

**CHANGE, CONFLICT AND SENSE OF PLACE: A CASE STUDY OF THE  
INSHORE FISHING COMMUNITY IN THE VICTORIA AND ALFRED  
WATERFRONT**

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**ABSTRACT**

The revaluation of place in geographical discourse has bolstered research which highlights both the global and local significance of places. Waterfront places have, as a result of their revitalisation, become the locus where capital and community intersect. The redevelopment of Cape Town's Victoria and Alfred Docks offers unique insights into understanding spatial change, conflict and sense of place. Like its international precedents, the evolution, decline and redundancy of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&AW) is a direct outcome of the wider processes of capital accumulation and technological transformation. Conflictual relations between the V&AW developers and planners and the Fishing Industry over the appropriate utilisation of dockland space, together with current spatial and functional restructurings, have negatively impacted upon the inshore fishing community working and living in the dockland. Ongoing commodification of this dockland area has directly contributed to feelings of uprootedness among the inshore fishermen, a community whose sense(s) of place and social and cultural identities are inextricably tied up with their past and present daily existence in the Victoria and Alfred Docks and adjacent, formerly vibrant, inner-city areas. The present uncertainty and feelings of uprootedness evident among the inshore fishing community will almost certainly be compounded as the V&AW developers and planners edge closer to redeveloping the Silo Precinct which includes the area presently occupied by the inshore fishing industry and community. The challenge facing the V&AW Company is to avoid regressive social engineering by adopting progressive strategies which aim to address both the inshore fishing community's emerging insecurities and (pre)existing topophilic attachments to dockland place.

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I write this preface trying to recall the events that brought me to Cape Town and fostered my interest in the city and more specifically, Table Bay Harbour. These events can be traced back to 1975 when, to my despair, my father, an auditor in the South African Transport Services (SATS), accepted a promotion. But this promotion was different. It required that my father, and therefore the entire family, move to Cape Town. A child of eight at the time, I was distressed about having to leave my friends and the neighbourhood with which I was so familiar. For me East London, the small cityport on the south east coast of South Africa, was my home, my place. Cape Town remained distant and unreal, a place in South African history. Reassurances from my parents coupled with the hussle and bustle that preceded the move helped to ease, if only briefly, my feelings of insecurity. It was therefore with mixed feelings of poignancy (at having to leave my birthplace) and anticipation (about the unknown) that I approached that day in October 1975. Vowing to everyone that would listen that I would return, I together with my mother, brother and sister boarded a train bound for Cape Town.

Two nights and a day later the train snaked its way into Cape Town station where we were met by my father who had travelled ahead to make the necessary arrangements. In spite of my misgivings about having to stay in a place with which I could not identify, I was fascinated by my new surroundings. Mostly I was overawed by the massive flat-topped mountain that towered over the city and the surrounding countryside. Despite my most ardent attempts to hold onto my pre-existing sense of place, I found it difficult to remain unaffected by an environment with Table Mountain as a backdrop. Once having established those all-important initial friendships both at the local school and neighbourhood, I found it relatively easy to establish a sense of place. As my childhood memories of East London faded, my identity as a Capetonian emerged; an identity centred on my geographical position relative to Table Mountain, the city and its historic harbour. For me the symbolic and cultural significance of these features strengthened my Capetonianness and evolving place-in-the-world.

Central to this place-in-the-world was Table Bay Harbour, an exciting place to which I was introduced not long after my arrival in Cape Town. In order to orientate the family and to show off the city's many tourist sights, my father

initiated a series of outings one of which included a visit to the harbour. In comparison to the small, river mouth port of East London, Table Bay Harbour was a large and exciting place. But my earliest impressions of this working environment were first established when I, during the school holidays, occasionally accompanied my father on some of his official visits to inspect SATS operations in the harbour. Although already in the grip of economic decline, Table Bay Harbour was still truly an industrial port. Very few Capetonians, except for dockworkers, sailors, fishermen and possibly the odd civil servant like my father, ventured into what was generally accepted to be a dangerous working environment. Consequently, Capetonians tended to perceive only the negative environmental nuisances of the port without understanding the benefits derived from it.

Fortunately I was afforded a glimpse into this dynamic and constantly changing environment. After having dispensed with his duties, my father on occasion would take a slow drive through the bustling harbour, stopping at vantage points such as the end of the main breakwater from where one could watch the comings and goings of maritime vessels of all shapes and sizes. Looking back, I can now appreciate the significance which these early childhood experiences had on me and my sense of identity as a Capetonian. Unfortunately, in later teenage years my visits to the harbour became less frequent, except for when the family would occasionally dine out at the Harbour Cafe, a popular restaurant located in the Victoria and Alfred Harbour.

Public debate regarding the future of the mostly redundant Victoria and Alfred Dockland became reality in October 1988 when the press first reported the government's announced plans to redevelop the 'Old Docks'. I recall the excitement generated by this announcement among my friends, the public in general and the media. There were those, and I must admit that I was one of them, who greeted the planned development with cautious optimism because they had concerns about the possible impacts on a working environment which still supported a great number of people. There was a perception that the Victoria and Alfred Docklands would be turned into yet another marina catering for the wealthy, thereby further entrenching already wide disparities between rich and poor, white and black. However, following widespread public debate the Capetonians, and indeed all South Africans, were assured by the V&AW Company (and the cityport authorities) that the Waterfront would remain a public facility for all.

Two years later, in 1990, as part of my Honours course requirements, I had to undertake a research project of my choice. It seemed very appropriate that I focus on the harbour, especially in the light of both my childhood experiences and recent developments. In an attempt to contextualise the redevelopment, I decided to trace the spatial, functional and morphological developments of the Table Bay Harbour from its primitive beginnings in 1652 to 1990. However, inspired by an Honours course, 'African Transportation' given by Dr Gordon Pirie, which stressed the social dimension of transportation in particular and geographical research in general, I decided to continue my studies by registering for my Masters degree. In light of the overwhelming public response to the redevelopment I thought it necessary to assess the impacts on those people who had always worked and lived in the harbour even at a time when it was not viewed upon favourably by most Capetonians. With the increased number of newspaper articles reporting the concerns of existing port-related activities and dependent communities of fishermen and dockworkers with respect to their future position in the V&A development site, I decided to channel my research efforts into ascertaining the reasons for these concerns. Given their long association with the city and its fishing industry, I focused on the inshore fishermen and their feelings and attitudes regarding the redevelopment. For me this research was very important in a country with a legacy of regressive socio-spatial engineering which had transformed the lives of millions of South African against their will. The Victoria and Alfred Docks was not just a historically significant development site, it was and still is the place where ordinary people work and live, a social space imbued with cultural and symbolic meaning and value. Three years later and much the wiser I am putting the final touches to this thesis, a work which I hope will not only inform its readers of the inherent 'cost' of development and the need for social responsibility (among developers and planners), but reflect my personal interest in the Old Docks and its people.

In undertaking the research for this thesis, I was supported and assisted by many people.

I am deeply indebted to Dr Belinda Dodson for her invaluable supervision and unflagging support. Thank you for making this a truly fulfilling learning experience. A very special thanks goes to the inshore fishing community for providing me with the insights necessary to better understand their distinctive place-in-the-world, their passions and fears. Suffice it to say that without your input this research would have been impossible. To Tracey and Olivia who were so kind to offer their time to capture on photograph elements of a fast disappearing way of life

and landscape, many thanks. Thank you to all my friends particularly Craig, Tracey, Jeanne, Helen, and Simon for their concern, and most importantly, for their motivation through the highs and lows of thesis writing. To Cathy Oelofse, my fellow thesis-writing colleague, thank you for your good counsel during times of extreme frustration and despair. Many thanks to Nicky and Jeanne for proof reading my thesis and to Lynn O'Neill for always being so generous with her time and advice. My heartfelt thanks go to my mother for her loving support, infinite patience and encouragement during seemingly never-ending thesis writing sessions. And finally, I thank the Human Sciences Research Council and the University of Cape Town for their funding of this research.

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## INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is upon place as the site of people's everyday interactions, identities and struggles. Here, the study endeavours to explain both the wider processes which contributed to the construction, evolution, decline and recent revitalisation of Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Dockland located in the Table Bay port complex, and the impact of the current redevelopment on the everyday lifeworld (and existing sense of place) of the inshore fishing community working and living in the harbour. Central to such an understanding is an examination of the spatial restructuring of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&AW) both as the external conditions presently shaping the inshore fishing community's immediate environment and as the geographical (or territorial) backcloth to their everyday existence, identities and sense(s) of place.

