

# Creation of a new fisheries policy in South Africa: The development process and achievements

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## **1. Introduction**

South Africa has a coastline over 3,000 km long and an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 200 nautical miles, constituting an area which contains a huge variety of fish species. The wholesale value of the fishing industry is worth R1.7 billion which represents 0.5% of South Africa's GNP and 1.5% of the GRP of the Western Cape province.

The fishing industry, which employs 27,000 people<sup>1</sup>, is mainly based in the Western Cape, and close to 90% of all South African landings are made in Cape harbours. The industry is extremely complex, and there is a great diversity in catching techniques, processing, marketing, capital investment, equipment and infrastructure. However, the industrialised hake sector dominates the industry.

Recreational fishing is very popular in South Africa (approx. 500,000 sports fishermen) and although it is difficult to quantify its value, it contributes substantially to the South African economy. The non-consumptive uses of living marine resources e.g. whale viewing, seal and seabird watching and recreational diving are also of great economic importance, and there is a large potential for developing eco-tourism based on the country's living marine resources.

The historical development of the fishing industry needs to be reviewed in the light of the country's political history where, previously, access to the resource had been removed from the traditional fishing communities and concentrated in the hands of a few large companies.

The fundamental problems which afflict South African fisheries today relate to the period of political transition from apartheid towards the creation of a new South Africa under the governance of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC government came into power in 1994 with a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework, as their election platform. The ANC's election promise committed the democratic

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<sup>1</sup> This figure excludes the informal sector and non-consumptive tourism.

government of South Africa to the “upliftment of impoverished coastal communities through improved access to marine resources” (ANC, 1994), which created enormous expectations among the marginalised fishing communities.

In fisheries as in many other sectors of the economy, the predominant issue is access and ownership. The challenge facing the ANC government is to formulate a fisheries policy which addresses the issue of the redistribution of access rights to primarily black traditional/ordinary fishermen. In this way a more equitable system of allocating rights and quotas could be achieved in accordance with the aims of the RDP, while still maintaining an internationally competitive industry, which as the market stands, favours the large-scale, established, white-owned companies.

The process of formulating a new fisheries policy has proved to be a very difficult task, with no apparent, easy solutions to hand. In order to create a policy acceptable to all parties involved in the industry, the Minister in office in 1994, Dawie de Villiers, initiated the fisheries policy formulation process by establishing the Fisheries Policy Development Committee (FPDC). The objective of this paper is to document the history of this process and to evaluate its achievements in detail.

## **2. A portrait of the South African fishing industry**

### **2.1 The structure of South Africa’s fishing industry**

The deep-sea trawl hake fishery dominates South African fisheries, and in terms of value it accounts for approx. 45% of all landings. It is a labour intensive industry and employs approximately 8,600 people of which 2,850 are sea-going. This fishery is controlled by a small number of large companies, where the two largest companies, *Irvin & Johnson* and the *Sea Harvest Corporation*, hold 75% of the quotas. These companies control not only harvesting rights, but are vertically integrated companies thereby controlling the entire value chain from harvesting to marketing and sales.

The second largest sector is the pelagic purse seine fishery (anchovy and pilchard) which is also controlled almost exclusively by large companies. The three largest companies *Marine Products*, *Oceana* and *Saldanha Bay* hold more than 50% of the quotas. This sector employs about 700 fishermen, 1,300 permanent workers and 1,500 seasonal workers. Private boat owners have been excluded from this fishery since 1974, when a system of individual quotas was implemented by the South African Sea Fisheries Advisory Committee (SFAC). In terms of value, the pelagic fishery contributes 25% to the total value of South African fisheries. Most of the landings are processed into fish oil and fish meal, but a percentage of the pilchard catch is canned for human consumption.

The rock lobster fishery is the third most important fishery, and accounts for approx. 12% of the total value of all landings. The lobsters are mainly caught with traps (80%), but in shallow waters hoopnets are used. The rock lobster industry employs about 4,800 people in peak season.

The linefishery, which also makes up approx. 12% of the total value is a multi-species fishery and consists of several sectors whose motivation differs, ranging from full-time commercial operators to semi-commercial, artisanal and recreational fishers.

The linefishery comprises of the following fisheries: a) the tuna fishery: employing 2,600 fishermen using large boats which make landings of blast frozen tuna for exported unprocessed, as there is no tuna canning industry in South Africa, b) the squid-jigging fishery: with a fleet of approx. 300 mostly small vessels. The sector employs some 3,800 people at sea, and almost 1,000 ashore and is today a critical

primary economic engine for industry along the south coast. Turnover varies between 40-90 million ZAR a year, and c) the traditional linefishery: comprising of many smaller individually-owned boats, the fishery is spread along the west and south coast, and provides employment for over 19,000 fishers and recreation to several hundred thousand people. In 1984 the South African Linefish Management Association (SAMLA) was formed.

The inshore trawl fishery is a multi-species fishery, but mainly directed at hake, Agulhas sole and horse mackerel. This sector employs 320 sea-going and 790 land-based personnel. An individual quota system introduced in 1982 has reduced the number of quota holders from 23 to 11 by 1995. The quota holders are represented by the South East Coast Inshore Fishing Association (SECIFA), an industrial body which negotiates on behalf of its members on all aspects of the fishery.

The abalone fishery is controlled by three companies, *Sea Plant Products (Marine Products)*, *Tuna Marine (Oceana)* and *Walker Bay Cannery (Irvin & Johnson)* which together hold 82% of the TAC quotas. The abalone is caught by 55 registered divers, who by law are compelled to deliver their catches to registered companies. These companies have the sole right to process and export abalone. The legal industry employs about 300 people but poaching activity is widespread in this sector and large volumes of abalone are illegally harvested. In addition, an extensive recreational fishery is also carried out.

## 2.2 Landings and production

The following table summarises the types of commercial catches, landings and values of the fishing industry for 1994<sup>2</sup>.

<b>Total</b>	<b>Nominal Catch (tons)</b>	<b>Landed value (R'000)</b>	<b>Processed value (R'000)</b>
<b>Demersal:</b> Deep-sea & inshore trawl, longline	188,842	294,815	716,554
<b>Pelagic:</b> Canned fish, fish meal, fish oil, bait	315,545	70,737	289,475
<b>Rock lobster:</b> West & South coast	3,190	104,207	168,347
<b>Crustacea, molluscs:</b> Abalone, mussels, oysters, prawns, red bait	3,895		74,239
<b>Line:</b> Snoek, tuna, squid, handline fishing, small net	24,617	102,810	166,876
<b>Total</b>	<b>537,227</b>		<b>1,634,452</b>

## 2.3 Marketing

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<sup>2</sup> South African Fishing Industry, 1996 - 24<sup>th</sup> edition

Compared with other fishing nations, South Africans are not big 'fish eaters'. With fish products being perishable items, sales depend on an expensive infrastructure over which the larger companies for all intents and purposes have a monopoly. This means that fishermen are obliged to sell most of their catch to these large companies. Snoek is an exception, with its substantial informal market particularly in Cape Town. The law requires that 20% of all catches are sold on the local market.

