a result of financial constraints and what appears to be a lack of comprehensive consultation of local communities, the IDP seems to resemble more a wish list than a fully operational process[81].

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[81] Also drawing on a comment by James Jackelman (Wilderness Foundation) in the Eastern Cape context, 8th November 2005, East London.

As discussed in chapter seven, the MPRC and local organisational structures in Ebenhaeser have failed to make an impact in terms of addressing broad local priorities, concentrating on the land claim. An ANC leader at the time nonetheless appeared to have a good understanding of the general local situation and marine resource issues. For example, he highlighted a gap in value-adding and appropriate packaging of harders as a major constraint to the marketing and development of the local marine-resources (Peter Love, Ebenhaeser, 29.11.05). Partly to address the lack of action by Ebenhaeser-based local organisational and political structures, during my fieldwork period residents in Papendorp were making efforts to set up a Community Development Committee in order to better address their local issues (Meeting, Papendorp, 11.07.05).

Peter, as a key staff member of the MPRC in Doring Bay, was concerned with a number of different priorities. Marine resource access for small-scale fishers in Doring Bay was one of the major issues that the MPRC were working on. Nevertheless, the staff were also involved in multiple income-generating projects in tourism (a guest house and walking trail), and a project to investigate the working and living conditions of farm workers in the area (in the process of looking for funding). As detailed in chapter seven, they were also concerned with matters of training (including literacy, business and fishing competencies), and with promoting broader environmental issues. Other residents, especially in Papendorp, were concerned with transport issues, including the cost of the private transport required (e.g. Elizabeth Hein, Papendorp, 30.11.05).

Over time it became clear that residents had several livelihood-related priorities that government departments, and also Masifundise, as primarily a one-issue (and values-based) organisation, were ill-equipped to address. Part of the reason was the limited broad consultation of local people on general issues, and the distance of organisational bases from the settlements that the organisation and government departments try to serve. However, members were encouraged by Masifundise, including through workshops on such issues, to have their say and to communicate

their general priorities to other stakeholders, such as local government officials (Jackie Sunde, Masifundise, 11.01.06).

Residents in the case study settlements were concerned that they should have a say and be listened to in the new South Africa. One informant, for example, said that they had spent a lot of time listening to MCM staff on fishing issues. Now what she wanted to say to MCM was:

> Ek praat nou – jy moet stil bly (I am talking now – you must stay quiet [and listen] (Auntie Saartjie, Ebenhaeser, 24.11.05).

To an extent, grassroots CBOs, including the MPRC in Doring Bay are actively attempting to fill the gaps left by NGOs and government departments, but some of the constraints detailed above, as well as attitudinal aspects (see below) still limit these processes.

Criticisms of the civil society rights-based ethos, detailed in chapter two, are relevant here. Such critiques contend that this ethos creates resentment and a victim mentality, and concentrates too much on radical, unrealistic change, rather than maximising people's own strategies and situations (French, 1992; Gardner and Lewis, 1996). While resentment was found to be an issue here (see below), it seemed to stem more from people's own experiences than the NGO's activities – NGO staff were trying to counteract such attitudes. However, more work could be fruitfully done to enable people to build on their own livelihood strategies, so that they can make the best of their situations, including developing alternatives to fishing, such as MSEs.

Nonetheless, there are both internal and external constraints to developing MSE activities. One of the issues with developing small businesses is that local people in the case study sites seemed to lack sufficient confidence, experience and training (ongoing), including marketing and setting up a business (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 16.02.06). In some cases people seemed to lack enough exposure to suitable business activities. It is still the case that shops and businesses in west coast settlements are

dominated by white residents and corresponding vertical employer-employee relationships. This fact may be acting to inhibit initiative, and contributing to the fallacy that businesses are primarily something that white people do. These factors, in conjunction with the lack of capital or credit, seemed to be limiting the full development of a range of MSE and project activities, such as the guest house, Public Works, value-adding of fish products, and related activities in Papendorp and Ebenhaeser. An enabling environment is crucial here – both in policies that facilitate rather than obstruct people's own efforts – and in creating an appropriate business and credit environment. The MPRC staff in Doring Bay had greater business skills and experience, and were therefore pro-actively trying to develop MSE activities in Doring Bay.

Other, vertical business-oriented relationships (and potential sources of capacity building in MSE activities) were reported, such as in conjunction with the Papendorp guest house. The guest house had been set up by another NGO, CASIDRA, with some state funding and expertise from a prominent Western Cape businessman (André Cloete, Papendorp, 1.06.05).

However, on a day-to-day level, participant observation showed that close bonding ties between relatives and close friends were much more important in terms of obtaining the informal and casual employment that people relied on to a greater extent.

Dependency, paternalism and a culture of entitlement

Despite many residents' pro-active attitudes towards searching for livelihood opportunities, as well as the multiple community development and civil society activities mentioned above, dependency and apathy were highlighted to be a problem amongst some residents in these communities:

> Many people in Papendorp are just interested in drinking; or just content to sit and ask for money or a cigarette from others (Hannetjie Don, Papendorp, 16.02.06).

However, I did not find this to be a general characteristic. There was, nonetheless, continued problems and resentment expressed by informants, towards local 'Boers' (white farmers) and white employers in general, based on past and / or present negative experiences (Ebenhaeser focus group, 15.04.05; Norton Dowries, Masifundise member, 3.09.05).

In addition, some informants spoke about a culture of entitlement existing:

> There is some truth in whites and coloureds saying that the blacks now have everything – although they still can't stay on the beach as only people with money can. The black people are complaining and demanding things (Sonia Fortuin, Paternoster, 17.01.06).

As highlighted in chapter six, dependency in coloured settlements can be linked historically to paternalistic labour practices, and the reliance on alcohol, at least in part to the dop system. The complaints about a culture of entitlement amongst black people (see also Enslin, 2003) here cannot be completely separated from racial prejudices and discourses (discussed below), as well as policies of affirmative action. I also encountered other examples of an entitlement culture, such as an Imizamo Yethu key informant's request, expressed almost as an expectation, that I would make a gift to them of my car when leaving South Africa at the end of my fieldwork. This was not an isolated instance, nor was it confined to Imizamo Yethu, or to my research experiences (pers. comm., Pauline Nolan, 10.04.06; Hammett, 2007). However, these attitudes and behaviours are by no means universal. They also reflect the difficulties that local residents face in securing (decent) employment and training, as well as essential services. Moreover, these attitudes are affected by problems with the lack of accountability of local leaders discussed above.

Race, integration and racial identities

All three case studies illustrate the integration of the coloured and black cultural complexes, although this is most visible in areas where migrant workers settled from the Eastern Cape, such as Doring Bay, and to a lesser extent Paternoster. These workers have become integrated into Afrikaans-speaking coloured culture in the more rural areas. In contrast, in Imizamo Yethu, large numbers of people originating

in the Eastern Cape have settled, and continue to migrate in large numbers. The language isiXhosa dominates, although Afrikaans is also frequently heard, due to integration with Afrikaans-speaking culture (such as through the local Afrikaans-speaking school), and the fact that significant numbers of coloured people are also living in the settlement (Kenny Tokwe, Imizamo Yethu, 13.12.05). In contrast, Papendorp and Ebenhaeser are the most ethnically homogeneous, comprising of Afrikaans-speaking people of predominantly Khoekhoe origin (see Sowman, 2003).

The following description highlights firstly how migrants settled in Paternoster despite apartheid restrictions:

> The black people in Paternoster came in the 1950s and '60s to work in the fish factories – and were forced to go back at the end of the season – the employer was required by the authorities to see that the [male] migrant workers got on the train back to Eastern Cape at the end of the season. Two were normally left behind to look after the accommodation. After a while a few others managed to stay by hiding – but if they were caught they were went straight back, or to prison. More were able to stay over a period of time by marrying coloured women. Many coloured women married black men at that time. So there are some few who are fully acculturated into Paternoster culture. As an outsider you can't tell by their accent or really how they look now. You can only tell the ones who have recently arrived, by the accent – that they are learning Afrikaans (Selma Brutus, Paternoster, 18.01.05).