Because of their long-standing relationship with, and location in, the Victoria and Alfred Harbour, the inshore fishing community is especially vulnerable to current restructuring. There is a very real chance that the redevelopment could undermine (or uproot) the physical, economic and emotional attachment of the community to the harbour. Thus, while the V&AW Company (as developer) in co-operation with local cityport authorities attempts to attract capital to Cape Town's underutilised V&A Waterfront, it has also started a process which could ultimately destroy the inshore fishing community's (pre)existing distinctive place-in-the-world. The acid test lies in the community's response to this restructuring as they attempt to maintain some control over their social space.

But a specific place such as the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&AW), while geographically unique, can best be understood through its connection with the wider world (Massey, 1993). A non-parochial view of the place is therefore essential, as very few, if any, places in the world today can be understood in isolation from the wider international context.

In the electronic era in which we live, the barrier of geography has, to a great extent, been overcome. 'It is conventional now, at least in the West,' writes Daniels (1992 : 311, citing Wombell (1989)), 'to think of the world as a coherent place, a "whole-earth", "one-earth", a place as much in need of our protection and participation as the street where we live'. Time and space are technically compressed, enhancing 'world

globalisation' which, according to Anthony Giddens (1991 : 21), 'has meant the interlacing of social [and political] events and social relations "at distance" with local contextualities'. In other words, while global developments (social or otherwise) find social, economic or physical expression at the local context, they continue to link the 'local contextualities' to each other and thus to the wider world. Massey (1993 : 144) elaborates:

**These links exist in many ways and at many levels and they are not just products of the modern era. The sources of the food, the clothes and goods in the shops will be global; the petrol in the garage links in to some part of the world in the news; the ownership of "local" companies will certainly not all be within the area; the reason for recent closure or redundancies may be traceable to competition from elsewhere; in many areas the mix of the local population will display a variety of non-local inheritances.**

Thus, places obtain their unique identities and physical form from linkages with the global economy and its financial and political institutions. These links not only connect one place to another; they also effectively determine those places' individual or collective shape and character. This is especially true of port cities across the world which, as Suykens (1989) points out, have been shaped by the fundamental changes in maritime technology. It is impossible, therefore, to understand the significance of the shape and character of port cities without appreciating their role in the evolving global economy through its transportation network. For instance, the evolution of Cape Town as a port-city is inextricably interwoven with its history as halfway station on Portuguese, Dutch and later British maritime trade routes with the east. Its story of change from primitive port to harbour of refuge and finally port complex is, like most other port cities in the world, also the story of the area's changing place in the world economy; from revictualling port and southern African gateway at the crossroads of the British empire to a highly sophisticated port capable of the handling, movement and control of international freight.

Thus the economic (and political) interdependence of places such as port cities has also contributed to their uniqueness of landscape. 'The geographic setting of diverse landscapes and the harbour that unites them', writes Hough (1990 : 198), 'create a powerful image and unique regional identity'. For example, the port-city of Cape Town, or 'Mother City' as it is often called by South Africans, derives its special significance from its strategic location near the southern tip of Africa as well as from the majestic Table Mountain which towers above it. Yet, whereas the increase in shipping has ensured the existence of many port cities, technological changes based on increasing economies of scale have resulted in the redundancy, and in most instances, the abandonment, of piers, quays, warehouses and other port- and service-related

activities (West, 1989). Although initially perceived as an industrial wasteland during the 1970s, these waterfront places have, during the 1980s and 1990s, increasingly become the site of large-scale transformation or redevelopment. Apart from presenting local city and port authorities with a means to reversing inner city decline, redevelopment of waterfronts presents (both national and international) capital with a new opportunity for accumulation (Smith, 1986).

The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, like international precedents such as Boston's Quincy Market, Toronto's Harbourfront or London's Docklands, is currently also undergoing redevelopment. City planners and developers, in their determination to ensure the development's success, have nevertheless drawn on planning strategies of other successful waterfront developments around the world. Thus, the evolving landscape of Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&AW) with its shopping centres, upmarket restaurants and promenades emulates the physical form and landuse mix of, for instance, Baltimore's Inner Harbour complex. These waterfronts as 'postmodern' places of leisure, no matter their location in the world, share a remarkable physical similarity. However, what they do not all share is the impact of the structural transformation on traditional port-related industries and communities. Unlike most other waterfront developments, the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&AW) redevelopment is presently being pursued within the context of a working harbour. In attempting to realise the commercial development of the harbour precinct, V&AW developers and planners have come up against pre-existing industrial tenants such as the fishing industry, an industry determined to ensure its place within the V&A Harbour. Thus whilst wider economic processes have initiated redevelopment in the V&AW, the place-specific (or parochial) significance of the V&AW to groups using, working or living in the area, has resulted in both conflict and compromise. The modern-day waterfront place is, therefore, not only characteristic of the 'postmodern landscape', but lies at the 'vortex of ... global and local forces' (Smith, 1992 : 65).

It is within the non-parochial/parochial (or global-local) view of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, as geographic, social and experiential place for the inshore fishing community, that this study is located. Three broad aims underlie and direct the focus of this thesis.

Firstly, this study explores the 'subjective' dimension of place and the meaning which people in general, and communities in particular, attach to specific locales. An examination of the inshore fishing community's existing 'lifeworlds' reveals aspects of their taken-for-granted (past and present) daily living. The objective is to identify those

factors which provide the individual fishermen and the community as a whole with an experiential feeling (or sense) for the working environment (or harbourscape) in which they live and work. In this way the study attempts to identify latent attitudes and perceptions which the fishermen may possess not just of themselves as members of the inshore fishing community, but of the transformation of their social space by the V&AW developers and planners.

By focusing on these sentiments it is possible to ascertain the community's degree of rootedness and to unearth those micro-features within this distinctive urban environment which are especially significant to the fishermen (or *insiders*) concerned. What the thesis aims to determine is whether the community in question, namely the inshore fishing community, perceives its place within the V&A Dockland as either threatened or advantaged by recent and ongoing socio-spatial changes.

Secondly, this thesis attempts to contextualise, through the non-parochial view of place, the current socio-spatial changes within the Victoria and Alfred Dockland area. By identifying the broader social, economic and political factors underlying dockland restructuring, it is possible to identify the processes of uneven development which have resulted in the V&AW's initial redundancy and recent redevelopment. In essence, this thesis endeavours to establish whether the assumptions made by V&AW developers and planners concerning the V&A-based fishing industry and inshore community, reveal any inherent bias towards or against these 'people in [their] social context' (Agnew, 1984: 43). In so doing, the study seeks to unmask the 'objective' (as opposed to the inshore fishermen's subjective) perspective held by the V&AW: a perspective revealing them to be *outsiders* to life in the harbour.

The third aim of this thesis draws upon the preceding two foci. By elucidating the 'subjective' (insider) and 'objective' (outsider) perspectives of the V&AW (as place), it is possible to focus upon the relationship which exists between, on the one hand, the fishing industry and the inshore fishing community and, on the other, the V&AW developers and planners, within the context of the working harbour. By focusing on the relations between the Industry and the V&AW Company it is possible not only to better understand the fishermen's perception of their position (rank, class and status etc) as members of an Industry located in the V&AW, but also to unearth any incongruency between the attitudes of the inshore fishing community and the V&AW regarding the development potential of the V&A Dockland.

With the above aims and objectives in mind, this thesis has been structured in the following manner:

Chapter 1 examines the concept of place. It explores the broad spectrum of academic enquiry which advocates place as the most fundamental human construct enabling us to make sense of the world. Attention focuses upon the changing nature of the study of place within human geographical discourse in particular. By tracing the particularising (or humanist) and universalising (or structuralist) approaches to the study of place, this chapter will show how geographers have attempted to (re)construct an inclusive concept of place which integrates both structure and human agency.