The powerful trawling industry supplies the majority of fresh and frozen seafood consumed by South Africans, either directly through shops and supermarkets or indirectly through catering and hospitality operations. This sector has developed an extensive international market, with the accent on high value-added products and is a large foreign exchange earner with exports amounting to R300 million. Rock lobster and abalone are also important export commodities.

The vertical integration of the South African fishing industry has limited market access for new entrants and has become a critical factor in the quota reallocation process. The majority of small processors have no direct access to regular supplies of fish, as at present most fish is sold to and supplied by the big companies.

The thriving informal sector sells crayfish and abalone via alternative channels to the domestic market, but is also beginning to expand its range of activities to include foreign markets, especially Southeast Asia and Japan.

## 2.4 Socio-economic characteristics

The power relationships within the industry are reflective of the political history of South Africa. Ownership is concentrated in the hands of whites, and fishermen are primarily black or coloured. It is important here to recognise the historical distinction made by the apartheid government between the coloured and black communities. Although these racial distinctions are not popularly acknowledged, the reality of this is evident when visiting a coastal village where the majority of fishermen are coloured and speak Afrikaans.

Apartheid legislation distorted the fair distribution of access rights to natural resources, denying the majority of South Africans (black and coloured) the use of land, water, mineral and marine resources. Of the total allowable catch of 512,437 mt for 1994, only 0.75% were allocated to blacks. Of the 2,700 registered commercial fishing boats in South Africa just 7% are owned by blacks, and of the 4,000 fishing licences issued approx. only 6% were issued to blacks<sup>3</sup>.

Apartheid was a system that favoured the growth of the large, white-owned monopolies, and curtailed and in some instances prohibited the growth of small businesses, particularly those which were black-owned. The curtailment of property ownership rights of blacks made it impossible for them to acquire collateral as a basis for loan financing, thus excluding blacks from the process of capital and asset accrual.

In addition, the majority of small businesses, particularly small processors, do not have direct access to the marine resources, or their quotas are too small to establish financially viable operations. Furthermore, the vertical integration of the fishing industry, which is dominated by a handful of major companies, has meant that access to markets is a crucial factor in the business growth of previously

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<sup>3</sup> The Small Business Sector in the Fishing Industry, Strategies for the Integration and Promotion of the Small Business Sector in the Fishing Industry, 1995.

disadvantaged companies.

To overcome these disadvantages while still maintaining stability within the industry, in May 1992 the concept of a Fishermen's Community Trust (FCT) was launched by the ANC's Minister of Environmental Affairs & Tourism (MEA&T) in order to improve the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the fishing communities by allocating quotas to the communities which could be utilised or sold as they desired.

### **3. The South African fisheries management framework**

South African fisheries are regulated by the Sea Fishery Act of 1988. This Act gives the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (MEA&T) the mandate to formulate all aspects of the policy for the conservation and utilisation of South Africa's living marine resources.

The three institutions in South African fisheries management which have a significant impact on the structure and functioning of the industry are:

*The Sea Fisheries Advisory Council (SFAC)*, an advisory body appointed directly by the Minister to advise on:

- the determination of the annual TACs;
- the rules and regulations to be applied in the management and preservation of the marine resources<sup>4</sup>.

*The Quota Board (QB)* established in 1990 under the apartheid regime. QB members are appointed by the Minister. The Act clearly specifies that no person having any direct or indirect interest in the fishing industry can be appointed to the QB<sup>5</sup>. The functions of the QB are to:

- ℄ recommend to the Minister for his approval guidelines for the allocation of quotas and fishing rights;
- ℄ allocate quotas in accordance with the approved guidelines;
- ℄ grant fishing rights in accordance with section 25 of the Act and the approved guidelines<sup>6</sup>.

*The Sea Fisheries Research Institute (SFRI)* which conducts research to support the decision-makers on the optimal utilisation of South Africa's living marine resources and the conservation of the country's marine eco-system.

## **4. Organisation and structure of the policy decision-making process**

### **4.1 Introduction**

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<sup>4</sup> Sea Fishery Act 1988

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

As mentioned earlier, the fisheries policy process was initiated by the MEA&T at a public/stakeholder/user group meeting convened on 27 October 1994. A time line for the policy process is given in Annex 1. The meeting was convened in response to the plight of the fishing communities and the demand for a fairer distribution of access rights to the marine resources. Addressing these demands, the Minister established the Fisheries Policy Development Committee (FPDC) in order to formulate a new fisheries policy for South Africa. Mr Mandla Gxanyana, General Secretary of the Food and Allied Workers Union<sup>7</sup> was appointed as chairperson of FPDC.

The first planning meeting was convened in December 1994 at which the structure and function of the policy writing committee was discussed. At this meeting the following proposals were considered<sup>8</sup>:

- The Minister proposed the forming of a committee of 15 people: 5 labour representatives, 5 government and 5 business representatives. He indicated that the writing of policy should be completed by April 1995;
- the large industrial conglomerates proposed that a five-person committee should write the policy and present it to all concerned parties;
- regional representatives proposed a 21-person committee comprising 5 representatives from each of the four coastal regions and one inland representative.

The first meeting of the FPDC was held in March 1995.

## 4.2 Objectives

The main objective of the FPDC (FPDC, 1996) was to develop a new fisheries policy with the participation of all sectors of the fishing industry. The process for the policy development had to be transparent and democratic, and it was especially important to include the views of the disadvantaged fishing communities, as they were one of the main groups targeted for assistance.

The vision<sup>9</sup> of the new policy was based on the belief that:

- The marine resources are a national asset and part of the heritage of the people of South Africa, present and future, and should be managed and developed for the benefit of the country as a whole, especially those communities whose livelihood depends on these resources;
- the management and control of these resources will be vested in the State and will reflect and uphold the principles outlined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme;
- the allocation of the resources will be made on an equitable basis, with a view to ensuring the long-term sustainability of the resources and their healthy condition for present and future generations;
- the State shall manage and develop these resources in accordance with the international conventions and/or treaties to which South Africa is a party or signatory, and thus is bound to

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<sup>7</sup>The most influential union within the RSA's food industry, and closely allied to ANC.

<sup>8</sup>FPDC Minutes, 13 December 1995

<sup>9</sup>ibid.

comply with in international law.

### 4.3 Organisation

The Fisheries Policy Development Committee became responsible for setting up the necessary structures to carry out the policy development process. An FPDC office was established to take care of the practicalities, and became responsible for liaison between the various sectors and for convening meetings/workshops to facilitate the policy process. The FPDC office was also responsible for undertaking capacity-building programmes in the Southern, Northern and Eastern Cape and on the west coast in order to enable communities to participate in the process.<sup>10</sup>

In particular, the FPDC office had an important role to play with regard to representing those different sectors which up until that time did not have the required organisational capabilities to participate in the policy process. 'Labour' is organised into separate unions, each representing different categories of workers within the fishing industry. The FPDC office thus played a crucial role in bringing together the different unions, and convening workshops for the small business sector and environmental sector, and for the regional forums which represented different stakeholders in the regions. When the policy process began only one Fishing Forum, the Cape Fishing Forum was in existence. As part of the policy process several regional forums were set up.