This second account illustrates some of the difficulties created by the more recent influx of people into Paternoster:

> There are a few black people who have been here a long time and are accepted – from the Transkei. Some of the old people have gone back. The people in Paternoster know them all by name and they are accepted into the community. The problems are with the ones coming in now. They sometimes take advantage of residents when they are drunk and ask if they can stay just for one night – and then overnight put up a 'plakkerskamp' (squatter camp). So far we have managed to stop people doing that here [in Paternoster] as people are resisting, not like in St. Helena Bay. One journalist even came round asking me why they didn't want people coming in, but I wouldn't talk to him (Sonia Fortuin, Paternoster, 17.01.06).

Race and access to livelihood opportunities

Several people from Imizamo Yethu talked about access to livelihood opportunities in racial terms:

> We can't get the good jobs in fishing – they are reserved for coloured and white people – we can't progress (Denson Mngomezulu, Imizamo Yethu, 26.01.06).

> I don't trust coloured guys involved in fishing or politics – they can turn against you. And they seem to be benefiting more than the black guys in terms of quotas (Nicholas Muhlengi Zungu, Imizamo Yethu, 14.03.06).

One informant from Papendorp even suggested that competition over opportunities is creating new race-related difficulties since 1994:

> It is the stereotype in the Western Cape that coloured people are racist. This is not the case – we joined with black people in the struggle. But now there are problems with opportunities (André Cloete, Papendorp, 1.06.05).

Other accounts stressed the role of the current capabilities and the stance of coloured fishermen as playing a role in a redistribution of livelihood opportunities:

> Black guys from IY [Imizamo Yethu] have only recently become involved in fishing, because coloured guys have got too clever and are demanding better wages. They [the companies] can pay the black guys less (Garry Nel, consultant, Hout Bay, 10.03.06).

However, these issues are contested, especially since both black and coloured ethnic groups are claiming that the other group have better opportunities. In addition, all of these accounts leave out or ignore the shift in legislation and policies that has made employment in the Western Cape no longer reserved for coloured people, affecting both the coloured and black communities' relative positions.

Racial transformation has not necessarily been a positive experience for people in these communities, who in some cases feel at the sharp end of looking for livelihood opportunities:

> Die transformasie proses kan die mense met honger laat bly (the transformation process can leave people hungry) (Pieter Cloete, Ebenhaeser, 29.11.05).

Furthermore, academics have indicated a time limit to racial transformation, stressing that it was something that people were concerned with only in the first ten years after 1994:

> The window has closed now on the push for transformation. Now people have the attitude that that is the way it is (Prof. Ben Cousins, UWC, Cape Town, 10.03.06).

In addition, racial transformation discourses have in some cases disguised class inequalities. One informant outside of the case studies spoke about the historical class differences within the black population:

> There were obvious differences in wealth within the black population during apartheid. Some were obviously richer – for example people I encountered at university [Fort Hare] – the daughters of businessmen or chiefs. People were able to become rich through the generous chiefly salaries and tribal system or through business - the shops in black townships charged higher prices than supermarkets (Jean Pease, Educationalist, Cape Town, 9.01.05).

She also indicated the divisions within civil society even during the anti-apartheid struggle:

> I experienced negative attitudes towards coloured people from black people, even in my work, which included working in both black and coloured townships. Black people perceived coloured people as benefiting from the apartheid system relative to them – or at least suffering less discrimination. They were not subject to pass laws, had more spacious housing and experienced some positive discrimination in their favour with regards to jobs and labour, including wages. But despite the relative benefits as compared to black people, coloured people still had severely limited opportunities, e.g. teaching or nursing, and were discriminated against and banned from many places and evicted from their homes etc. The separation of language groups in the Western Cape, especially in Cape Town meant that during the struggle, although I learnt some Xhosa, I never managed to consolidate my knowledge of the language enough to speak it fluently. Even those Xhosa-speakers working in the organisations where I worked wanted to speak English (Jean Pease, Educationalist, Cape Town, 9.01.05).

Ambiguous and instrumental use of racial identities

The use of racial terms to express identities was often ambiguous and at times instrumental, not least regarding attempts to claim entitlements. The statements of one key informant in Paternoster, Selma, clearly express this ambiguity. In some situations Selma seemed to regard herself as coloured:

> I thought I could rely on Sonia [Fortuin] to stand up for coloured people. But now she is not helping coloured people like us to get opportunities [referring to Paternoster market stalls] (Selma Brutus, Paternoster, 17.01.05).

Yet on another occasion, Selma said:

> I am not a coloured. I am not a South African. My ancestors were from England… and from St. Helena island… Thank God I'm not a coloured (Selma Brutus, Paternoster, 18.01.05).

Selma expressed this opinion to others from her community on the same day. She was then asked, if she is not 'kleurling' (coloured), then what [ethnic group] is she? She replied that she didn't have an answer, just that she isn't coloured.

These statements clearly contradict legal documentation for the Vaalplaas land claim covering Paternoster residents. The claim itself is predicated on the fact that all the people who were evicted and thus involved in the land claim are coloured residents whose families have lived in Paternoster for generations (Masifundise, 2003).

Civil society activities: contesting citizenship

In this section the data provided above is analysed further in light of the discussions of citizenship, rights and social capital in chapters two and five. An examination of claims around rights and citizenship underpin the analyses. The data also indicates the building of different forms of social capital through a range of civil society activities at local, national and international levels. The analysis here also shows some of the aspects associated with the dark side of social capital and governance, such as lack of accountability or corruption.

Civil society participation, divisions and social capital

The civil society campaigns and activities around marine resource access have promoted rights and provided a space in which to contest and expand the citizenship of small-scale fishers as a marginalised group. They have brought participation of a wide range of actors from the fishing sector and coastal communities in general, including local people, civil society organisations, trade unions, business and academics. Nevertheless, the civil society landscape is highly fragmented. Even where potential unifying factors do exist, organisations and groups themselves put up barriers, partly as a result of competition for funding and due to capacity constraints. Divisions found took the form of perceived dichotomies such as urban / rural, black /

coloured (or black / white) governing access to opportunities and resources, or as differences between traditional support bases.

In the case of coastal settlements, organisations see themselves as having a historical support base of either rural (e.g. Masifundise) or urban (e.g. Artisanal Fishers Association) populations. This is despite the fact that fishers and others in coastal towns often move between urban and rural areas according to opportunities that arise, and in response to migrating fish populations. Ramphele (2001), Enslin (2003) and others indicate how such divisions were integral to anti-apartheid struggle mobilisation strategies, emphasising rural / urban divisions in particular.

The main geographical focus of the west and south coasts of the Western Cape has meant that formerly their active members were mainly from the Afrikaans-speaking coloured communities. This historical tendency combined with linguistic aspects created a partial excluding effect. With an organisational move to include urban areas, this focus and linguistic practices have gradually changed. Nonetheless, inclusion of all relevant stakeholders in the context of multiple divisions and capacity constraints, is still an issue. Therefore, at different scales, social capital is acting along inclusive as well as exclusive lines in relation to the broad civil society context.

Priorities and objectives between the small-scale and large-scale sectors are in many ways competing. The small-scale sector is supported by NGOs and CBOs, and they seek a fairer deal for those catching fish either for local sale or marketed through large companies. On the other hand, the large-scale, industrialised sector is supported by industry groups (and powerful lobbying activities) at the highest level, as well as by trade unions at the level of the workers (usually temporary or seasonal staff). They seek more allocations for the large companies, or in the case of the unions, additional allocations for ex-staff who feel they have not been catered for adequately either by the companies or by government. In a zero-sum system of allocations of fishing 'rights', not all of these claims can be catered for. Nevertheless, the division between small-scale and large-scale is not a dichotomy, and fishworkers move

apparently seamlessly between the two, where opportunities are available. However, the lack of regulation of large company practices of involving small-scale fishers nominally (sometimes in name only) to obtain large quotas, but offering few returns to those participating, has exacerbated divisions.