This focus upon the evolving 'betweenness' of place within geographical enquiry provides the philosophical and theoretical foundation for Chapter 2, in which the need to combine structure- and agency-based explanations of (dockland) redevelopment and restructuring is expounded. Having established an historical materialist (or structural) explanation for dockland redevelopment, the focus shifts to a geographical humanist examination of the internal understandings and emotional attachments which people (such as the inshore fishermen) hold with respect to their geographical and social surroundings, and the impacts of spatial restructuring upon these understandings and attachments.

Having established the theoretical context, Chapter 3 outlines the methodology utilised in the study. After having demonstrated (in the light of underlying philosophical and theoretical positions) the appropriateness of a qualitative methodological approach, this chapter addresses the research design and some of the methodological issues which arose. Identifying direct observation, interviewing and analysis of documentation as the basis of the multi-method research design, the chapter goes on to discuss the principles, the adoption and practical application of each method. Finally, the chapter reflects upon the challenges to the implementation of the qualitative multi-method research design.

In Chapter 4 the historical context of the study is established. With the aid of indepth interviews and historical literature, this chapter attempts, if only briefly, to recreate the past lifeworlds of the Cape inshore fishermen. This involves an exploration of the Cape fishing communities' everyday activities and practices both on the Table Bay beaches and in the inner city areas. This chapter goes on to show how the group areas legislation of 1950 permanently altered the inshore fishermen's long-established spatial patterns and social activities in areas such as District Six, Woodstock, Bo-Kaap and the

maritime quarter. The significance of Victoria and Alfred Harbour (or 'Old Docks') in the lives of the dispossessed Cape fishermen is also identified. By highlighting some of the physical and social features of Cape fishermen's pre-existing lifeworlds, this chapter not only provides some important insights into the fishermen's past existence, but also assists in our understanding of their present (challenged) lifeworld.

Whereas Chapter 4 established the inshore fishermen's past lifeworld, Chapter 5 focuses on the spatial and functional evolution of the Victoria and Alfred Dockland. By revealing the history of the V&A Docks, this chapter outlines the economic and political forces and events which preceded, and ultimately caused, dockland change and eventual redevelopment. Having outlined the harbour's spatial and functional change, the chapter turns to a consideration of the protagonists initiating, and policies and objectives directing, the V&AW redevelopment. Further, through an assessment of past, current and future phases of the development, this chapter shows how the evolving 'postmodern' landscape of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in fact emulates waterfront developments elsewhere in the world. Lastly, the significance and nature of the working harbour is addressed and the reasons for the deteriorating V&AW-Industry relations established.

Chapter 6 focuses on the functional (or working) context of the Victoria and Alfred Dockland. Drawing on empirical data obtained during interviews with high-ranking representatives of the inshore and deepsea fishing industry, ship-repair companies, port authority (Portnet) and V&AW Company, this chapter outlines the often conflictual relationship between the V&AW (as developer and landlord) and Portnet, and the Fishing Industry (as the largest occupier of space). This is effected by focusing on the tenure and rental negotiations between the V&AW, Portnet and the Industry. Apart from tracing the negotiations, this chapter, through an interpretation of the Tripartite Agreement ensuring Industry tenure, assesses the substance and implications of this Agreement for the Industry in general and the inshore industry (and its dependent community) in particular. Once having discussed the practical difficulties of integrating commercial and industrial interests (such as deepsea and inshore fishing activities and auxiliary ship-repair facilities) in the context of Victoria and Alfred Docks, this chapter considers the significance of the broader V&AW-Industry relations for the inshore fishing community.

In Chapter 7, the nature, extent and characteristics of the Cape inshore fishermen (in the context of V&A Harbour) are discussed. Drawing on interviews conducted with the members of the inshore community, this chapter sets about identifying the

community's internal social structure and interactions with special reference to its status and function within the Industry as a whole. In so doing, it is possible to ascertain how the inshore fishermen perceive themselves and others in the community. The chapter examines both the geographical (or territorial) and social foundations to the inshore fishing community's everyday lifeworld. In conclusion, using the concept of the insider-outsider dialectic, this chapter addresses the community's sense of belonging (or place) by focusing on their attitudes regarding their position in the harbour and its current redevelopment. By focusing on the incongruency between the inshore fishing community and the V&AW it is possible to determine the existence, as yet mostly implicit, of feelings of insecurity (or uprootedness).

Finally, in the light of this study's tentative findings, the conclusion not only assesses the future of the inshore fishing community in the V&A Dockland, but questions the ability of the existing planning system to accommodate port-based industries and benefit related communities. A number of recommendations are presented with the intention of offsetting any regressive planning which may result in the destruction of the inshore fishing community's lifeworld and sense of place.



# CHAPTER ONE

## THE CHANGING PLACE OF PLACE IN GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE

### 1.1 Introduction

**We shall not cease from exploration  
And the end of all exploring  
Will be to arrive where we started  
And know the place for the first time**

(Eliot, 1944)

Place, it can be argued, has a multitude of meanings and connotations, not least geographical, and can be regarded as one of the central concepts which transcends disciplinary boundaries (Giddens, 1991). Rather than focusing on complementarity, approaches to defining a geographical concept of place have stressed one or another of many dimensions of place: location or space; locale as settings for everyday social interaction; or the importance of the sense of place engendered by living in it (Agnew and Duncan 1989). This fragmentation initially left the concept of place marginalised and undeveloped. The 1980s, however, witnessed a revival of interest in place as geographers attempted to bring together its structural, geographical and sociological elements. By attempting to understand place in its broadest sense, geographers have endeavoured to enhance their knowledge of the world (Sack, 1988). Or, as Canter (1977 : 6) writes, the development of an 'articulated view of [place]' is vital 'so that we [as geographers] can fully understand what it implies and how it can be used'. By tracing the changing way in which the concept of place has been studied in geographical discourse, this chapter will endeavour to understand fully not only its diverse conceptual meanings, but also its significance to the inshore fishing community being studied.

After elucidating the dialectical relationship between the concepts of place and space, this chapter traces the study of the concept of place from its devaluation (by positivists) in the 1950s and 1960s, to its post-positivist interpretations in the 1970s and early 1980s, through to the rehumanised, contextually-informed 'postmodern' place of the late 1980s and 1990s. The wide-ranging nature of geographical enquiry provides an ideal opportunity to unearth and identify the broad trends in the study of

place; trends which have paralleled paradigmatic shifts which characterised both the geographical discipline and social science as a whole. Focusing firstly on humanism and then on structuralism, this chapter attempts to ascertain not just how these philosophical/theoretical traditions have challenged (or critiqued) pre-existing positivist notions of place, but where these approaches have failed to overcome their respective, and often exclusive, orientation toward either human agency or structure. Finally the chapter attempts to understand the increasingly fractious nature of place-related studies during the 1980s and 1990s. Of particular interest in this regard is how geographers have endeavoured to replace (through (re)construction) the simplistic notions of place with a new 'betweenness of place' (Entrikin, 1991).

## **1.2 The space-place dialectic: defining the geographical concept of place**

Space and place together define the nature of geography (Tuan, 1974). However, any attempt at delineating the broad and varied nature of place requires an understanding of the relationship between these two key concepts. According to Sack (1980), people's relationship to the environment occurs in the context of both space and place. Yet by elucidating the dialectical relationship between these constructs it is possible to uncover their underlying interconnectedness.

Space has been defined as '...amorphous and intangible...' (Relph, 1976 : 8); '...a container, [or] set of pigeon-holes...' (Gatrell, 1983 : 2); described as '...conceptually emptiable...' (Sack, 1988 : 642) and separated 'from substance' (Sack, 1980 : 4) in the 'real' world. Place, on the other hand, is given human endorsement thereby emphasising its deeper levels of meaning (symbolic, emotional, cultural, political and biological) (Buttimer, 1978). Therefore as a multifaceted phenomenon of human experience, place has been (and continues to be) defined as an inherent and integral part of people's daily experiences (or lifeworld) (Buttimer, 1976, 1978, 1980; Ley, 1974; Seamon, 1979 etc). 'Place is a special kind of object', writes Tuan (1977 : 12): 'It is a concretion of value, though not a valued thing that can be handled or carried about easily; it is an object in which one can dwell'.