According to the mandate of the FPDC it should, in performing its task, establish a working committee (FPDWC) to be assisted by Technical Committees. The task and responsibilities of the FPDWC was to collate and discuss inputs from community forums, sectors/stakeholders, government and the technical committees, and to prepare presentations and recommendations to the FPDC, the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the *ad hoc* Cabinet Committee and to ensure that the working documents reflect all scenarios and that there was consensus on the decision-making for the policy process.<sup>11</sup>

In the event that no consensus can be reached, the Chairperson of the FPDC should consult with all the stakeholders concerned in order to achieve consensus. If still no consensus can be reached regarding the contentious issue(s), they should be referred to an independent arbitrator and the aggrieved party would still have the right to pursue their claim outside the FPDC forum. As a prerequisite for their participation in the policy formulation process, the industrial sector insisted that if no consensus could be reached, the Minister should appoint a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the issue(s), a stipulation which was accepted and endorsed by the Minister<sup>12</sup>.

The overwhelming issue of concern to the policy process was that of access rights to South Africa's marine resources, and the FPDWC agreed that the access rights issue should be investigated by an independent multi-disciplinary team of experts, representing legal, sociological, economic, environmental, management and scientific expertise. The Technical Committee on Access Rights (TCAR) had to address the following issues:

- Resource management strategies;
- breadth of access rights;
- economic impact of any changes;
- methods of resource utilisation;

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<sup>10</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 10-11 August 1995

<sup>11</sup> FPDC Plenary Minutes, 6 March 1995

<sup>12</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 28-29 April 1995

- legal framework;
- recreation and tourism;
- subsistence and artisanal fisheries.

It was the task of the TCAR to produce a review of policy options and to outline the advantages and disadvantages of each option<sup>13</sup>. It was clearly stressed that the TCAR should only look at options and not make recommendations.

However, during the course of the policy writing process, no acceptable way was found of providing immediate interim relief to informal fisherfolk with regard to the redistribution of quota allocations. The problem had surfaced early in 1996 when approx. 2000 members of the informal sector decided to take matters into their own hands and defied the restrictions on crayfish and abalone fishing.

The situation was eventually defused when the Working Committee set up an Interim Relief Measures Task Team (IRMTT), which only served to highlight the pressing need for this issue to be resolved. The IRMTT (IRMTT, 1996) recommended that all subsistence fishers be registered as a matter of urgency. The report identified four levels of informal fishers, with the most needy being the coastal communities. It also noted that many fishers masquerading as subsistence fishers, were in fact employed or were suffering because of poor employer support. The Task Team recommended that these fishers should not be accommodated in the broadening of any access rights.

The White Paper<sup>14</sup> and the subsequent legislation should be based on the policy document and the final recommendations of the FPDC. The process of drafting the policy document was scheduled to take six months by the Minister, but the demand from the constituencies for an open, democratic and participatory process combined with the need to become organised before being able to participate and the fact that insufficient resources were committed to this element delayed the process. The completion date was deferred on two occasions, and this created a public perception that the process was being deliberately slowed by the government. The expectation was that the process would be completed by November 1995, and that a new policy would be in place for the implementation process to take off. The delays in the process have contributed towards a feeling of frustration among the fishing communities which has led to the violation of access rights as mentioned earlier.

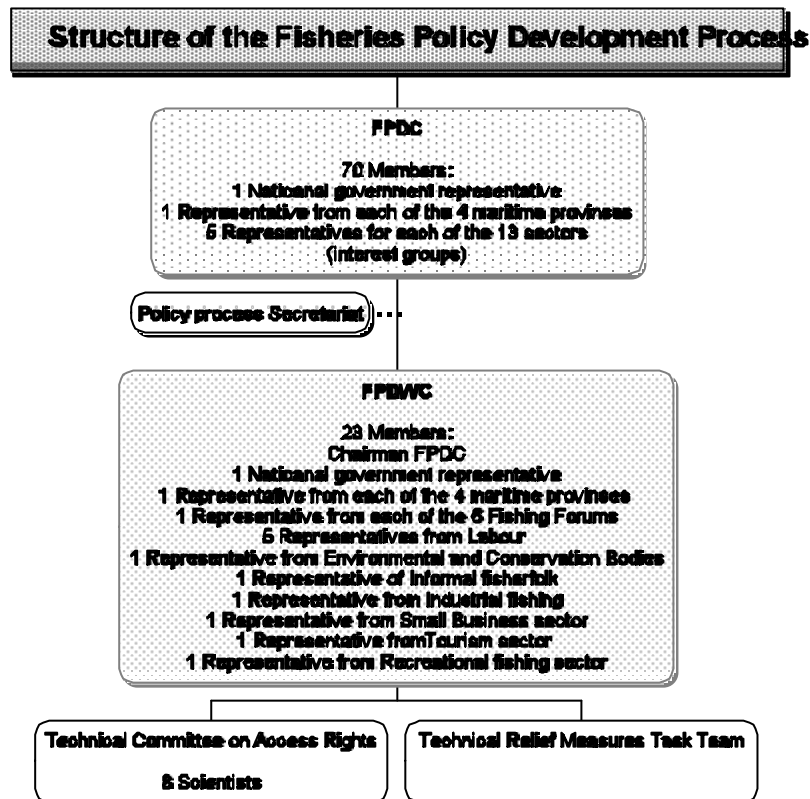
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<sup>13</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 10-11 August 1995

<sup>14</sup>The first step in the normal procedure of South African political decision-making is the formulation of a Green Paper, which in practical terms is a discussion document that highlights those issues to be eventually formulated into official policy. The Green Paper will lead to a White Paper, which is the official policy document of the government. The White Paper is submitted to Parliament and logically leads to legislation and action. At an early stage it was decided to skip the Green Paper stage as the FPDC document should constitute the main input in the formulation of the White Paper.



#### 4.4 Representation and participation



The FPDC comprised 70 members represented by one government representative for each of the four maritime provinces plus one for the national government, and five representatives for each of the 13 sectors (interest groups). All sectors (interest groups) had one representative on the Fishing Policy Development Working Committee (FPDWC) which had a total of 23 members in all (see diagram above). The first plenary of the FPDC was held in March 1995. The whole process was basically in the hands of FPDWC which did not have a proper mandate, and the date of the meeting conflicted with the agreement that the FPDC should convene every 3 months to discuss progress made on the policy document by the Working Committee. The FPDC was not involved again before May 1996 when the 6th FPDWC draft policy document was presented.

The industrial sector and labour are the best organised sectors, and are therefore in the best position to influence the process. The informal sector expanded its network during the policy process. The tourism sector was mainly represented by the KwaZulu-Natal hospitality industry. National government was represented by the Deputy Director of the Department of Sea Fisheries; provincial governments by members of the provincial legislature or by officials from nature conservation departments. The environmental sector was represented by both conservationists and environmentalists. The small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMME) and Fishing Forums were poorly organised even though, as part of the policy process, the FPDC office had assisted them in organising themselves by setting up regional forums to enable stakeholders operating at a regional level to participate in the

process.