Masifundise's contemporary choice of focus on coastal livelihood access rights is one aspect of their adaptation to the post-1994 political context. Another important facet of this adjustment is the shift from a combative to more cooperative stance with the government department responsible for access, MCM. This has involved a corresponding shift to make way for this change by MCM.

The choice of mobilising strategy is also an issue that raises accountability questions. While Masifundise do have significant grassroots support, this has been predicated on communicating mainly with 'community leaders', who are assumed to already represent their local constituency or group. Although support and capacity-building is provided to community leaders, during the period of fieldwork it was not clear that leaders were representing or even feeding back information adequately to their local communities or groups in some cases. However, during the period since the fieldwork ended, reports indicate that significant efforts have been made to develop Coastal Links, the group of fishworkers and members of coastal settlements, into a representative organisation in the Western Cape and beyond.

Concluding remarks: an ongoing process

This chapter has presented and analysed data on civil society activities and the PAR component with Masifundise and local communities. It has drawn out some of the key relevant themes, linking these with the previous discussions of citizenship and social capital. Visible successes have been achieved through contestation over citizenship and rights by civil society organisational activities, leading to increased collaboration of the state and the civil society sector. The state has, in turn, become more open to such cooperation and to the role of civil society organisations in the marine resource sector. Nonetheless, there are still outstanding accountability

concerns in both state and civil society operations, as well as issues around divisions within the civil society organisational landscape and the capacity limitations of mainly NGO-managed implementation. These constraints mean that this is by no means a quick or easy solution to expanding the rights and citizenship of marginalised groups.

PART III:

SYNTHESIS AND KEY FINDINGS

CHAPTER TEN: KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The previous chapters have examined different aspects of contestation over citizenship. Three key pillars of citizenship have been used in the case studies and analyses – access to material or livelihood resources and opportunities, adult educational access and capability requirements, and civil society contestation. This chapter draws together the main themes, key findings and conclusions from the data and analysis chapters in Part II, and relates these to the main theories and concepts introduced in Part I. First of all, I summarise the key findings, then outline how these relate to the main theories, concepts and debates highlighted in the thesis.

Summary of key findings

This thesis contends that civil society activities represent an important site of learning and action towards expanding citizenship for marginalised groups. Citizenship from this perspective is both expressed in and influenced by civil society struggles, while being constrained by external and structural forces such as national policies, globalisation and neo-liberal influences.

Structural constraints continue to exist at national or policy level to 'historically disadvantaged' groups gaining full citizenship. Socio-economic and educational capability requirements have been shown here to be key exclusionary factors in the case studies in terms of access to livelihood resources and opportunities. This includes language and literacy requirements, operating through bureaucratic or politically mediated processes. The analysis has used the example of marine resource access predominantly for small-scale, informal economy workers to demonstrate these concerns.

In the case of access to adult education and training opportunities, gaps and inequities in infrastructure and provision continue to form the major constraint. Yet

in both of these strands of access, accountability of policy-makers, political leaders and decision-makers is a key issue. These limitations act to restrict access to the means that, together with attitudinal changes, are likely to be most effective in breaking the chain currently perpetuating what is arguably second-class citizenship for these groups.

Civil society activities therefore represent one of the few available avenues for challenging inequities. Chapter nine illustrates the way in which civil society organisations have been able to draw on local (grassroots) action as well as international networks. These efforts have resulted in some gains regarding access to marine resources and in pushing for increased recognition of citizenship more generally for these somewhat marginalised groups. These successes have come about by a process of contestation and cooperation with the state. The government has, in response to varied strategies of contestation, in its turn allowed greater collaboration with civil society groups in the marine resource sector. This thesis contends that it is in the opening up of the space between the state and civil society that contestation over citizenship has occurred, rather than in civil society activities alone.

The gaps between the policy rhetoric – stressing the aims of equity, poverty reduction, racial transformation and shared growth – and the realities of access to livelihood opportunities are extensive, even in what is a relatively developed and prosperous province, the Western Cape. Certain areas, such as rural settlements and urban informal settlements, due in part to historical lack of infrastructure and resources, as well as current inequities, have been marginalised. Ultimately, overcoming structural and attitudinal challenges is likely to require wider interventions, including a more enabling institutional and policy environment, and greater access to intermediate skills development.

The next section highlights how the key findings relate to the key theories, concepts and debates covered in the thesis.

A return to the theory and concepts from Part I

Citizenship

This thesis has shown how notions of rights, especially socio-economic rights, are central to the values and ethos of the civil society activities researched. It also shows how rights talk is used in people's claims, as well as in discussing their experiences of citizenship. In some cases claims for rights have been used to perpetuate an entitlement culture based around citizenship, primarily in the form of material wealth, as found in Enslin's (2003) and Ramphele's (2001) work (see also below). Nevertheless, I argue in this thesis that these issues are more complex than criticisms of an entitlement culture would suggest. One of the underlying reasons is that the new political order has raised expectations: democratisation has raised the stakes (see Young 2007; Marshall, 1964). At the same time it has not succeeded in providing the basic services and essentials that people have been led to expect by policy rhetoric and as part of democratic citizenship in the new South Africa.

One of the main contentious issues around citizenship emphasised in this thesis is the tension between market-based and equity or rights-based notions of citizenship. This tension is reflected in Marshall's (1964) work highlighting the centrality within citizenship debates of the degree to which democratic citizenship implies or tolerates socio-economic inequalities. Market-based citizenship here is exemplified by the predominant way in which educational and marine resource policy frameworks have been implemented. In contrast, equity or rights-based notions of citizenship are evident both in policy rhetoric about poverty reduction, and in civil society activities. The success of the civil society activities described in this thesis suggests that despite the dominance of market-based policy frameworks, rights-based notions of citizenship still have significant currency and influence.

Chapter eight illustrates how official mechanisms of bureaucracy and bureaucratic literacy practices, combined with political considerations, have led to differential experiences of citizenship in coastal settlements. The data corroborates Alexander's

(2007) work about the crucial importance of language and educational attainment in gaining full citizenship rights. Despite national policy rhetoric about poverty reduction and equity, full citizenship rights in relation to natural resource access would, without civil society intervention, have been bestowed to a large extent on those who are educated and literate in the main language of bureaucracy, English, or have access to positive literacy mediation. Other factors that also influenced were the ability to draw on significant sources of political and social capital (see below).

Access to education is a further crucial aspect of citizenship, highlighted in the data presented in chapter seven. The role of limited access to education in perpetuating second class citizenship is underlined both by Marshall (1964) and Alexander (2007). The analysis chapters have pointed to the ways in which patchy and inequitable access to adult education and training, combined with limitations on access to livelihood opportunities (impacting on the ability to pay children's school fees), has perpetuated the second class citizenship of informal economy workers in coastal settlements.

The focus on access issues in the analyses has enabled the joining of several different aspects of citizenship. It has allowed an interdisciplinary examination of issues around access to natural resources, as well as to adult education and training. The spotlight on access to natural resources has proved important to the analysis as a whole for two reasons. It has first of all highlighted the central, contentious citizenship issues involved in decision-making about the distribution and access to natural (and corresponding economic) resources. Secondly, it has underlined both environmental and socio-economic sustainability issues that are fundamental to concerns in the settlements researched, including those around food production and distribution (as described in Sen, 1983). Promoting sustainability is an issue of collective action at various scales, given the environmental and social sustainability concerns highlighted earlier (including in World Bank, 2004; Charles, 2001). This includes globally (e.g. as expressed in notions of global citizenship – see Scandrett, 1999), as well as at local and national scales.