### 1.2.1 The devaluation of place in geographical discourse and its effect on the concept of place

This philosophical/conceptual separation of space and place has marked geographical discourse since the 'quantitative revolution' of the 1950s and 1960s (Billinge *et al*, 1984). Many geographers, in an attempt to access research funding (Johnston, 1983) and achieve academic respectability and recognition, abandoned regional approaches to geography in favour of systematic scientific approaches which stressed universal laws rather than the description of 'unique' places (Cloke *et al*, 1991). Hartshorne (1939 : 380), for example, in his book *The Nature of Geography* categorised sciences as either 'idiographic' (the study of unique phenomena) or 'nomothetic' (law-seeking). Hartshorne (1939 : 369) endorsed geography as 'analysis and synthesis of the actual integration of phenomena in sections of space and place'; a chorological view of the discipline widely accepted until the 1950s (Unwin, 1992).

However, by the 1950s, geographers, faced by a distinctive broader scientific shift to positivism, increasingly sought to uncover 'the universal laws governing the way in which the world worked' (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 9). Schaefer (1953 : 227) justified this paradigmatic shift in geographical endeavour when he said: 'Description, even if followed by classification, does not explain the manner in which phenomena are distributed over the world. To explain the phenomena one has described means always to recognise them as instances of laws'.

Yet by emphasising the spatial element of geography, positivists such as Schaefer (1953) narrowed the philosophical choice offered to geographers in the realm of explanation. By ignoring the inherent dialectical relationship between space and place, (human) geographers essentially dehumanised space, relegating it to the level of Euclidean geometry (Buttimer, 1978 and Gatrell, 1983) and thereby forcing a sense of order and generalisation upon an otherwise social construct. As Harvey (1969 : 191) has it: 'For the most part geographers have assumed a particular spatial language to be appropriate without examining the rationale for such a choice'. The resultant spatialism had the negative effect of marginalising regional, cultural and historical geographers given their resistance to the so-called 'new geography' (Johnston, 1983). This brought about a greater degree of division within the discipline, effectively leaving place-oriented (or 'non-scientific') studies outside mainstream geography.

### 1.2.2 Space as subjective phenomenon: determining the nature of marginalised place studies

If the true nature of space (i.e. not only its non-relational connotations) and its resultant significance for and relationship to place is to be understood, it is imperative that space also be seen as a subjective phenomenon inasmuch as it is experienced by people. Early humanist geographical writings (pre-1970s) by, among others, Anne Buttimer, David Ley and Edward Relph, sought to place people and their respective spaces (variously labelled primitive, perceptual, sacred, existential, geographical and cognitive) at the centre of geographical inquiry. Norberg-Schultz (1971 : 11) elaborates when he says that:

**...pragmatic space integrates man [sic] with his natural, 'organic' environment, perceptual space is essential to his identity as a person, existential space makes him belong to a social and cultural totality, cognitive space means he is able to think about space, and logical space ... offers him a tool to describe others.**

Although each one of these spatial forms could give rise to a very specific place with its own unique meaning and significance (e.g. sacred places, social places etc), it is necessary to understand how space becomes place; a locale emotionally and socially important to a certain person or group of people (such as the inshore fishing community). According to Tuan (1974; 1977) the study of space (from a humanistic perspective) involves the study of people's spatial feelings and perception; the 'meaning of space, and particularly lived-space, [thus] com[ing] from the existential and perceptual places of immediate experience' (Relph, 1976 : 8).

Spaces, far from being 'conceptually emptiable', are in essence sense-bound thus becoming places. They are experienced through the senses of touch, taste, smell, hearing and vision. We get to know our environment 'through the possibilities and limitations of our senses' (Tuan, 1974 : 224). Michael Oakeshott (1933 : 10, quoted in Tuan, 1977 :8) expresses it as follows:

**Experience is a cover-all term for the various [subjective] modes through which a person knows and constructs a reality. These modes range from the more direct and passive senses of smell, taste, and touch, to active visual perception and the indirect mode of symbolisation.**

Although senses other than sight (such as sound, smell and touch) greatly enrich visual space, the organisation of human space and place (as depicted in chapter four and seven) is uniquely dependent on sight. Referred to as a 'spatialising faculty'

(Tuan, 1977 : 14), sight allows for the conscious comprehension of the visual world in the form of rational landscapes (Relph, 1981). Hence space can be, and usually is, perceived visually as the relative location of objects and places.

Despite the primacy of sight, other senses expand and enrich the visual space (and place). The world of sound would appear to be spatially structured. Blind people, for example, develop an acute sensitivity to sounds thereby allowing them to evaluate the environment's spatial character (Tuan, 1977). A basic spatial vocabulary can therefore be derived from soundscape studies (Schafer, 1977; cited in Porteous, 1985). Similarly, as seen in chapter four, the Victoria and Alfred Dockland (or Old Harbour) has special significance because of its unique soundscape. For the inshore fishermen working and living in (and formerly around) the harbour, the sounds of the boat engines and horns, voices of skippers raised in admonishment or encouragement, shrieking seagulls and the shunting of grain trucks, form an integral (and indivisible) part of both their distinctive everyday lifeworld as well as of harbours in general.

Odours, like sounds, articulate another kind of complex world, the olfactory world (Tuan, 1974, 1977). Porteous (1985 : 359) in a pioneering article titled 'Smellscapes', explores the landscapes of smell which are described as 'fragmentary in space, episodic in time' and often 'identifiable with place'. By utilising the insider : outsider antinomy 'formalised' by Relph (1976) (see chapter two), Porteous provides support for the importance of the insider (familiar) : outsider (unfamiliar) antinomy in smell perception. According to Porteous (1985 : 360), smells like other 'apparently "non-spatial" senses provide considerable enrichment to our sense of space and the character of place' (see chapter four). Therefore, while one may stand outside a visual landscape, smells environ one, thereby immersing insiders into particular smellscapes. A fish market (or harbour), for instance, possesses a distinctive and identifiable collection of smells: fresh and curing fish, sea salt, tar and oil. Consequently, smells are learned as part of the everyday lifeworld. As a result odorous descriptions tend to be the work of outsiders:

**The howling, reeking bazaars, where every smell known to the East was mingled in one magnificent ripe stink of rotting fruit and dust and dung and curry powder and wet plaster and no plumbing and ancient filthy habits (Ruark, 1964 : 149; quoted in Porteous, 1985 : 363).**

In terms of spontaneous perception therefore, sensescapes allow for a perceptual appreciation of space, thereby 'subjectively centr[ing]' people's space (Norberg-

Schultz, 1971 : 18). These centres of subjective space are 'externalised' as points of reference in the environment, thereby representing something known and valued. This in turn can, and does (as will be discussed in chapters four and seven), give rise to a sense of social and cultural belonging and ultimately lead to the creation of a 'sense of place' (Johnston, 1986), given the intersubjectivity of spatial experience. Jackson (cited in Zube, 1970 : 82) expressed it in the following way:

Our basic concept of the world, of the environment, comes through our senses, and it is by means of the senses that we judge whether it is good or bad. The environment must of course be designed to promote harmonious social relationships, just as it must be designed to promote our physical well-being, but it must also be designed to stimulate our sight and hearing and sense of touch and smell.

Whereas senses assist in enhancing people's experiential appreciation and understanding of unique spaces, everyday social interaction effectively reinforces the establishment of unique places. As the 'repository of specific social values' (Jones, 1984 : 6), place is established once people invest a particular locale with their values and time (as will be described in chapter four). Jones (1984) emphasises the importance of 'specific place' as a location invested with specific social values and thus worthy of study. For instance, the notion of home as the centre of one's world and territorial core (Porteous, 1976) best characterises the emotional investment made in place by the individual or group. Associated with the creation of a 'sense of place' and with the structuring (or centring) of space, is the notion of territoriality (Johnston, 1986); a conception particularly useful in understanding the inshore fishermen's attachment to the Victoria and Alfred harbourscape (see chapter seven). Although most geographical use of this concept has been based on a general analogy with animal behaviour, it is important not to underestimate its significance with respect to human spatial behaviour (see chapter two). Sack (1986 : 2), in his book titled *Human Territoriality Its Theory and History*, emphasises the social use of territory or place saying that it is 'intimately related to how people ... organise themselves in space, and how they give meaning to place'. 'It is', writes Sack, 'the key geographical component in understanding how society and space are interconnected'.

Across a range of scales and spatial forms, places provide people with identity, giving substance to what would otherwise be subjective spatial experience. Thus, it can be said that space and place define each other (ibid, 1977). While space provides place with a framework, place as a unique entity, or 'special ensemble' (Lukermann, 1964 : 70) provides space with meaning and substance.