The regional Fishing Forums were run totally by volunteers, and the consequence was that those who had the time and transport, attended Forum meetings. The issues of representation and proper mandates became a crucial issue. These will be discussed further in section 6.1. Towards the end of the process, regional consultative meetings were convened to allow constituencies and regional forums to comment on the 6th draft policy document.

#### **4.5 The FPDC process and pre-policy restructuring**

During the policy formulation process the fishing industry continued to operate as usual with certain issues needing to be addressed by the FPDWC along the way e.g. the institution of an interim Quota Board (QB). The Minister requested the FPDWC to consider if the present Board should continue or if a new board should be appointed. The FPDWC decided that the interim Board should continue, and that it should adhere to the following guidelines:<sup>15</sup>

- The Quota Board must be sensitive to the principles behind the RDP;
- they must adhere to the old guidelines;
- the quota allocation process must be transparent.

It was decided that actions taken by the QB should not compromise the outcome of the fisheries policy process<sup>16</sup>, and no restructuring of the industry should take place before a new fisheries policy was decided upon. Thus, no new entrant should be allocated a quota, and present quota holders would continue to keep their privileges until a new policy was in place, a decision which became problematic as the process took much longer than expected.

Furthermore, the integration of the legislation in place in the former Homelands of Transkei and Ciskei, with that of the Republic of South Africa (RSA), and the subsequent nomination and appointment of members to the Sea Fish Advisory Committee (SFAC) were examples of the key issues requiring attention in the course of the policy process.

The Homelands had different legislation for marine resource exploitation which, after the democratic elections in April 1994, had to be brought into line with the legislation of the RSA. The Department of Sea Fisheries established a working committee to draft the legislation for the integration process and their report was presented to the FPDWC for endorsement. The Minister presented a list of names to the FPDWC on which the nomination of members to the SFAC was to be based. This initiated a debate within the FPDWC. Two views<sup>17</sup> were presented, on the request of the Minister and the Department, when the FPDWC was asked to comment on these issues which could be said to lie outside the policy process. A minority was of the opinion that the task of the FPDWC was to draft a policy document and not to become involved in restructuring as this could undermine the outcome of the policy process. The majority, however, was of the opinion that the FPDWC needed to participate in the ongoing discussions and expressed no fear that their participation would compromise the outcome of the policy process.

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<sup>15</sup> FPDC Plenary Minutes, 6 March 1995

<sup>16</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 5-7 September 1995

<sup>17</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 9-10 June 1995

## 4.6 Funding

An initial sum of money was made available from the Department of Sea Fisheries to run the policy process. However, this funding was insufficient to cover the whole process and at one stage the policy process was threatened because of a lack of funds.

There was a strong suspicion amongst the disadvantaged groups that the process was being undermined by the Ministry (MEA&T). In the event, the FPDWC had to draw on funds from other sources<sup>18</sup> and the Ministry of Trade and Industry made a grant available to complete the policy process.

With regard to policy formulation processes in South Africa, it is customary that members of working committees participate on a voluntary basis, and that only transport costs are reimbursed. However, members of the FPDWC were rewarded for their participation as they were paid an attendance allowance of R450 per day<sup>19, 20</sup>.

## 5. Critical issues

### 5.1 Access rights

The main objective of the policy formulation process was to find a mechanism by which South Africa's marine resources could be more equitably allocated to previously disadvantaged people. Given that the sustainability of the fishery is an accepted non-negotiable principle, access cannot be granted by simply increasing the TACs. The problem therefore, is how to grant access to the previously excluded fishers without endangering the established fishing industry, as the prevailing quota holders are important employers on the coast.

The FPDWC agreed that the policy formulation process in principle was driven by the desire for wider access to marine resources and therefore on 7 September 1995 decided to appoint a Technical Committee on Access Rights (TCAR) to investigate the issue. By doing so, the FPDWC effectively disempowered itself and its constituencies and became dependent on the findings of "outside experts".

The Technical Committee (TCAR,1995) identified areas which needed different management approaches. The analysis showed that there is a whole spectrum of different types of fisheries, from offshore resources which require high technology for harvesting and are largely exploited by a few large industrial enterprises (e.g. deep sea hake trawling, pelagic purse seining and tuna longlining), to inshore resources which require low or no technology for harvesting and are exploited by many small businesses or individuals.

Most fisheries are already fully exploited, and opportunities for new entrants are therefore limited. Due to the difficulties involved in the redistribution of quotas, the TCAR proposed that new entrants to the fishery should be given access to new or under-utilised resources. This solution alone will not satisfy the demand for more equitable access from the disadvantaged people, and solutions to the problems associated with the redistribution of access rights have also to be found in fully exploited fisheries.

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<sup>18</sup> Weekend Argus, 4-5 November 1995

<sup>19</sup> R118,000 was budgeted for attendance allowances

<sup>20</sup> The industrial sector representative donated his attendance allowance to the FPDC office

The TCAR proposed a two-phased approach for restructuring access to the fisheries. The first phase should be of 5-10 years' duration and will aim to gradually reduce the number of current quota holders by compensating them for the loss of quotas. These quotas should then be allocated to new entrants, who should be supported further by development organisations in setting up new businesses.

The industrial fisheries offer the least scope for quota reallocation, whereas line fishing and inshore fishing in general, and abalone, kelp and squid fishing provide the best opportunities for new entrants. The second phase of the restructuring process should allow market forces to determine the access to the fisheries.

The TCAR recommended that all fishers be registered, that recreational fishers should not be permitted to sell their catches, and that subsistence harvesters should be allowed larger bag limits. Finally, poachers (illegal fishers) should be granted an amnesty in order to re-integrate them into the 'legal' fishing industry. The conditions for the amnesty had to be considered carefully to avoid people taking unfair advantage of them.

The TCAR further proposed that the policy document should be subject to a scientific screening procedure by the South African Network of Coastal and Oceanic Research (SANCOR); the FPDWC agreed, and SANCOR's comments were generally accepted and incorporated into the draft policy document.

The question of access rights was treated as a scientific issue, although fundamentally it is a socio-economic issue and one which lies at the core of the transformation process in South Africa in general, and in the fishing industry in particular. In our opinion it was a grave mistake that this important issue was not addressed by the FPDWC as there is no scientific solution to the access rights question; it is fundamentally a matter of politics and economic justice.

## 5.2 Interest groupings and alliances

The representative members of the FPDWC can be divided into different groups/alliances:

a) large industrial business and labour, b) the Western Cape Fishing Forum and recreational fisheries, and c) a broad alliance including the informal sector, environmental organisations and the Eastern Cape Province.