Contestation by civil society activities represents the third main strand of this thesis. Several scholars have nonetheless highlighted how civil society activities, including in education, are not a substitute for state provision (Brown and Timmer, 2006; Rose, 2007). The data in this thesis points to the fact that it is the contestation and cooperation that has occurred between civil society and government that is important in terms of contesting citizenship. Issues around civil society activities are discussed in more detail below.

Rights and entitlements

This thesis (chapters four and nine) has examined the use of concepts of rights and entitlements, and how they fit in with and influence citizenship in the case study contexts. In doing so, it has referred to the international and South African literature on human and socio-economic rights (see UN, 1948; Spreen and Vally, 2006), to Sen's (1983) work on entitlements, and to relevant aspects of the South African literature on citizenship and democracy (see Enslin, 2003; Ramphele, 2001; Asmal and James, 2001; Nattrass and Seekings, 2001). NGOs and civil society networks are using a range of different ideas as currency in the post-apartheid state. These focus on human and socio-economic rights (e.g. the right to a livelihood, the right to employment, and fishing rights), which draw their base from international ideas, legal instruments and agreements. The concepts and ideas used illustrate conflicting understandings of rights amongst government (market-based fishing rights), universalised rights as used in civil society activities, and specific claims for socio-economic rights and benefits.

Perceptions around entitlements (Sen, 1983 and 1995) are to some degree dependent on the standard of living that people see around them. Given the huge inequities in wealth, land and property ownership, in access to basic services and the general standard of living in the Western Cape, this continues to create difficulties, expectations and claims in the case study settlements.

Race, class and 'transformation'

Ethnic divisions are still evident in perceptions and realities of access to livelihood opportunities, illustrating both continuities and changes in relation to apartheid spatial and racial legislation. Corroborating work by Alexander (2007), the data shows that affirmative action policies, and the ways in which these have been implemented, have led to a continuation of racial discourses. The discussions in chapters three, seven and nine about fishing and business training policies, confirm the continued use of racial categorisations, including in policy concerns with representativity in terms of livelihood opportunities. These have been accompanied by continuities and changes in the ways people in the case study sites talk about livelihood opportunities and other groups (see chapter nine). This demonstrates a degree of contestation of current race-based policies, but also a certain level of complicity in the perpetuation of racial inequalities, as highlighted by Erasmus (2005).

Ethnic group identity also still plays a role in the ways that civil society networks operate, through language differences and the influence of historical constituencies. NGOs and civil society groups in the case studies are struggling to mobilise across multiple divisions. These include formal / informal economy differences, ethnic and language divisions and rural / urban differences. These in some cases originate in the anti-apartheid struggle but are shifting in new ways in the new ANC-led context as a result of the conscious policy and funding choices already outlined (see also Enslin, 2003; Ramphele, 2001).

In the fishing industry, racial 'transformation', despite government rhetoric, has been only partial. It has included a class component, because of particular policies orientated towards macro-economic goals of efficiency and stability at the expense of the small-scale sector, as well as the continued dominance of white capital (see Ponte and Van Sittert, 2007; Sowman, 2006; Isaacs, 2006).

Race and class inequalities in general are changing in the post-apartheid context. Nattrass and Seekings (2001) have pointed to two major economic inequality gaps in contemporary South Africa. The first is between an increasingly multi-racial upper class and all other groups. The second is between a middle class of industrialised workers, and the black unemployed and rural poor. To the latter category it is relevant to add most of those working (both black and coloured) in informal economy or MSE employment, including in the fishing sector, which tend towards survivalist enterprises (see Devey, Skinner and Valodia, 2006).

Key elements of citizenship

Livelihood and adult educational access

In order to better present and analyse commonalities, livelihood and adult educational access are provided together below.

The analyses presented in earlier chapters have shown how the sustainable livelihoods (SL) framework (Carney, 1998; Chambers and Conway, 1992), in combination with closely related theoretical work in political ecology (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987) and entitlements (Sen, 1983) has proved useful in analysing cross- and inter-disciplinary access issues in coastal settlements. The SL framework encompasses a wide range of aspects, and to cover them all would require a wealth of data that is beyond the scope and time constraints of this thesis. The thesis therefore focuses on particular parts of the SL framework, especially that dealing with transforming structures and processes (mediating influences). It concentrates on the connections between adult educational and livelihood access, and how these relate to citizenship. I have also included the issue of sustainability, which is central to the SL framework, and included in notions of global citizenship. The analyses here show the crucial importance of different levels of mediating influences (local, national and international). They also highlight the influence of different types of social capital. Nonetheless, this research acknowledges certain weaknesses and

difficulties with these theoretical models and concepts (discussed in more detail in chapter two).

Mediating influences and educational capabilities

This thesis has examined the interweaving local, national and international mediating influences at work. It has shown that international influences, mediated in the main by national government, have had mixed and sometimes contradictory effects. International influences are tangible in the form of support for progressive government and civil society activities (for example at a strategic or policy level such as in the DFID-funded programme in support of integrated coastal development). International influences are also visible in the models promoted to achieve social change – human or socio-economic rights-based educational and campaigning activities, used by civil society groups. Paradoxically, international (and overall) funding for civil society activities has greatly reduced since 1994 due to bilateral aid being channelled preferentially to government in many cases, rather than the civil society sector. On the other hand, since 1994, South Africa has undergone a process of rapid liberalisation of its economy to international economic forces and globalisation. This has had mixed consequences both for educational provision and for livelihoods linked to global trade. The increasingly globalised trade has brought uneven benefits. South Africa has implemented models from international sources, primarily neo-liberal, market-based models in both education and marine resource governance, which this thesis has shown have conflicted in fundamental ways with the broad societal goals associated with increasing equity and democratic citizenship (Allais, 2003; Ensor, 2003; Isaacs, 2006).

The ANC government has inherited and transformed structures from previous governments in ways that have hampered progressive change towards equity, manifested in resistance or lack of capacity within institutions, and continued concentration of resources in certain geographical areas and for certain demographic groups. Such structures have found it difficult to adjust to the new challenges and ethos, both in education (Allais, 2003; Ensor, 2003) and in marine resource

governance (Hersoug and Isaacs, 2001; Isaacs, 2006; Sowman, 2006). This appears, at least up until very recently, to have led to a tendency towards promoting macro-economic benefits and centralised control, thus ignoring or failing to tackle the broader social and equity concerns inherent in the concept of sustainability (see Charles, 2001; Sneddon *et al.*, 2006). Government resource constraints of course have also played a part. Nonetheless, decision-making over funding of adult education and natural resource governance is itself bound up with notions of citizenship and the perpetuation of inequalities.

Bureaucratic literacy practices in the 2005-6 marine resource application and information dissemination procedures formed a key source of inequity in terms of mediating influences. The analysis (detailed in chapter eight) used the concepts of literacy mediation and social capital to highlight these processes. It showed that literacy and numeracy skills, combined with business skills and access to specific knowledge (also termed functional literacy – see FAO, 2006) were in these cases crucial for gaining access to livelihood opportunities. This applied to the changing and highly competitive local and global markets associated with marine resources, as well as other skilled livelihood opportunities. In the era of faster ICT connections and globalisation (Castells, 1998), but in the context of resource constraints, government departments have relied too heavily on the internet and on complex written policy documents for information dissemination about the policies and application procedures. These are media to which people in the coastal settlements researched have limited access.

These exclusionary factors apply particularly to the higher-value marine resources. These are the resources that are more likely to allow people to make a decent living, and to which fishers in the areas researched have historically had access. A certain well-connected (predominantly 'white'-dominated) section of the industry does have access to the internet as a medium of communication as well as industry lobbying power and information exchange. This has created a significant informational and skills gap between large company stakeholders and those outside of the large industrial sector. As a result, local people in the 2005-6 application process had to

rely on potentially exploitative linkages with local leaders and / or consultants or companies as mediators (which constituted negative forms of social capital in some cases). These were accompanied by sporadic government 'roadshows', supplemented by NGO educational activities. This thesis argues that in this economically and environmentally contested terrain, the bureaucratic literacies required involved a modernising and globalising agenda remote from local realities. This led to the exclusion of those with subaltern or vernacular literacies in other languages, despite their relevant skills and experience. This seemed to be operating at odds with stated poverty reduction policy aims.