In keeping with the general argument of this section that place and space are dialectically linked, it can be seen from the above that places can be regarded as the 'basic elements of existential space', being 'experienced as an "inside" in contrast to the surrounding "outside"' (Norberg-Schultz, 1971 : 20). It is important therefore to acknowledge that place(s) and space(s) together assume spatial dimensions that reflect the social significance they have for those that use them (Buttimer, 1980). Although according to Sack (1980) to exist is to take place in relation to space and time, it is only 'from the security and stability of place [that] we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space...' (Tuan, 1977 : 6). The dynamism of the relationship between space and place is best encapsulated by Heidegger (1971 : 16; cited in Norberg-Schultz, 1971 : 28): 'Spaces receive their being from places and not from 'the space'... . [People's] essential relationship to places, and through them to space, consists in place ... the essential property of human existence'. It is this investment of value, notes Jones (1984 : 7), that transforms 'space into a place'.

### **1.3 Early attempts at understanding the concept of place and its importance for people**

Prior to the 1970s, despite the apparent importance of place as one of the central foci in geographical enquiry (Sack, 1980), the notion of place and its corresponding character (or sense) remained abstract, with little if any explicit understanding as to its importance in people's everyday experience. There seems to have been little clear distinction between 'place' and the concepts of 'region', 'area' and 'location' (May, 1970; cited in Johnston, 1983). Geographers seemed content to treat place as 'something intuitively obvious' (Relph, 1976 : 2). Thus, the notion of place within geography remained essentially misunderstood and undervalued except for those geographers engaged in, for instance, chorology and behavioural approaches.

#### **1.3.1 Chorology: focusing on the specificity of place**

Chorology can be characterised as the traditional form of geographical analysis, namely regional geography. By linking space and substance, chorology succeeded in making 'place more specific and subjective' (Sack, 1980 : 86). Chorologists went beyond scientific generalisations in connecting space and substance by focusing on the specificity of place. Hartshorne (1939), for example, actively espoused his belief in the fundamental status of the concept of place in geography.

But as intimated above, conventional chorological analysis and synthesis (especially the geography espoused by Hartshorne) essentially rejected the subjective and aesthetic understanding of place within geographical interpretation (Unwin, 1992). In response to the rejection of overt subjectivism, several cultural and historical geographers took up the concepts of the behavioural or perceived environments (Gold, 1980). Among the former was a British (later Australian) geographer, Brookfield. He had the following to say when reviewing work by cultural geographers:

A difference of approach is apparent between those who have an overtly chorographic purpose, who scarcely ever seek explanations in matters such as human behaviour, attitudes and beliefs, social organisation, and the characteristics and interrelationships of human groups, and those whose inquiries are not primarily chorographic, and who are more inclined to undertake a search for processes as a means of reaching explanation (Brookfield, 1964 : 283).

### 1.3.2 Behavioural geography: focusing on the behaviour of people in place

Behavioural geography as the geographical expression of 'behaviouralism' expanded rapidly after the early 1960s. Building on the cultural geography developed under Sauer at Berkeley (Unwin, 1992), geographers such as White (1947), Kirk (1952), Brookfield (1964), Saarinen (1969), Golledge *et al* (1972) and Gold (1980), sought to 'rehumanise' human geography by focusing on human perception and human behaviour. Although initially undertaken within the framework of logical positivism, behaviouralism spearheaded a change to research which emphasised the 'subjective component of human spatial existence' (Golledge and Stimson, 1987 : 1). The rationale was expressed in the idea that people, through their daily activities, 'injected' life into the objective form of their social space (or place).

The behaviouralists attempted to rectify the socio-spatial imbalance caused by the 'spatial separatists' (Sack, 1974), by focusing upon processes rather than form, the intention being to obtain a fuller understanding of the ways in 'which people came to terms with their physical and social milieux' (Gold, 1980 : 4). By adopting a process-oriented behavioural approach, geographers attempted to identify the temporal behavioural processes of people within the total environment (both physical and natural) and not the spatial phenomena themselves. According to Golledge and Stimson (1987 : 5-6) the behavioural approach:

...incorporates the belief that the physical elements of existing and past spatial systems represent the manifestations of a myriad of past and present decision-making behaviour by individuals, groups and institutions in society. The

**outcomes are the observable landscapes and built environments that comprise a system or set of systems and the spatial behaviours that occur within them.**

By approaching behaviour from the viewpoint that researchers as well as the researched are individuals, behavioural geographers placed greater emphasis on the distinctive and value-laden nature of world views (Gold, 1980). The intention was to understand 'the dialectical relation between humanity and the realities in which they lived' (Golledge and Stimson, 1987 : 4).

By utilising techniques and conceptual frameworks supplied by psychology and sociology (Goodey and Gold, 1985), behavioural and perceptual geographers initially directed their research toward an understanding of the so-called 'pictures in the head', 'mental images' or 'urban images' (Canter, 1977 : ix), held by decision-makers concerning environmental hazards. For instance, Kates (1962; cited in Johnston, 1983), a major exponent of the behavioural approach, studied flood-plain management, developing a schema of behaviours which stressed the subjective nature of rationality regarding landuse decisions. Active within the wider human geography, behavioural geographers succeeded in integrating the diverse nature of their work into the basic framework of human-environment relations. Apart from providing behavioural geographers with a useful tool in the analysis of people's daily activities within particular environments, the human-environment relation framework also stressed the objective (or structural) and behavioural (or subjective) environments of which the individual is simultaneously a part (see also chapter two). By broadening the concept of the environment (or space) to include the social environment (or place), behaviouralists across the disciplinary spectrum have shed light on the impact of environmental modification on people (Gold, 1980; Buttner, 1980; Gold and Burgess, 1982). This work is particularly useful in understanding the impact of the spatial restructuring on the inshore fishing community being studied (described in chapter seven).

Because the intention of many early behavioural geographers (particularly during the 1960s) was to reduce 'subjective states of decision-making into objective states' (Sack, 1980 : 96), the behavioural approach did not bring about a revolution away from the spatial-science ethos (Johnston, 1983). Although useful in that it focused on the individual, behaviouralism failed, at least initially, to move beyond the spatial aspect of behaviour. Rushton (1969), for example, argued that behaviour remained largely a function of the spatial structure; what he termed 'behaviour in space'. Thus, in attempting to objectify the subjective point of view of people, behavioural geographers inadvertently fell into the same trap (i.e. overlooking the

interplay between structure and human agency) as the positivists. As in the classical social science view from which they evolved (Johnston, 1983), they too overemphasised the spatial aspect of behaviour. Sack (1980 : 96-100) explains it as follows:

**From our everyday experiences we know that our cognitives of physical environments often deviate from our real environments. It seems to shrink and expand according to our feelings... Attempts have been made recently to quantify and "objectify" such subjective observations ... in visual map-like form. One of the difficulties in determining the significance of cognitive maps is that ... [t]hey were designed to portray images of places, shapes and distances while leaving the substance content to a minimum or discarding it completely. Hence, there is often a mismatch between the spatial concepts ... and substances on the ground...**

Although useful as an analytical tool, the behavioural approach did not always provide geographers with a better understanding as to people's feelings and possible attachment to shapes and patterns in a particular place. As a result behaviouralism has been referred to as an 'outside approach' (Wagner, 1983 : 11), given its focus on external behaviour alone. Nevertheless, behavioural research was later revived in an alternative approach, time geography (Hägerstrand, 1975). Time geography, which attempted to situate people in both time and space, signalled an early attempt to 'incorporate the knowledgeability of human subjects and the structures of social relations within which their experiences are sustained' (Unwin, 1992 : 145). In the context of time geography (and later structuration) the concept of place (or locale) was viewed as both the outcome of wider global processes as well as the framework for everyday social interaction (this is further expounded in chapter two).

#### **1.4 The humanist and structuralist traditions: challenging pre-existing devalued notions of place**

It was mainly as a reaction to the positivist mode of explanation that the humanistic and structuralist approaches of the 1970s and 1980s evolved. Nevertheless, they have increasingly made their own distinctive contributions to the geographical body of knowledge. By 'agree[ing] to dismiss as sterile the over-emphasis on the geometrical configurations of human activity' (Gatrell, 1983 : 5), the humanists and structuralists (although independently) succeeded in unearthing and restoring place as a fundamental 'intra- and inter-disciplinary construct' (Giddens, 1991). Whereas structuralists were and still are dismissive of spatial analysis because it describes only the apparent (or surface) structures (Gatrell, 1983), humanists focused on the people's 'day-to-day experience or lifeworld' (Buttimer, 1976; Seamon, 1979).