During the policy process, industrial business and labour organisations were concerned about maintaining a competitive and long-term viable fishing industry. They wanted to ensure that the reallocation of access rights should not disrupt the performance of the large-scale industry which depended on landings from current quota holders. Therefore by 1994, several of the larger fishing companies had introduced various schemes, which included the allocation of shares to workers (*Sea Harvest Corporation* and *Irvin & Johnson*), the sale of shares to black investors (*Oceana*) and joint ventures with small-scale operators (*Premier Fishing*), thereby initiating the reallocation process towards a more equitable distribution of the revenue generated by the South African fishing sector. In this way, the industrial sector took the first step towards building up an alliance with labour organisations and unions, thus ensuring that labour had a vested interest in maintaining the present quota allocation as it was able to convince labour organisations that any cut in quotas would result in job losses.

On one occasion labour representatives walked out of the FPDWC, supported by the industrial sector over their non-acceptance of a level of representation which equates their sector with non-stakeholder sectors, such as the environmental sector (see section 6.1). This further cemented the alliance between what can be termed the 'bosses and workers', a relationship which until recently had

often been antagonistic. Furthermore, labour had a dispute with the SMME (small- and medium-sized enterprises) sector stating that they would not be able to generate the same number of employment opportunities as the industrial sector.

A broad alliance between the informal sector, environmental sector and regional Fishing Forums was formed with regard to the regionalisation of access rights. They argued for the devolution of management authority to local areas and of access rights to local communities and fisherfolk.

The Quota Board (QB) and the Sea Fishery Advisory Committee (SFAC) formed another alliance. Although the two bodies were not directly involved in the policy process they exerted significant influence through their decisions regarding the policy process. The two bodies were obviously biased towards the industrial sector and wanted to maintain the *status quo*. To a minor extent the scientific community (marine biologists) became a part of this alliance, as they participated very actively in the formulation process as members of the Technical Committee (Hersoug, 1996) and so indirectly supported the old structures.

### 5.3 Negotiating power

Because of its professional structure and present dominance over other fisheries sectors in South Africa, the industrial sector held an influential position on the FPDWC. As mentioned earlier, industry further 'locked in' labour into supporting big industry through other measures (eg. shares for workers) and by warning them that any cut in quotas would result in job losses. Also, organised labour, in addition to its sheer size and make-up as nearly all labour is black, had close links with the ANC and therefore, generally speaking, was influential in the restructuring process in South Africa. Therefore, the mutual interests of these two sectors in maintaining the *status quo* on this particular issue created a very powerful alliance which completely controlled the policy process, as together they had a *de facto* right of veto.

The powerful influence of organised labour and the industrial sector should also be seen in the light of the fact that the other interest groups only became organised as part of the process and therefore were in effect one step behind the others. In general, other interest groups were represented by volunteers, and it was uncertain whether these persons had the support of their constituencies which, to some degree, undermined their negotiating power.

The Forums especially, were represented only by those individuals who could afford to participate in the FPDWC, individuals who were often only representing themselves and their own interests. Therefore fisherfolk were almost completely left out of the process in terms of organised input. However, some of their "representatives" still managed to influence the process to a considerable extent.

The informal sector did wield some power but to a large extent this was due to activities carried out outside the FPDWC, including heavy lobbying in the media which succeeded in giving this sector some 'say' in the policy process.

## 6. Analysis of the Process

The Fisheries Policy Development process had four main aims:

- C To include previously excluded people/groups in the policy-making process;
- C to ensure participation of all parties in the policy-making process;
- C the drafting of a Fisheries Policy which would adequately cover the needs of all South Africans;
- C to fulfil the requirements for a sustainable marine and coastal environment.

## 6.1 Representation and participation

The main problem with regard to institutional structures was that those people who previously had been deprived in the past, were not properly organised and therefore could not participate to maximum effect. The FPDWC (Working Committee) acknowledged that it would cost both time and money to identify the true spokespersons for these constituencies.<sup>21</sup> A comprehensive process of capacity-building, education and the formation of representative forums were needed to involve the disadvantaged communities.

The problem lay in the fact that people from different backgrounds, who had had no previous knowledge or experience of policy formulation or fisheries management in general, had been brought together with other more 'educated' sectors to draft a policy document. The majority of the FPDWC members were only concerned about putting forward the views of their constituencies without understanding the basis of a policy development process.

The ability of the constituencies to organise themselves was also a contentious issue and there were communication problems between representatives and their constituencies<sup>22</sup> and in communications with people on the ground.<sup>23</sup> No mechanism existed to ensure that FPDWC members were reporting back to their constituencies. Some representative members made a real effort to involve their sectors, while others just attended meetings with no proper mandate. The quality of representation for some sectors was very weak, especially in the regional forums, where members did not adequately represent the views of their constituencies or express the diverse concerns of a particular group to the FPDWC. This was partly because the regional forum representative was expected to represent the multi-stakeholder views of 'his' forum as a whole, whilst the representative him/herself was from a particular sector.

The SMME sector and regional Fishing Forums requested financial assistance to help bring their constituencies together for report-backs and to obtain new mandates. As funding for this was insufficient, this affected the ability of the FPDWC representatives to obtain mandates from their constituencies. Therefore, the needs of the disadvantaged people/groups could not be properly addressed by the Policy process alone due to constraints on funding, time and personnel; efforts could have been more successful if adequate funding had been allocated to this part of the process. However, the setting up of Fishing Forums along the coast was an important contribution towards the involvement of coastal communities in the policy process and towards the development of a structure that will be important in the future.

The spending of finances on the process was not geared towards the participation of sectors and

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<sup>21</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 6 September 1995

<sup>22</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 2 May 1996.

<sup>23</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 9-10 June 1995.

regional forums, but on issues such as attendance allowances and the running of the FPDWC office. On numerous occasions sectors and regional forums requested financial assistance to cover their operational costs. The KwaZulu-Natal Forum argued<sup>24</sup> that it was essential that funds be made available to ensure the fulfilment of the FPDWC's mandate, which was to create a policy representative of people at grassroots level. However, no attention was given to financing those sectors and forums which represent grassroots participation, the very communities the policy was intended to help.

The payment of attendance fees to all FPDWC members can also be viewed as problematic as it meant that input/participation had been turned into a commodity for sale, thus making it disposable. Their contribution would no longer be voluntary, in contrast to the system whereby only out of pocket expenses are reimbursed.

The issue of representation, or the lack of it, on the FPDWC was a major recurring theme throughout the process. A lesson for policy formulation processes was that the issue of representation and accountability must be sorted out at the beginning of the process. The lack of clarity on representativity and mandates delayed the work of the FPDWC.

To stimulate the policy process, a policy analyst from the Development Bank of Southern Africa organised a workshop on policy formulation processes to guide FPDWC members in their work. With hindsight, a full-time policy analyst should have been assigned to the process as facilitator, as none of the full-time staff in the FPDWC office had policy formulation expertise. At several stages during the policy process there was no progress due to lack of leadership or lack of understanding of the process. This naturally hindered the policy writing process.

With regard to the very powerful, well organised sectors, one must remember that the unions, which represent labour in general, mostly represent processing workers and those organised into unions. In so far as labour represented organised labour, one can also question their mandate with regard to representing unorganised labour and fishermen. It is very easy to organise workers in factories, but much more difficult to organise fishermen as they are not concentrated in one factory, but scattered all over.