Access to adult education and training: mediating influences

The data collected for this thesis, detailed in chapter seven, shows that relationships of political power at local level play a mediating role in access to adult education and training provision in the context of inadequate state resources for comprehensive provision and educational needs analysis (see also Petersen, 2007). Financial resources and socio-economic status also play a role based on the ability to pay for provision and to cover the opportunity, transport and typically additional accommodation costs. In one case study site, Ebenhaeser and Papendorp, those interviewed who were engaged in fishing-related activities perceived themselves to be marginalised at local level by the ANC structures. This can be seen as the workings of the negative side of social capital (see below). The data indicates that they were experiencing difficulties in participating adequately in decision-making about relevant training provision at local level. However, such problems around representation were reported in all the case study sites at local, regional or national scales. In part as a result of the filtering of training needs analysis through ANC structures in Ebenhaeser and Papendorp, combined with general implementation gaps, provision is not addressing the urgent need for access to information via the internet. In addition, provision has not been able to respond to the marine policy changes or to assist people in coastal settlements to cope with the exigencies of the new application process and governance systems, requiring literacy, English, business and accounting proficiency (see also Isaacs, 2006).

Civil society processes of contesting citizenship

The civil society campaigns and activities around marine resource access (detailed in chapters four and nine) have promoted rights and provided a space in which to contest and expand the citizenship of small-scale fishers as a marginalised group. They have brought participation of a wide range of actors from the fishing sector and coastal communities in general, including local people, civil society organisations, trade unions, business and academics. Nevertheless, the civil society landscape is fragmented. Even where potential unifying factors do exist, organisations and groups themselves have in some cases put up barriers, partly as a result of competition for funding, and due to capacity constraints. Divisions found took the form of perceived dichotomies such as urban / rural, black / coloured (or black / white), governing access to opportunities and resources, or as differences between constituencies or traditional support bases. Priorities and objectives between the small-scale and large-scale sectors are also competing. Ramphele (2001), Enslin (2003) and others indicate how such divisions were integral to anti-apartheid struggle mobilisation strategies, emphasising rural / urban divisions in particular.

Such divisions cannot, however, be wholly attributed to the former political context or to civil society. The implementation of current ANC government policies is causing major difficulties, in some cases exacerbating the multiple divisions outlined. This includes through the decrease in funding available to civil society organisations, the co-option of key civil society leaders into the ANC government, the polarisation of adult and vocational provision and the difficult policy environment for non-state non-formal educational activities (see Aitchison, 2007), as well as the perpetuation of inequalities in terms of fishing allocations.

Masifundise's contemporary choice of focus on coastal livelihood access rights is one aspect of their adaptation to the post-1994 political context. Another important facet of this adjustment is the change from a primarily combative to more

cooperative stance with the government department responsible for access, MCM. This has involved a corresponding shift to make way for this change by government.

The choice of mobilising strategy is an issue that raises accountability questions, highlighted in chapter four as central to the analysis here (e.g. see Moser and Norton, 2001). These ultimately reflect on citizenship experiences and debates, in that accountability characteristics influence who benefits from specific opportunities and resources. While Masifundise do have significant grassroots support, this has been predicated on communicating mainly with 'community leaders', who were often assumed to represent their local constituency or group. Although support and capacity-building was provided to these community leaders, concerns arose around elite capture. In some cases these leaders were not performing the role of a representative or conveying information. This situation was exacerbated by the distance of the NGO offices from the predominantly rural settlements in which they work (see also Gauri and Galef, 2005). Efforts have since been made to address aspects of representation, although elite capture is an ongoing issue in terms of competing claims to livelihood opportunities (see also Moser and Norton, 2001).

The data indicates that Masifundise, although a small organisation, has been able to draw on strong international NGO networks, national civil society groups and legal expertise, contributing significantly to the success of broad civil society activities. These networks have lent credibility and weight to struggles over citizenship and access, in conjunction with local support as well as protests and legal action. As highlighted in chapter four, this ability to work across multiple levels is typically a marker of a successful civil society organisation (Moser and Norton, 2001; Brown and Ashman, 1996). Moreover, Brown and Timmer (2006) outline the specific ways that transnational civil society organisations and networks can contribute to learning and to progressive social change. They highlight how civil society organizations and networks draw on currencies of ideas, information, and values rather than formal power or abundant financial resources. Accountability at local level, and organisational capacity still remain important issues that affect how widespread the benefits will be from the progress civil society activities have engendered so far.

Critics of rights-based approaches increasingly used by NGOs have claimed that they can create resentment and a victim mentality (French 1992). This is not corroborated by the data here (see chapter nine). Instead, it appears that characteristics of dependency and apathy, where they occur, have more complex historical and structural origins outside of NGO participation and influence. Other criticisms of such approaches centre around a tendency to concentrate too much on radical structural change that is unrealistic and almost impossible to achieve, rather than on maximising people's situations and strategies within existing systems (Gardner and Lewis 1996). In this instance, positive change has been attained in a situation that seemed impossible. However, government departments as well as NGOs, due to capacity constraints, are currently ill-equipped to build on local strategies. Civil society activities have focused mainly on issues around fishing, rather than addressing broader livelihood issues. This thesis therefore argues that an enabling environment (see King and Palmer, 2006) in terms of institutional policies and practices, including accountability mechanisms, are key factors that can ultimately improve access as well as the capabilities of small-scale producers to develop their own livelihood strategies.

Social capital, governance and civil society activities

Bourdieu's (1986; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) work has proved useful in highlighting how social capital is working to exclude certain groups in this context, based on the particular form of socio-economic status or class and other exclusionary factors. This view is contrasted with both Putnam's (1995) and Coleman's (1988) rather more positive views of social capital and associational life, and the potential of social capital to assist with progressive social change (Field, 2003). The data in chapter eight suggests the need to avoid easy categorisation of particular forms of social capital (as for literacy mediation) as positive or negative, since they can potentially be either, or both at the same time, to a varying degree. Moreover, the perspective is likely to differ according to the focus of attention, that is, which particular group is being examined. (For instance, apartheid rule at its height, with

the strong accompanying civil society structures and community-building, is considered to have worked well for Afrikaners.)

At the same time, because of the difficulties in obtaining adequate information about access to marine resources, political status and connections were helpful in significant instances for obtaining access to such livelihood opportunities. Numerous sources of evidence also pointed to the decisive effect of political ties in the large commercial sector application process, with political figures previously unconnected with the fishing industry obtaining large quotas for recently set up companies (see DEAT, 2006a). Furthermore, a range of other mediators such as local leaders and consultants were at times of ambiguous or no help in the application processes for marine resources. In some cases they turned out to be effectively in competition with community members, or through better access to information, to be exploiting them. It is clear that social capital has been operating in diverse ways to exclude significant numbers of small-scale fishers and include others.

As we have seen, social capital, along with other mediating influences, is affecting access to livelihood opportunities and to adult education and training. Socio-economic status and access to financial capital (forms of economic exclusion) are also key cross-cutting limiting factors (see Béné, 2003). Governance characteristics, including the means by which people are included and excluded, are a key concern in terms of both educational and natural resource access (Ostrom *et al.*, 1993; Davis and Ostrom, 1991; Spreen and Vally, 2006; Jentoft, 2007; Béné and Neiland, 2006).

One of the key arguments that governments and trade unions have made against engaging with NGOs and those involved with them is a lack of an accountable leadership with an elected (democratic) governance structure (see Spooner, 2004; Gauri and Galef, 2005). This argument was initially tangible in government rhetoric and attitudes in marine resource governance. Nonetheless, as a result of the combination of educational and mobilisation strategies outlined earlier, these attitudes on behalf of government did alter over time.