Ley (1981b : 250) comments on the development of humanism: 'Rather, in classic opposition between thesis and antithesis, [humanism and structuralism] represented a reaction against the quantitative juggernaut of spatial analysis as it gathered speed in the 1960s'.

#### 1.4.1 Humanism: renewing the study of place and its people

**Humanistic geography achieves an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature ... as well as their feelings and ideas in regard to space and place. ... Scientific approaches to the study of man [sic] tend to minimise the role of human awareness and knowledge (Tuan, 1976 : 266-267).**

The development of the humanistic movement in the 1970s signified the shift away from the 'quantitative juggernaut of spatial analysis' (Ley, 1981) toward a qualitative human geography (Duncan, 1979). Humanism succeeded in highlighting the relation between mind and place (or landscape); a methodological task underpinned by such philosophies of meaning as existentialism and phenomenology. It was the ability to 'draw upon an appropriate philosophical base', argues Ley (1977 : 498), which allowed the humanists of the 1970s 'to engage the distinctive epistemological issues of subjectivity'. The underlying intent of the so-called 'new humanism' (Smith, 1981) was to re-emphasise the richness and variety of people's day-to-day experience (Ley and Samuels, 1978) and to study the importance of place or locale within these experiential contexts (Relph, 1976). The intention was to provide a geography of the 'complete' human being.

Although diverse in nature, literature generated by the humanistic geographers during the 1970s succeeded in focusing upon the way humans interacted with their surroundings (Ley, 1980). Yet it was this diversity of research, stressing as it did anthropocentrism, holism and intersubjectivity (Ley and Samuels, 1978) which provided humanism with a seemingly esoteric and descriptive character (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984). Nevertheless, these principles strengthened rather than weakened the interpretation of places, providing insights into interactions between people and their places (Eyles, 1985). However, before proceeding with an examination of place as humanistic conception, it is necessary to address briefly the philosophies which underpin geographical humanistic approaches to the study of place (and people). Three philosophies, namely phenomenology, existentialism and existential phenomenology, will be focused upon.

#### 1.4.1.1 Foundational humanistic philosophies

The phenomenological perspective which Husserl introduced was designed 'to disclose the world as it shows itself before scientific enquiry, as that which is pre-given and presupposed by the sciences' (Pickles, 1985 : 3). Phenomenology, defined as a 'way of being', thus opposed scientific method which can be described as 'a way of doing' (Relph, 1981). By concentrating on the 'way of being', Husserlian phenomenology focused attention on people's lived-world, a notion sometimes referred to by Husserl as *Lebenswelt* (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984). However, by emphasising this pure reflection in the pursuit of essences, Husserl made it extremely difficult for researchers to adopt his approach. '[I]t is scarcely surprising', writes Gregory (1978 : 125-126), 'that where geographers have aligned themselves with Husserl's project their efforts have been directed towards the destruction of positivism as a *philosophy* rather than the construction of a phenomenologically sound *geography*'.

Rather than adopt Husserl's transcendental formulation of phenomenology (with its emphasis on essences), geographers such as Tuan (1974), Relph (1976), Buttner (1976) and Ley (1977; 1978), turned to Schutz's (1967) constitutive phenomenology. Constitutive phenomenology spoke less of attempting to transcend everyday life 'and more in terms of studying the everyday meanings etched on the lifeworlds of particular people, societies or cultures' (Cloke *et al.*, 1991 : 73). To this end, geographical researchers adopted a method of interpretive understanding or *verstehen* (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984) in an attempt 'to re-enact or empathise with the thoughts and feelings of those whose activities are to be understood' (Eyles, 1985 : 49). The best known practical applications of constitutive phenomenology (Schutz, 1967) in geographical research are Tuan's (1974) *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* and Relph's (1976) *Place and Placelessness*. These works sought to uncover and describe people and their experiences within what Kirk (1963 : 366) termed the 'phenomenal environment'; an environment unique to every individual. Moreover, by focusing on what Relph (1981) refers to as the 'pre-intellectual life-world', human geographers attempted to reformulate alternative ways of explaining the manifestations of sense of place, landscape appreciation, and the taken-for-granted world (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984). These concepts form the foundation for an evolving geographical humanistic theory.

Existentialism as a philosophy is most closely identified with Jean-Paul Sartre. Although similar to phenomenology insofar as it also seeks to understand the relationship between being (reality and material condition) and consciousness (image and mind) (Samuels, 1978), existentialism differs from phenomenology in that it focuses on human existence rather than abstract 'essence'. Sartre (1948 : 26) essentially summarised existentialism by the phrase 'existence comes before essences'. Existentialism therefore places the human subject at centre-stage. In so doing, the philosophy succeeds in emphasising the 'subjectivity' and 'freedom' of human beings. For Samuels (1978), however, existentialism allows for the integration of the 'subject' with the geographical foci of space and place:

...existential space involves the making of distance. Any spatial projection, including the projections of geometric analysis, is an example of existential space. But what the latter takes for granted (i.e., the fact of projection from someone), existential analysis elucidates. At root, existential space (meaning and spatial projection) is nothing more than the *assignment of place*.

Thus, in Samuels' (1978) view the appeal of existentialism lies in its ability to combine the geometric models of Bunge (1962), Chorley and Haggett (1967) and Berry (1972) with Tuan's (1974) *Topophilia*. In this way, existentialism 'attempts to restore the concrete, immediate experience of existence to a position of prominence in the study of man [sic]-environment interaction' (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984 : 158).

Moreover, 'existentialism also involves a basic concern with the realities of human condition, and as influenced by Marx, with the problem of alienation' (Unwin, 1992 : 148). By raising questions about the relationship between the human subject and his or her historical and geographical existence, existentialism has been able to address central issues of *alienation* and *belonging*. As Cloke *et al* (1991 : 76) argue, 'people are therefore engaged in a constant striving to "make things meaningful" so as to fill the "existential void" (the complete lack of meaning) at the heart of the human condition'. Existentialism therefore raises one's awareness of the dialectical nature of the human-environment interaction. Samuels (1981 : 119) eloquently captures this dialectic when he says: 'What distance necessitates (detachment), relation fulfills (belonging)'. Nevertheless, despite an attempt to examine issues of 'uprootedness' and/or 'rootedness' (in place and space) of, for instance, alcoholics (Godkin, 1980), and people in general (Samuels, 1978; 1981), existentialism has had a limited impact on geographic discourse except as critique of logical positivism. According to Walmsley and Lewis (1984 : 158), this can be attributed to the fact that 'many ... still see existentialism as anti-intellectual

philosophy on the grounds that one of its central tenets holds that reality and existence can only be experienced through living and cannot therefore be made the object of thought'. Nonetheless, the existential perspective, with its focus on the meaning of human life within the context of the everyday world (Buttimer, 1976), still remains highly significant to human geographers in general, and the geographic humanistic approach in particular.

Rather than apply each of the abovementioned philosophies independently, geographers have endeavoured to use a combination of the phenomenological method with the importance of understanding people in their existential worlds. The result has been the development of a hybrid philosophy, existential phenomenology (Jackson and Smith, 1984). This 'new' philosophy, it can be argued, has been born out of geographers' attempts to enhance their understanding of people and places. Existential phenomenology, being less obscure than their respective pure philosophical formats, has encouraged humanistic geographers to rethink the ways in which they studied the basic geographical concepts of people and place. What has surfaced as a result is, as Cloke *et al* (1991 : 81) put it, the 'genuine concern for the more "everyday geographies" of the places in which we live and labour: for the houses, streets, factories, offices, schools, fields, parks, cinemas and so on where we spend most of our days, and about which we unavoidably develop a *sense of place*...'.