At one stage labour representatives walked out of a FPDWC meeting, as they would not accept a level of representation which equates their sector with non-stakeholder sectors, such as the environmental sector<sup>25</sup>. Labour's view on representation was based on union democracy, where the number of registered members determines their representation. The question is whether this type of democracy is consistent with participatory processes which aims to include all interested and affected parties.

The FPDWC appears to have been fairly successful in including almost all stakeholders in the policy making process. One area which could have been improved was the direct representation of women and boat owners as they were almost absent from the process.

The inclusion of a broad spectrum of stakeholders, such as the tourism and environmental sectors, was laudable and represented ground-breaking steps towards the creation of a truly representative and holistic policy.

The Fisheries Policy process did provide a stimuli for the emergence of organisations to advocate the interests of the various stakeholders. However, the completion of the Policy process and the absence of an implementation strategy by the FPDWC has contributed towards the gradual fizzling out of these organisations.

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<sup>24</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 19-20 October 1995.

<sup>25</sup> FPDWC Minutes, 5-7 September 1995.

## 6.2 Will the Fisheries Policy process lead to changes in the South African fishing industry?

The implementation of the ideas and the achieving of the aspirations contained in the policy document submitted to the Minister is the single most important factor in the restructuring of the industry and its successful management. For the implementation to be successful an open and transparent process must be followed. Structures and co-operative relationships that have been built up through the policy process will need to be built upon. The role of the FPDC has come to an end on 4 June 1996 as the final draft was submitted to the Minister, and the FPDC will therefore not have any authority during the implementation phase. The implementation of the policy is now the responsibility of the Department of Sea Fisheries.

This means that the fishing industry will still be governed by the laws contained in the Sea Fishery Act of 1988 until the White Paper<sup>26</sup> is passed by the National Assembly. The policy writing process was an open and participatory process, but its actual implementation is confined to the Department of Sea Fisheries.

In the White Paper phase, the public (stakeholders) will be invited to comment. The problem with this phase is that the organised sections of the industry, large-scale industrial enterprises and labour organisations will be able to make focused submissions and exert a powerful influence on the terms of the final policy and new legislation. It is therefore to be feared that the not so well organised sectors will be left out of the process, incurring the risk that the disadvantaged people will be no better off than before.

As Hersoug (1996b) puts it: *"Summing up, the FPDC document does not present a new fisheries policy for South Africa. The document is very cautious when it deals with redistribution and is rather conservative regarding institutional structures. As in the political arena, this is, at most, a "negotiated revolution". The most important difference is that, if implemented, the strategy will ensure greater transparency towards the general public."*

All stakeholders are to become active players in resource management, and the document states that marine resources will be nationally controlled, but that the management of inshore resources, with their low mobility capability and limited access rights, will be the joint responsibility of national and provincial government.

With regard to the reallocation of access rights, no real redistribution is recommended; to a large extent, it remains a matter for the Quota Board, an issue we will take up in the discussion.

The Department of Sea Fisheries will continue to be responsible for fisheries administration, research and development, and law enforcement. A development unit will be responsible for promoting, in particular, small-scale enterprises and mariculture.

The Sea Fisheries Research Institute (SFRI) will be responsible for carrying out multi-disciplinary research and making management recommendations. A Consultative Advisory Forum (CAF) will be appointed by the Minister to advise him/her on resource management, research, funding allocation and departmental structures.

Although the fisheries formulation process did not lead to any major adjustments in quota allocations or structures, it managed to bring people from different sectors together to discuss the

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<sup>26</sup> The White Paper was formulated by the Department of Sea Fisheries with assistance from a Norwegian consultant and was released in June 1997.



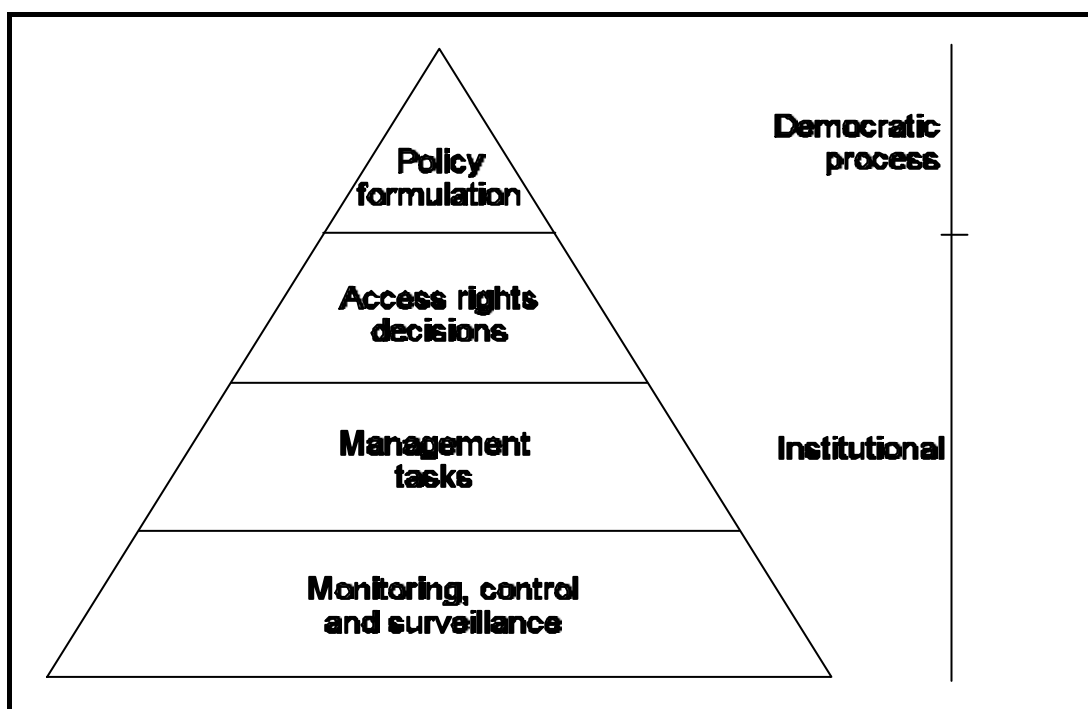
problems facing the South African fishing industry, and a major achievement of the policy process was the establishment of Fishing Forums along the coast. In our opinion this represents an important step towards improving the legitimacy of the fisheries regulation. However, we foresee many obstacles and challenges ahead before disadvantaged fishermen can be considered equal partners in the process.

We therefore conclude that the policy process has been successful, and realistically, one should not expect a major revolution at the first attempt. What is important is that the process has begun, the first important step towards establishing a new fisheries policy for South Africa. Again, North's observation (1990) seems applicable, that institutional change often occurs as a marginal adjustment of old structures rather than radical innovations or a total reorganisation. Seen from this perspective the changes have begun to take hold, but many battles still remain before South Africa can be said to truly have a new fisheries policy.