Global and local citizenship and sustainability

As we have seen, sustainability (and the other end of the spectrum, vulnerability) is integral to global as well as local citizenship debates. (It also forms a central concern of the SL framework.) A number of different aspects of sustainability have been referred to in this thesis. Access to food (and food security) is perhaps the most basic component of sustainability in human and social terms, and ultimately of citizenship. In its focus on marine resources and the global trade of fish products, this thesis has highlighted vulnerabilities in livelihood and governance systems that ultimately concern and impact on (legal) food entitlements at a local level (Sen, 1983; see also Sowman, 2006). Institutional sustainability and vulnerability are also key themes running through the coverage of educational, marine resource and civil society issues (also discussed in chapter four in relation to civil society institutional issues).

A critical body of current research evidence and policy, including the South African white paper (DEAT, 2000), favours an integrated approach to local and coastal development from a number of different standpoints, including marine resource sustainability (Charles, 2001; Sowman and Brown, 2006; World Bank, 2004), rural development and from a lifelong learning perspective (Duke, Doyle and Wilson, 2006; Duke, Osborne and Wilson, 2005). Yet implementation of an integrated approach is plagued by difficulties and challenges, not least in terms of historical inequities in infrastructure development affecting access to services, as well as institutional capacity, coherence and orientational constraints of government departments and educational institutions at local, regional and national level.

Concerns also exist around the sustainability of adult education and training systems given that the overarching framework used, the NQF, has not led to capacity building of poorly equipped and resourced state providers in the west coast area (see Ostrom *et al.*, 1993; Sowman and Brown, 2006; King and McGrath 1999; 2002; Allais, 2003 and 2007; Ensor, 2003).

The data here points to the fact that the government department responsible for marine resource governance in South Africa has taken a narrow view of sustainability, concentrating on market-based reforms, efficiency and stability of the fishery system in response to the increased global demand for fish products. The global depletion of marine resources has also influenced these policy aims (Isaacs, 2006; Hersoug and Isaacs, 2001). On the other hand, the data collected for this thesis indicates that fishing-related activities at the small-scale level are typically carried out communally amongst family members and friends or neighbours where possible, even where the individual rewards are small. Such a process is at odds with the market-based governance model implemented since 1998, where small-scale fishers are assumed to be purely profit-seeking, individualistic economic actors (see Charles, 2001; Hardin, 1968).

A large body of international research now exists on sustainability in fishery systems, and this has highlighted the need to look at fishery systems in a holistic way within the wider socio-economic and cultural context, that is, of the local coastal economy (or community) as a whole (see for example Charles, 2001; Jentoft, 2007). Inequities in the application processes highlighted above occurred without there being measures in place to adequately level the playing field or address the gaps in skills development and provision of credit facilities (see also Isaacs, 2006; Sowman, 2006). Moreover, academics examining sustainability in relation to marine resources have favoured diversification of livelihoods rather than reliance on marine resources alone (see Charles, 2001; Jentoft, 2007; Allison and Ellis, 2001). Nonetheless, the market-based allocation system utilised in South Africa has largely ignored this fact.

The new interim measures, in allowing a basket of resources to be caught, are attempting to address sustainability concerns, enabling small-scale fishers to respond to seasonal and other changes. The new policy currently being formulated is planned to work along the same lines, as well as to increase local input into and control over (marine resource-related) decision-making. This, if implemented will constitute an expansion of current citizenship experiences in the new democracy. Nevertheless, the

capacity and institutional constraints within the relevant government department and civil society groups mean that there will be no simple solutions.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has drawn together the common themes, key findings and conclusions from the data and analyses, relating these to the main theories and concepts introduced in chapter two.

This thesis contends that civil society activities represent an important site of learning and action towards expanding citizenship for marginalised groups. Citizenship from this perspective is both expressed in and influenced by civil society struggles, while being constrained by external and structural forces such as globalisation and neo-liberal influences. The thesis has examined the interconnections between three key aspects of citizenship in this context – access to material or livelihood resources and opportunities, educational access and capability requirements, and civil society contestation.

Structural constraints continue to exist at national or policy level to historically disadvantaged groups gaining full citizenship. Socio-economic and educational capability requirements are the main exclusionary factors in terms of access to livelihood resources and opportunities, including language and literacy requirements, operating through bureaucratic or politically mediated processes. The analyses here have used the example of marine resource access for small-scale, informal economy workers to demonstrate these practices.

In the case of access to adult education and training opportunities in coastal settlements, gaps and inequities in infrastructure and provision continue to form the major constraint. In both of these strands, accountability of policy-makers, political leaders and decision-makers is a key issue. These limitations act to restrict access to the means that, together with attitudinal changes, could break the chain currently perpetuating what is arguably second-class citizenship for these groups.

Civil society activities represent one of the few available avenues for challenging inequities, drawing on local action as well as international networks. The data presented in this thesis highlights the tension between market-based and equity or rights-based notions of citizenship, expressed in policy frameworks and civil society activities. Civil society efforts have resulted in some gains regarding access to marine resources and in pushing for recognition of citizenship for small-scale fishers, particularly in rural coastal communities. Civil society organisations have had to adapt to the changing political and funding context since 1994, drawing on strategies of contestation from the anti-apartheid struggle, but also taking on a more cooperative stance. This thesis argues that it is the contestation and cooperation that has occurred between civil society and government that has created the space in which citizenship has been expanded and contested, rather than civil society activities alone. Ultimately, however, overcoming the challenges in access to livelihoods will require wider government interventions, including an enabling policy environment and greater access to intermediate skills development.

Further research

This thesis points to a number of fruitful avenues for further research in the Western Cape and Southern African contexts. Firstly, one of the main gaps visible currently is the communication of relevant interdisciplinary research in an appropriate, summarised format. Such research would be aimed at policy-makers and implementers in education, local government administration and marine resource governance at local, provincial and national scales. It would be useful in providing policy-makers and implementing officials with a broader perspective than capacity normally allows on local situations and priorities. At the same time, research is needed into how better communication can be promoted between stakeholders (including civil society), including supplementing information relayed by elected representatives and local leaders.

Secondly, future research is needed into how the new national policies AsgiSA and JipSA are affecting implementation of education and training provision. This includes investigation into whether the new policies are facilitating a more coherent system across the traditional divide between the Departments of Education and Labour. Another important aspect that merits further research is the role of provincial government in policy-making and implementation in this context.

Thirdly, research on the development of MSE activities in rural and urban informal settlements would be highly fruitful, including the type of enabling environment and policies required to support and facilitate local initiative in such activities. This could build on existing national and provincial (Western Cape) MSE research.

Fourthly, an investigation into ways of building educational capabilities in relation to local governance systems (co-management) in small-scale fisheries, as well as the broad accompanying institutional cooperation mechanisms required represents a useful direction for further research. This could build on current priorities, since developing local governance is a key area of interest expressed by government (MCM), NGOs (including the World Wide Fund for Nature and Masifundise), as well as by local people in coastal settlements. This strand would also be able to draw on cross-disciplinary work done by other academics, government and international agency staff on co-management and integrated coastal development.