In so doing, humanistic geographers have attempted to extract those 'transcendental' (universal, timeless, placeless) essences contained in people's experience of space, place and the environment. However, this necessitated the development and utilisation of existential phenomenological conceptions of 'intersubjectivity' and 'lifeworld' (Jackson and Smith, 1984). These concepts found wide application within humanistic geography (see chapter one). But more importantly, the increase in the geographically based and philosophically informed humanistic literature did much in the way of 'sensitising numerous researchers ... to the everyday and yet often quite intimate attachments all sorts of people ... have to the places that encircle them' (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 81). The result of this was the emergence of an innovative and informative approach: geographical humanism (Ley, 1981).

Like the philosophy (existential phenomenology) on which it is based, 'geographical humanism' has endeavoured to make its own unique contribution by discarding 'the strait-jackets of pre-existing philosophical positions' (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 81). 'Geographical humanism', therefore, signalled an attempt by geographers to

construct a phenomenologically and existentially sound geography (Gregory, 1978). Rather than concentrating on the humanity of the researcher, geographical humanism shifted the emphasis to the people the researchers studied. In effect, the geographical humanistic approach provided a framework for the existing, yet ill-defined, *geographical phenomenology* (Relph, 1976 and Pickles, 1985) and *geographical existentialism* (Samuels, 1981) which were to be found within humanistic geography in the 1970s and early 1980s. Yet, in the final analysis, the geographical humanistic approach represents a reformulation of humanistic practice. Put another way (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 83), the strength of 'geographical humanism' can be said to lie:

...largely in the recasting of philosophical concerns to cope with the "real" complexities of everyday attachments between "real" peoples and "real" places. And this "recasting" might be seen as an escape from the tyranny of foundational philosophies that is itself necessitated by a need to deal directly with the geography of peoples and places...

#### 1.4.1.2 Place, a key building block in the humanist approach

Ley's (1978 : 50) identification of place as one of the three building blocks of humanistic geography offers the greatest insights into an otherwise undervalued and misunderstood geographical approach. Coupled to the anthropocentrism (one of the primary humanist building blocks) implicit in most humanistic geographical literature (Ley, 1981b), was the focus on people's daily experiences in space and place. Whereas behaviouralists focused almost exclusively upon the individual (Ley, 1980), humanists endeavoured to understand people within their social context (Ley and Samuels, 1978). According to Ley (1977 : 499) 'meanings and attitudes generated via experience are rarely fully private, but are invariably shared and reinforced' by groups of people in identical or similar social and geographical contexts. This is particularly true of the inshore fishing community who, as will be seen in chapter seven, display a distinctive collective attitude to both inshore fishing as well as to the V&A Harbour as the traditional site of that activity.

This second humanistic building block in geography, viz. intersubjectivity as the inherent social nature of experience (Ley, 1978), has also received considerable attention. By studying intersubjective social conventions, humanistic geographers attempted to elucidate people's relations in place; a group-centred realm characterised as the 'lifeworld' (Husserl, 1931). Although the individual may experience the environment via his or her senses (see section 1.2.2. above), he or

she becomes submerged within a lifeworld shared by the group. Ley (1977 : 505) elaborates:

**Each individual has a history and a geography which imposes constraints within his [or her] lifeworld... [Within this] everyday life are forces internal to the life-world of the individual and group. In the process of group consolidation its collective view of the world becomes more telling on the individual, as he [sic] becomes successively more 'included' within it. So too his [or her] action becomes increasingly identified with group norms ... a reality which becomes socially defined and may appear quite eccentric to the outsider who does not share its taken-for-granted norms.**

In attempting to understand people's lifeworlds and intersubjective realities, humanistic geographers turned to philosophies such as phenomenology and existentialism. As discussed in section 1.4.1.1 above, these philosophies (especially phenomenology of Husserl and Schultz) presented many human geographers with a philosophical and methodological alternative (through critique) to the hypothesis-testing and theory-building of positivism (Relph, 1970). Relph (1970 : 193) echoed the phenomenological sentiments of the time by saying that 'all knowledge proceeds from the world of experience and cannot be independent of that world'. Or in other words: 'We live in a world of buildings, streets, sunshine and rainfall and other people with all their sufferings and joys, and we know intersubjectively the meanings of these things and events' (Relph, 1981 : 109).

However, it was Yi-Fu Tuan (1971), who provided 'phenomenological' impetus to the study of people's 'subjective' worlds within humanistic geography. He labelled geography as the 'mirror' which reflects and reveals that which is 'taken-for-granted' in everyday life (Tuan, 1971). In his own eloquent fashion, Tuan (1971, 1974, 1976 etc) particularly in his earlier works, set about systematising the pre-intellectual or sensory experience which manifests itself in space and place. As a result much of his work in the 1970s explored themes related to people's attachment to place (e.g. Tuan, 1977). Similarly, humanistic geographers such as Buttimer (1976), Ley (1977) and Seamon (1979) also made major contributions to the study of people's experiences in place. Whereas Buttimer (1976) and Ley (1977) helped to direct geographers' attention to the notion of intersubjectivity and the concept of the lifeworld, principally from a phenomenological point of view, Seamon (1979) went beyond the epistemological rhetoric of the time by operationalising the phenomenological approach through his 'environmental experience groups' (akin to workshops). By focusing on the concept of 'place ballet' symbolising the integration of gestures and movements (body-ballet) with habitual bodily behaviours which extend through time (or time-space routines), Seamon (1979 : 54-55)

highlighted the geographical basis of human environmental experience. People (like the inshore fishermen of this study) find themselves immersed in time, space and, most importantly, place. Place ballets, therefore, represent those emotions and feelings associated with place which are most commonly 'taken-for-granted' (ibid, 1979). It is only through appreciating people's attachment and rootedness in place that the researcher can become attuned to their lifeworlds.

Thus, it follows from the above that the third and final building block within humanistic geography is the overarching concept of place (Ley, 1978). Place signified a shift to a more explicit humanistic geography characterised by a content focus on the subjective ties between humans and their surroundings (Rowntree, 1987). It effectively allowed humanists to operationalise aspects of humanistic epistemology, two of which (i.e. anthropocentrism and intersubjectivity) have been mentioned above, by linking empirical and experiential dimensions of place. This gave rise to the notion 'sense of place' (Johnston, 1986); an established theme in cultural/humanistic geography and, more importantly, a central conception in the interpretation of the inshore fishermen's everyday lifeworld (contained in chapter seven).

#### 1.4.1.3 Towards an objective and subjective understanding of place

As a fundamental element in the 'taken-for-granted' world (ibid, 1986), 'place' and its inherent 'sense' or meaning provided humanists with a viable relational context (see chapter two). 'To speak of a place', states Ley (1977), 'is not to speak of an object alone, but of an image and an intent, of a landscape'. However, based on my own survey of humanistic geographical literature, most work during the 1970s and early 1980s relating to the sense of place was, as Relph (1976 : 6) so aptly states, predicated on the axiom that 'places are indeed a fundamental aspect of most existence in the world, ... they are sources of security and identity for individuals and for groups of people'.

From the plethora of humanistic literature of the time, several authors (Edward Relph; Yi-Fi Tuan; David Ley; Anne Buttimer; David Seamon) stand apart from the rest in having phenomenologically focused on experience in geographic space. In his doctoral thesis on *Place and Placelessness*, for instance, Edward Relph (1976) unearths the sense and identity of place in the human 'lived-world' as well as the destruction of these lifeworlds through the growing placelessness of modern design (see chapter two). By far the most important aspect of this work was the

constructive use of the insider-outsider distinction in understanding place in terms of meanings. To avoid duplicating the discussion of this concept, which is found in the next chapter, suffice it say that the insider-outsider dialectic highlights the inseparably and interwoven nature of the place-related concepts of 'identity' and 'sense'. 'It is not just the identity of a place that is important', writes Relph (1976 : 45), 'but also the identity that a person or group has with that place, in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or as an outsider'. This insider-outsider concept was especially helpful in depicting the incongruity of attitudes between the inshore fishing community and V&AW developers and planners regarding both the aesthetic and functional significance of the Victoria and Alfred Harbour (as discussed in chapter seven).