## 7. Discussion

In this section we will look beyond the policy formulation process and discuss its implementation, in particular the structure and organisation of the management institutions. International experiences indicate that the current crisis in fisheries management has been caused by inappropriate institutional arrangements (Symes, 1996). It can be argued that the crisis has been caused, to some degree, by a lack of legitimacy within the existing management regimes (Jentoft, 1989). Legitimacy can be improved by transferring more responsibility to user-groups in order to reduce the transaction costs for monitoring and enforcement of rules.

At present, fisheries management in South Africa is mainly 'top-down' driven, and we propose a system which would take a more 'bottom-up' approach, as illustrated in the figure below.



Policy formulation is an ongoing democratic process which, over time, should redefine and steer the policy objectives. The fisheries policy determines the management framework, and in a democratic society user-groups should not, as with other South Africans, be accorded any privileges at the policy level. User-groups can, however, as other South Africans, participate in the political process and try to put persuasive arguments in front of the Minister.

In a South African context the main question remains the reallocation of access rights. We foresee two options for an institutional structure through which access rights may be allocated.

We advocate the creation of an Independent Access Rights Board (IARB), similar to the present Quota Board, operating independently from the Department of Sea Fisheries and the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Payne and Cochrane (1995) indicate that the next step in broadening representation in fisheries management decision-making will be the formation of an Independent Quota Board or as we phrase it, an IARB. The IARB should, based on the formulation of clear criteria for the allocation of rights approved by Parliament, operate without political interference or intervention. Criteria for allocation should be made public, and the appointment of board members should be open and subject to public scrutiny.

A tribunal appointed by the President should recommend individuals, to be appointed by the Minister, as IARB members. The IARB should have its own administration, monitoring and investigating arm. The proposed IARB should also take over responsibilities and powers for the allocation of licences and quotas, and the function and administration of the Board should be financed from quota levies. A judge from the Supreme Court could act as an independent Appeal Board.

A similar approach has been proposed in Canada (Mikalsen, 1997), where a *Fisheries Board* comprising of individuals who possess a knowledge and experience of the industry but have no direct financial interest in it.

Another option would be to make the Minister responsible for the allocation of access rights. The reason for the creation of an IARB is that such a board would be less vulnerable to political pressure, lobbying and nepotism. However, Scandinavian countries (Raakjær Nielsen et. al, 1997) have for these same reasons made the Minister responsible for all fisheries management decisions as in the final analysis, it was believed that the allocation of valuable resources belonging to the society should be a political decision (Hersoug, 1996a).

At the two topmost levels in the management triangle, exclusive user rights do not seem to be appropriate. At the management level, however, we argue that it is important to involve the users.

We suggest that management working groups (MWGs) for each of the fisheries described in section 2 are established in order to include the users in the management process. It is our opinion that the more specific the task, the greater the user group participation should be.

The management mandate for each of the MWGs depends on the type of fishery, the capacity of the user groups and the dynamics of the fishing communities concerned. The MWGs should be comprised of fishermen, processors and scientists, and for inshore fisheries this participation should be supplemented by recreational fishermen, environmentalists and representatives from the fishing communities.

We foresee some scope for user involvement in monitoring, control and enforcement (MCE) and for collaboration in scientific research. MWGs will need to develop and instil a sense of responsibility among fishermen, and MCE guidelines should be discussed at the MWGs. Strategies for control and enforcement should be developed as part of the management plan for MWGs.

Our main point in this discussion is to highlight the importance of establishing some form of co-management arrangement for South African fisheries. We have given some examples as to how this may

be put in place, but find it premature at this stage in the process to make specific recommendations on the appropriate institutional structures.

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## Fisheries Policy Development Process

### TIME LINE

August 1994 - June 1996

August 1994	Minister de Villiers of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEA&T) initiates policy process.
27 October 94	Public meeting organised by Minister at Good Hope Centre, Cape Town.
November 94	Preparatory phase. Appointment of Mandla Gxanyana as Chairperson of the Fisheries Policy Development Committee (FPDC).
13 December 94	First Planning Meeting, Monte Carlo: Discussion on structure and function of the FPDC.
February-April 1995	Regional and sectoral workshops held to elect Fisheries Policy Development Working Committee (FPDWC) representatives.
13 February 95	Labour Sector meeting, Belville Inn, Cape Town. It is agreed that more than one Labour representative should be elected to the FPDC.
28 February 95	Informal Fishing Sector meeting, Greenpoint, Cape Town.
6 March 95	<p>First Plenary Meeting of the FPDC held, Belville Inn, Cape Town on the procedures, rules and composition of the FPDC including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ⓒ Function and composition of the FPDWC (Working Committee);</li> <li>Ⓒ Determination of Process;</li> <li>Ⓒ Definition of guidelines for the responsibilities/activities of the Interim Quota Board.</li> </ul> <p>(All those involved in the process were asked to sign a declaration to work in the interest of all South Africans and to refrain from satisfying individual interests).</p>
20/21 March 95	Workshop attended by representatives of small and medium-sized enterprises.
8 April 95	First meeting of Environmental Sector.
11 April 95	Northern Cape Fishing Forum workshop.
28/29 April 95	<p>First meeting of FPDWC opened by Minister de Villiers. The following items were covered:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ⓒ Report of the Chairperson on administration matters;</li> <li>Ⓒ Discussion on nomination of trustees to Finance Trust;</li> <li>Ⓒ Appointment of independent auditors;</li> <li>Ⓒ Division of Eastern Province into two regional forums: Eastern Cape and the Wild Coast;</li> <li>Ⓒ Agreement in principle that an attendance allowance would be paid to all Working Committee members.</li> </ul>
April/May 95	<p>Discussion with Minister and DEA&amp;T on the guidelines by which the Interim Quota Board (IQB) should operate;</p> <p>Sea Fisheries Advisory Committee (SFAC) meeting.</p>

- May 95 Completion of initial longlining experiment by Sea Fisheries Research Institute (SFRI).
- 19 May 95 Meeting between FPDWC representatives and the Coastal Zone Management Team.
- 9/10 June 95 Second meeting of Working Committee held and first draft of Broad Policy Framework Document completed. Also covered/discussed:
- Ⓒ Integrated Policy Submissions;
  - Ⓒ Creation of a Fishermen's Community Trust;
  - Ⓒ Trust Deed Document.
- Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) Policy Department held a workshop on Policy Formulation processes (a capacity-building exercise for Working Committee representatives)
- Ⓒ Labour Sector requests more representation on FPDWC;
  - Ⓒ Discussion on integrating legislation belonging to Transkei and Ciskei fisheries into RSA legislation;
  - Ⓒ Formal agreement to pay attendance allowance of R450 per day to FPDWC members;
  - Ⓒ Discussion on restructuring of the Sea Fisheries Department and the Interim Quota Board;
  - Ⓒ Proposal to prepare and distribute a pamphlet on the first draft of the Broad Policy Framework Document in English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and Zulu;
  - Ⓒ Finalisation of Sector definitions.
- 22 June 95 Meeting of Lamberts Bay fisherfolk.
- 3/4 July 95 Working Committee workshop to discuss first draft of Broad Policy Framework Document.
- 2 August 95 Letter from Minister of Trade and Industry offering/confirming additional financial support to the DEA&T in order for the FPDC to continue.
- 10/11 August 95 Third Working Committee Meeting held.  
Integrated policy submissions tabled.
- Ⓒ First draft of Background Document submitted;
  - Ⓒ Status of some Working Committee representatives not yet clarified;
  - Ⓒ Discussion on financial needs of sector representatives to enable communication with constituencies (small and medium-sized enterprises);
  - Ⓒ Discussion on revision of Integrated Policy Document;
  - Ⓒ Need expressed for the creation of a Technical Team on Access Rights (TT to investigate and advise on the whole issue of access rights);
  - Ⓒ Need expressed for an extension of October 95 deadline for the completion of the FPDC process.
- 15-20 August 95 Financial Audit of FPDC by independent and government auditors.
- 19 August 95 Consultation between FPDC office and SA Association of Fishing Community Trusts.
- 23 August 95 CVs of potential TTAR members obtained and suitable candidates shortlisted.
- 29 August 95 Meeting between Minister and DEA&T on official/government representation on the Sea Fisheries Advisory Committee (SFAC).
- 4 September 95 Former Transkei and Ciskei legislation integration document finalised.