Finally, there is considerable scope for comparative research on citizenship across international contexts, including, for example, research in the UK and in Southern Africa on the connections between citizenship and education, and on citizenship and migration.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LISTS OF INTERVIEWEES, INFORMANTS, FOCUS GROUPS, PUBLIC MEETINGS AND WORKSHOPS

List of interviewees[82]

Name	Position	Location	Date(s)
Naseegh Jaffer	Male, Director, Masifundise	Cape Town	Ongoing
Jackie Sunde	Female, Masifundise staff, Research	Cape Town	Ongoing
Rose Telela	Female, Masifundise staff, Research and documentation centre	Cape Town	Ongoing
Michelle Joshua	Female, Masifundise staff, Programme Coordinator	Cape Town	Ongoing
Elize Petersen	Female, Masifundise field staff, west coast	Vredenburg, west coast	Ongoing
Elizabeth (Pinky) La Vita	Female, TCOE staff	Cape Town	Ongoing
Siviwe Kobokana	Male, TCOE staff	Cape Town	Ongoing
Nomaphelo (Penny) Hlakula	Female, TCOE staff	Cape Town	Ongoing
Sahra Ryklief	Labour Research Service	Cape Town	2.03.05 and ongoing
Andy Johnston	Male, Artisanal Fishers Association	Cape Town	3.03.05 and ongoing
Pieter Cloete	Male, engineer, chairman of Ebenhaeser Fishing Co-management Committee	Olifantsdrift, Ebenhaeser	Ongoing
Auntie Saartjie	Female, member of Ebenhaeser Fishing Co-management Committee	Olifantsdrift, Ebenhaeser	Ongoing
Peter Love	Male, ANC leader / Ebenhaeser Transformation Committee	Ebenhaeser	29.11.05
Dennis Taylor	Male, ANC leader /	Ebenhaeser	20.02.06

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[82] Some names have been changed to honour confidentiality and anonymity. This list marks 'ongoing' any informant who was interviewed repeatedly or who I interacted with over extended periods of time as part of fieldwork, workshops or public meetings. (Where 'date and ongoing' is stated, the date indicates the primary interview or interaction for the purposes of the data collection.)

	Ebenhaeser Transformation Committee		
André Cloete	Male, community activist, tour guide / tourism entrepreneur, member of Masifundise, former Ebenhaeser Fishing Co-management Committee	Papendorp	Ongoing
Johanna (Hannetjie) Don	Female, head of household, small business entrepreneur, member of Ebenhaeser fishing committee	Papendorp	Ongoing
Vincent (Vernie) Van Niekerk	Male, fisher	Papendorp	Ongoing
Frank Andrew	Male, fisher	Papendorp	22.02.06 and ongoing
Piet Andrew	Male, ex-fisher (large company), retired	Papendorp	19.02.06
Tienie Saunderson	Female, community member	Papendorp	30.11.05
Willem and Elizabeth Hein	Male, agricultural worker / Public Works and wife	Papendorp	30.11.05
Peter Owies	Male, MPRC staff member and community activist, Masifundise member	Doring Bay	Ongoing
Jacqui	Female, MPRC staff member	Doring Bay	Ongoing
Jacki Klaasen	Male, small business entrepreneur and Masifundise member, ANC leader, former MPRC staff member	Doring Bay	Ongoing
Dinah Claasen	Former fish processing factory worker and WCRL applicant	Doring Bay	22.11.05
Johan Kamfer	Male, Director,	Doring Bay	24.11.05

		Oceana		
Selma Brutus	Female head of household, fisher (small-scale) and Masifundise member	Paternoster	Ongoing
Troy Brutus	Male, fisher (small-scale)	Paternoster	Ongoing
Patricia Brutus	Female, fish processing factory worker	Paternoster	28.10.05
Sonia Fortuin	Female, local leader and community activist, former ANC leader, and former fish processing factory worker	Paternoster	Ongoing
Albertus Slingers	Male, Masifundise member, small-scale fisher	Paternoster	Ongoing
Naomi Cloete	Female, Masifundise member, small-scale fisher	Paternoster	Ongoing
Wendy Bester	Female, community Development Officer	Paternoster	21.11.05
Nico Waldeck	Male, Masifundise member and community leader	Lamberts Bay	Ongoing
Piet van Rooyen	Male, Manager, Paternoster Visserye	Paternoster	21.11.05
Patrick	Male, tour guide and ex-small-scale fisher	Imizamo Yethu	Ongoing
Nicholas Muhlengi Zungu	Male, fisher (small-scale) and community activist	Imizamo Yethu	Ongoing
Nolitha Mngomezulu	Female, traditional healer, wife of fisherman (large company)	Imizamo Yethu	Ongoing
Denson Mngomezulu	Male, fisherman (large company) / driver	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Mbulelo Kemese	Male, fisherman	Imizamo Yethu	6.07.05
Kenny Tokwe	Male, ANC leader / Community Development Worker	Imizamo Yethu	13.12.05 and 19.01.06

Sister Esther Carolus	Female, nursing sister	Imizamo Yethu	15.12.05
Alfred Sikepe, Priscilla Sikepe, Patrick Sikepe	Male, ex-fisher Female, wife Male (son), fisher for large company	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Charlemagne (Nkosinathi) Mguga	Entrepreneur, former court assessor, ex-fisher	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Mattwes Mgwaba	Male, fisher (large company)	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Tshayingca Daniel Sotyantya	Male, ex-fisher (large company), now retired	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Basie Sigwele	Male, ex-fisher (large company), now ill	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Garry Nel	Consultant, fishing sector	Hout Bay	3.03.06
Albert Hendricks	Male, fisher (large company)	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Edwin Mdluli	Male, fisher (large company)	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Nomsa Nonewa	Female, wife of fisher (deceased)	Imizamo Yethu	10.01.06
Philip Sangiki and Julia Sotomela	Male, ex-fisherman (large company), now ill and wife	Imizamo Yethu	19.01.06
Neliswa	Female, community member	Imizamo Yethu	19.01.06
Norton Dowries	Male, Masifundise member, ex-fisher	Langebaan	Ongoing
Prof. Neville Alexander	Male, academic	UCT	Ongoing
Dr. Moenieba Isaacs	Female, academic	PLAAS, UWC, Cape Town	Ongoing
Dr. Mafa Hara	Male, academic	PLAAS, UWC, Cape Town	Ongoing
Dr. Ken Salo	Male, academic (USA)	Cape Town	12.01.06
Dr. Zimitri Erasmus	Female, academic	UCT, Cape Town	Ongoing
Dr. Merle Sowman	Female, academic	UCT, Cape Town	Ongoing
Janette du Toit	Female, MCM staff	Cape Town	30.01.06
Sandile Sibiya	Male, MCM staff	Cape Town	14.02.06
Noel Williams	Male, MCM staff	Cape Town	24.11.05 (telephone)
Steve Lamberth	Male, MCM staff,	Cape Town	10.03.06

	fisheries research		
Andrew Josephs	Male, West Coast College (FE)	Vredendal	29.11.05
Johan Engelbrecht	Male, West Coast College (FE)	Vredendal	15.02.06
Lizel Wicomb	Department of Labour	Vredenburg (also covers Vredendal and surrounding area)	8.03.05
Walter Hendricks	Local municipality staff	Vredendal	21.02.06
Walter Davids	Construction SETA provider	Doring Bay	25.01.05
Paul Sieben	Male, Manager: Marine, Table Mountain National Park	Cape Town	30.08.05
Aaniyah Omardien	Female, World wide fund for Nature (WWF)	Stellenbosch	20.12.05
Gareth Rossiter	Male, Educationalist, staff at Treatment Action Campaign	Cape Town	Ongoing
Jean Pease (my great aunt)	Former teacher and educationalist	Cape Town	Ongoing
Evelyn Petersen (my great aunt)	Lecturer in nursing studies, UWC	Cape Town	Ongoing

List of focus groups

Location	No. of participants	Nature of group	Date
Imizamo Yethu	26	Small scale fishers interested in applying for WCRL	28.07.05
Paternoster	7	EEU, UCT and Masifundise joint focus group	7.02.06
Ebenhaeser1	13	Ebenhaeser Fishing Co-management Committee	15.04.05
Ebenhaeser2	11	Ebenhaeser Fishing Co-management Committee	24.11.05