5-7 September 95 Fourth Working Committee Meeting held.

Discussion on size of Labour Sector representation on FPDWC.

- C Labour withdraw from WC pending decision as to the size of their representation;
- C Industrial Sector withdraw from WC in support of Labour's demands;
- C Discussion of Integrated Policy Document;
- C TTAR brief finalised;
- C Composition of TTAR finalised;
- C Amendments made to first draft of Background Document;
- C NORAD funding proposal submitted/finalised/drawn up;
- C Finance: Independent and Government audit completed. DBSA pledge R150,000.00 for the work of the TTAR.

11 September 95

Finance meeting held.

Meeting between Chairman of FPDC and Labour Sector to discuss the size of their representation on the FPDWC.

15 September 95

Deadline for submission of mandates for sector representation on FPDC.

20 September 95

Fifth Working Committee Meeting held.

Labour representatives back on board.

- C Discussion on the creation of a task team to address Labour issues;
- C Discussion on third draft policy document;
- C West Coast Fishing Forum request separate representation from other Cape provinces;
- C Regional fishing fora are requested to ensure that they are representative of both the coastal communities and the different stakeholders in the regions;
- C FPDC office given responsibility for the translation of the third draft policy document into Afrikaans, Xhosa and Zulu.

19/20 October 95 Sixth Working Committee Meeting held, opened by Director-General of DEA&T.

- C Five Labour representatives attend Working Committee Meeting;
- C Scientific review of third draft policy document suggested;
- C Discussion of access rights issues which the TTAR report needs to address;
- C New integrated legislation for Ciskei/Transkei passed to replace old homelands legislation;
- C Maritime Industry Training Board presentation on training programmes for all sectors involved in the SA fishing industry;
- C West Coast Fishing Forum granted separate representation on the FPDWC;
- C Labour Task Team work delayed due to lack of funding;
- C FPDWC requested to provide Minister for DEA&T with recommendations on the activities of/funding for Fishing Community Trusts. FPDWC to make a press statement on Community quotas to the effect that a quota system alone will not provide a solution for the upliftment of impoverished communities;
- C FPDWC request the Minister to initiate discussions between the FPDWC and the old Quota Board on the reallocation of quotas;
- C Finance Committee disband due to its redundancy;
- C Regional fora experience financial problems. KwaZulu Natal fishing forum with its large informal/subsistence component unable to meet due to lack of funds;
- C Tabling of Programme of Action leading to the submission of the draft policy to the Minister for DEA&T in April 1996.

3/4 November 95 Seventh Working Committee Meeting held.

Scientific comment by South African Network for Coastal & Oceanic Research (SANCOR) on the draft policy document.

- C FPDWC office streamlined due to lack of funds;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ⓒ Appointment of Policy Drafting Committee.</li> </ul>
17-19 November 95	Provincial workshops held to discuss fourth draft policy document.
8/9 December 95	<p>Eighth Working Committee Meeting held.</p> <p>TTAR present their report 'Review of Access Rights Options for SA' (comments recorded in order to be considered in the redrafting of the report).</p>
23-25 January 1996	<p>Access Rights workshop held in Stellenbosch.</p> <p>Informal Sector stage placard demonstration in protest of restrictions imposed on crayfish and abalone fishing.</p>
February 96	Meeting between Acting Chief Director of DEA&T and delegations from Japan and Taiwan to discuss continuation of their longline tuna permits.
15 February 96	Meeting between Minister for DEA&T, FPDWC and Informal Sector representative to discuss demands of informal fishers regarding access rights.
15/16 February 96	<p>Ninth Working Committee Meeting held.</p> <p>Fourteen days allowed for representatives on the Working Committee who acquired quotas whilst serving on the Committee to resubmit mandates from their constituencies.</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ⓒ Further discussions on Access Rights Report on various issues including: redistribution, length of allocation, selling of recreational catch and informal sector catch quotas.</li> </ul>
14/15 March 96	<p>Tenth Working Committee Meeting held.</p> <p>Fifth draft of policy document presented.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ⓒ Discussion on regionalisation of access rights; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Informal Sector proposal for a CREAD system of access;</li> </ul> </li> <li>Ⓒ Decision taken that FPDWC must meet Parliamentary Select Committee to brief them on policy progress.</li> </ul>
19 March 96	Meeting of FPDWC with Parliamentary Select Committee on Environmental Affairs and Tourism to keep them abreast of policy progress.
April 96	Provincial workshops held to discuss sixth draft of the FPDWC policy document.
2/3 May 96	<p>Eleventh Working Committee Meeting held.</p> <p>Small businesses allowed to have four representatives attend the meeting, one from each coastal province.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ⓒ Interim Relief Measures Task Team (IRMTT) table draft report on interim relief for marginalised fishers as defined in the report. The harvest of this sector must be quantified and fishers within it must be registered;</li> <li>Ⓒ An amnesty from prosecution proposed in order to quantify the illegal catch.</li> </ul>
16-18 May 96	<p>Twelfth Working Committee Meeting held.</p> <p>Final discussions on sixth draft in order to prepare seventh draft for Plenary Meeting.</p>
24/25 May 96	<p>FPDC Second Plenary Meeting held.</p> <p>Informal Sector dissatisfied with policy on grounds that it does not reflect concerns of disadvantaged fishing communities.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ⓒ Western Cape Fishing Forum voice concern that the policy does not refer to long-term goals, specifically the restocking of resources;</li> <li>Ⓒ Informal Sector opposed to the new quota system and will submit their CREAD proposal to the Minister for DEA&amp;T;</li> </ul>

*Time constraints prevent a clause by clause discussion of the issues contained in the policy document during the Second Plenary Session.*

4 June 96

Conference to launch policy to the general public and an international audience.

6 June 96

Final (seventh) draft policy submitted by the FPDWC to Minister for DEA&T, Minister de Villiers.