List of Masifundise and other public meetings and workshops attended

Location of meeting	Organisation and theme of meeting	Date
Cape Town	Alternative Information and Development Centre civil society workshop	26-28.11.04
Kalk Bay	Masifundise etc. - civil society and artisanal fishers meeting	12.01.05
Cape Town	Masifundise / Legal Resources Centre about court case	9.03.05, 11.03.05, 5.04.05
Paternoster	MCM meeting about fishing applications and allocations	10.03.05
Doring Bay	Meeting about TETA training implemented by Sunbeam at MPRC	22.03.05
Ebenhaeser	EEU, UCT workshop	22-23.3.05
Struisbaai, S. coast	Masifundise members workshop (W. coast and S. coast)	1-2.04.05
Woodstock, Cape Town	MCM meeting about applications and allocations	5.04.05
Cape Town	Food and Allied Workers Union / COSATU / fishworkers march	18.05.05
Cape Town	TCOE / Masifundise workshop on community organising	25.04.05
Ebenhaeser	Ebenhaeser Fishing Co-management Committee, EEU, UCT and PLAAS, UWC joint workshop and exchange visit (with fishers also from Hondeklipbaai)	27-28.05.05
Cape Town	Trade union led protest march – COSATU, FAWU, Artisanal Fishers Association, Masifundise	27.06.05
Papendorp	Community Development Committee formation meeting	11.07.05
Cape Town	COSATU and NGO	22.08.05

	coalition ('the new United Democratic Front')	
Saldanha Bay	Masifundise regional conference	2-4.09.05
Ebenhaeser	Land Claim meeting	27.11.05
Ebenhaeser	Ebenhaeser Fishing Co-management committee / EEU, UCT meeting	29.11.05
Cape Town	Table Mountain National Park Forum meeting	3.12.05
Vredenburg	Masifundise west coast meeting	6.01.06
Langebaan, W. Coast	Masifundise members organisational workshop	2.02.06
Kalk Bay	Masifundise, COSATU etc. - to call for / organise mass action	9.02.06

Masifundise Development Trust

Baseline Profile Questionnaire: Community Leader

Explain to the person being interviewed that Masifundise and Coastal Links need information about the traditional fishers who are living and working in the areas where the organization works so that the organization can monitor the affect of the new policy on the fishers and assist them in ensuring that MCM implements a fair and sustainable fishing policy. This information will be treated anonymously and no specific information on an individual will be published. If the informant does not know the answer precisely ask them to estimate approximately.

1. Name of Interviewer

_____

2. Name of town/village _____

3. Name of your area within town/village _____

4. Street _____

5. Informant: Male / Female _____

6. Are you or any member of your family fishers? _____

7. If yes, please list _____

8. How long have you lived in this area? _____

9. Where did you live prior to this? _____

10. Why did you move?

_____

_____

11. If the move was due to Group Areas Act - probe:

12. How did the move affect you?

_____

13. How did the move affect your family?
- **In terms of fishing?**
- **Access to work?**
- **Access to sea and jetties or harbour?**
- **Access to income?**
- **How did it affect your family socially?**

GENOGRAM

14. Please draw a genogram showing current household structure
- **Male**
- **Female**

  Ages

15. How many fishers do you estimate live here in this town?

_____

16. Of these, please estimate how many are

Coloured _____
African_____
White _____

17. How many boats are working here?   _____

18. Who owns these boats?   _____

19. Which species of fish are caught in your village and when are these fish caught?

Name of species	Time of year caught/conditions

20. What sort of vessel/boat do you use?
Length: _____

Motorised or non-motorised

21. Is it your own boat?
If not, who owns this boat?

22. What arrangements do you have to use this boat?
_____

23.   What   size   crew   do   you   have   on   this   boat?
_____

24. Do you go out with the same crew?
_____

25. How does the payment of the crew and division of the catch work?
_____
_____

26. Is your boat SAMSA registered?
_____

27. Have your crew received safety training?
_____

28. What sort of gear do you use to catch these fish?
_____
_____
_____
_____

29. Are you a member of a fishing association or company?

If yes, please name
_____

30. Did you have a quota in the medium-term fishing rights period 2001 - 2005? ___

If yes, what sort of quota? _____

Species: _____

Tonnage: _____

31. If no, do you fish informally? _____

32. What other species do you catch?_____

33. Where you an individual rights holder or did you hold this as part of an association or Closed Corporation?_____

34. Did you catch/harvest your full quota for each year? _____

If no, please explain what happened to your quota?
_____

35. Number and name of fishing associations, closed corporations or companies within the traditional fishing sector in this town?

_____

_____

_____

(If there are many members, i.e more than 10 attach list if possible or list the number of members below)

Name of Association or company	Members or rights holders

36. List the number of people or fishing associations or companies in your settlement that got quotas in the medium term allocations (2001-2005). Please list the type of quota and the tonnage they were allocated if you have this information.

Name	Species	Tons

37. Who do you sell your catch to?

_____
_____
_____

38. Do you know where other fishers market their catch? If so, please list.

_____
_____

39. What price did you get for your quota during the 2004/05 season?

_____

40. Please identify which persons in your household are working.

_____
_____
_____

41. Where do they work?

_____

42. How much do they earn approximately per month?

_____
_____
_____
_____

43. Do any members of your household receive an 'All Pay' grant?
   o   Child Maintenance
   o   Disability
   o   Old age pension
   o   Other

44. Please estimate your total Monthly Income:
R_____

45. Monthly expenditure:

Rent	
Rates	

Electricity	
Water	
Food	
Transport	
School fees	
Other	
TOTAL	

46. Are the fishers in your village dependent on their catch for their livelihoods?
_____
_____

47. How do people in your village survive and what other sources of income they have?

48. Please list some examples that you know about
_____
_____
_____

49. What do you estimate is an average household income for a traditional fisher in your fishing association or company?
_____
_____

50. Please describe the main problems that fishers in this village experience
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

51. Have you applied for Long Term Fishing Rights? _____

52. If yes, which Cluster and species?   (If not, do not ask the following questions)

Cluster A   Species_____
Cluster B   Species _____
Cluster C   Species _____
Cluster D   Species _____

53. Are you applying as an individual or group?
_____

54. Did you have enough money for your application or did you have to borrow money?
_____

55. If you borrowed money – probe from who and what are the lending conditions?
_____

56. Will you catch more than one species? _____
If yes, please list

_____

57. What boat will you use?

_____
_____

58. Do you have an agreement with another company or person for the use of a boat?

YES		NO	

59. If yes, please describe

_____

60. What marketing arrangements do you have?

_____
_____

61. Do you think you will have more income with the long-term rights?

_____
_____

62. How did you get information about the policy and application process?

List the sources of information

_____
_____

63. Are you worried about the application process?   If yes, please explain what is worrying you

_____
_____
_____

64. Do you require any help from Masifundise and Coastal Links? If yes, please describe the kind of assistance you would like from the organization

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX 3: LIST AND FREQUENCY OF OCCUPATIONS IN PAPENDORP

Occupation or income source	Number of people
State benefits (pension, child benefit, disability)	39
Public Works and CoastCare (not all simultaneously)	34
Fishing (includes those fishing for harders and those participating in WCRL company)	13
Semi-skilled trades (including upholstery, carpet cleaning, truck driving etc.)	7
Mining (diamonds) informal / sub-contracting, usually temporary	6
Domestic work	6
Housewife	6
Police or security guard	6
Casual or temporary (mainly unskilled) work	4
Mining (formal job) – Namaqua Sands or TransHex	3
Guest house (including cleaning and tour guiding)	3
Voluntary work (police reserves)	3
Attending training course	3
UCT co-management project (monitoring fish catches)	2
Teaching or working in crèche (temporary)	3
Working in library (Ebenhaeser)	1
Nursing (old people's home)	1
Farm work	1
Unemployed with benefit	1
Unemployed (no other work or benefit)	1
Retired (on formal government employment pension)	2
Migrated (temporarily or permanently) within South Africa but still contributes to household income	17
Migrated abroad (temporarily)	1

Notes:

1. This data has been analysed from the spreadsheet compiled by data provided by André Cloete and checked by Hannetjie Don (see chapter six). It is presented in order of frequency.

2. The total number of adults in Papendorp = 115.

3. Residents have been counted in more than one category where they are undertaking multiple occupational livelihood strategies (applies to 31 people).

APPENDIX 4:

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