Linked to the study of 'sense of place' during the 1970s and early 1980s was the growing awareness among humanists of the destruction of place authenticity, mainly due to inappropriate and technique-dominated (or modernist) planning (see chapter two). Alarmed by what he referred to as the 'inauthentic attitude towards places...[or] "placelessness"', Relph (1976 : 90) (like Buttimer (1978)) focused academic attention upon the increasing loss of place diversity and with it human attachment and rootedness. Referring to 'places of technique' as the expression of 'selfconscious inauthenticity', Relph (1976 : 87) questions those assumptions implicit in physical and social planning, namely 'that space is uniform and objects and activities can be manipulated and freely located within it'. By rendering place creation abstract, planners and developers can proceed to create places in a detached manner 'because any empathetic feeling he [sic] may have possessed is lost outside the scope of the tunnel vision forced upon him by his methodology' (Pawley, 1971 : 92). The result, states Ley (1977 : 508), is 'dehumanised urban settings [which] comprise little more than space, little more than geometry; [and which] excite no commitment, ... not "for" a collectivity'.

Given the narrowness of such an approach, certainly in the context of place, it is clear that planning principles and techniques need to be used with greater sensitivity (Relph, 1976). Anne Buttimer (1978) argues that in planning places, two complementary views must be considered: the place in itself as a lifeworld for residents and users (the insider's view) and the place beyond itself as it has links with the wider socio-economic milieu (the outsider's view) (see discussion in chapter two). Thinking retrospectively about the investigation she conducted into the effects of renewal programmes upon Glasgow housewives (ibid, 1972), she warns of the danger of unintentionally manipulating one's subjects. A geographer,

therefore, sensitised to insiders' and outsiders' experience of place, and aware of the importance of place within their own life experience (ibid, 1980), could aid consciousness-raising efforts among both resident insiders and managerial outsiders (ibid, 1978). Sporting articles by such notables as Anne Buttimer, Graham Rowles, Mick Godkin, Bobby Wilson and David Seamon, the book titled *The Human Experience of Space and Place*, edited by Buttimer and Seamon (1980), attempted to re-emphasise that 'people are as much geographical beings as they are social, cultural, or economic' (Seamon, 1980 : 194). Whether focusing upon the insider-outsider dialectic (Buttimer, 1978), elucidating notions of rootedness and uprootedness among alcoholics (Godkin, 1980), or promoting understanding through 'symbolic interaction' (Wilson, 1980) and everyday environmental experience (Seamon, 1980), each of the abovementioned articles collectively focused upon a lifeworld. The common concern among these geographers (as among later postmodernists) was to avoid *a priori* theoretical structures, thereby allowing the lifeworld to emerge. 'The examination of the lifeworld', states Seamon (1980 : 191), 'is significant to geographic research because it reveals dimensions of daily living which people normally take for granted'. This collection of works, through focusing upon various lifeworlds, encouraged greater openness, understanding and awareness among people regarding their links with space and place, thus providing alternatives to the existing planning and policy function.

In reaction to criticism that humanistic geography is concerned with relatively trivial matters and not with the major concerns of an applied geography, Relph (1981 : 139) likened applied geography to 'geographism' which represents 'the view that people should behave rationally in geographical, two-dimensional space ... that cities and industries and transportation routes [i.e. places] should be arranged in the most efficient way'. 'Geographism', when translated into planning terms will, according to Relph (1981 : 141), 'diminish the distinctiveness and individuality of ... communities and places ... [thereby] breed[ing] uniformity and placelessness'. Thus, for Relph (1981), planning should emphasise subjectivity and individuality. Planning must therefore be allied with 'environmental humility'; 'a direction for a way of thinking ... that respects what there is in [place] and seeks to protect and even enhance ... its essential character' (ibid, 1981 : 19).

#### 1.4.1.4 The critique of humanistic geography

Increasingly towards the late 1970s and early 1980s humanistic geography was criticised (both from outside and within) for its overly philosophical nature. By

concentrating on humanism as critique to logical positivism, humanists essentially relegated 'methodology [and empirical expressions] to a secondary consideration' (Unwin, 1992 : 150). A former proponent of the humanistic paradigm, Edward Relph (1981 : 17), while acknowledging humanism's 'once ... constructive and viable philosophical position', criticised it for having become 'tarnished and inclined to vitiate its own principles'. Like the positivist paradigm it opposed, humanism (through its humanistic literature) had itself sought to impose its particular theoretical and philosophical positions on the world (Unwin, 1992).

Humanistic geography, while having taken up the gauntlet of place which had been discarded in the 1950s and 1960s in favour of spatialism, failed, especially in the early 1970s, to move beyond critique to a practical appreciation of the world. Consequently, humanism (like structuralism), despite having played a pioneering role in re-establishing place within mainstream human geography, did little (at least initially) to link place to wider socio-spatial structures, except for hinting at the existence of structural imperatives.

Places are not abstractions or concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived world and hence are full of meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing [structural changes]. ... Indeed our relationships with places are just as necessary ... as our relationships with other people (Relph, 1976 : 141).

Of particular concern to human geographers such as Entrikin (1976), Gibson (1978) and Ley (1980) was the central paradigmatic principle, anthropocentrism, which underpinned humanistic understanding and explanation. 'In retrieving man [sic] from the virtual oblivion in positivist science', states Ley (1981b : 252), 'humanists have tended to celebrate the restoration perhaps too much'. While meanings and values have tended to be overstated, important issues such as context, constraint and social stratification have been underdeveloped (Cosgrove, 1978 ; Ley, 1978). This in turn has led to a preoccupation with perception and meaning rather than with context (Ley, 1981a).

#### **1.4.2 Radical geography as critique to positivism**

Paralleling the development of the abovementioned geographical humanist tradition in the 1970s and 1980s was what has been called the 'radical tradition' (Peet, 1977). The radical tradition grew out of a discontent with existing positivist geographical analyses. The result was a search for alternative, more socially responsible, perspectives of geographical enquiry. These perspectives initially took

their direction from Marxist political economy, but soon diversified their focus to a consideration of other structuralist approaches such as Althusser's structural Marxism (Castell, 1977) and Harvey's (1973) historical materialism.

#### 1.4.2.1 Marxist geography as the basis for a structuralist alternative

Initially established as an oppositional critique to the limitations and excesses of spatialism, Marxism within human geography set about studying the 'economic and political constraints imposed upon spatial patterns by the way in which society worked' (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 28). Evolving Marxist approaches drew on the writings of Karl Marx which focused on the inequalities inherent within the political economy of a society. Without becoming entangled in a lengthy exposition of Marxist thought, it should be pointed out that most Marxist accounts assessed the inequalities of the capitalist system; a politico-economic system which dissected society into classes (labour and capital) of unequal power, wealth and property (ibid, 1991). The fundamental division in society lay between capitalists, who owned the means of production (land, machinery and buildings for instance), and those who had nothing but their labour to offer capitalists. Through the Marxist method of historical materialism, geographers have been able to understand the economic structure of society which in turn finds expression in the legal, social and political superstructure (ibid, 1992). Yet, within this context, not only are people viewed as object (or commodity) (Unwin, 1992), but place is viewed as little more than the site of production and the relations governing that production.

#### 1.4.2.2 The structuralist alternative: understanding surface phenomena (such as place or space) through their underlying structures

By the early 1980s the initial engagement of geographers with Marxist theory had developed into a far more substantive socio-spatial theory incorporating varieties of structuralism (Cloke *et al*, 1991). Structuralism not only offered geographers another range of conceptions to counter the empiricism of logical positivism, but focused their attention on the underlying structures which are assumed to determine observable phenomena in the real world (Unwin, 1992). Whereas economic, political and social structures were described in order to explain surface phenomena such as cities, the spatial distribution of those cities (and multiple places) was explained through transformations in the underlying structures (ibid, 1992). However, just as humanism was derided for overlooking the importance of structures in human intentionality, structuralism was criticised (both from inside and

outside) for disregarding individual human agency. For instance, Thompson (1978) argued that structural Marxism effectively reduced individuals' actions and interactions to that of passive carriers of structural logic. Duncan and Ley (1982 : 54) elaborate:

The intersection of human geography with structural Marxism has led to a passive model of man [sic] that is conservative and results in an obfuscation of the processes by which human beings can and do change the world. Furthermore, philosophical holism is extremely difficult to apply in empirical research, the result being that in some cases the explanations are totally inadequate with causal power attributed to abstract mental constructions, while in other cases theoretical structures are almost completely divorced from the empirical analysis.

Thus, by the mid-1980s humanist and structuralist critiques of logical positivism had provided powerful (although flawed) arguments for the rejection of a conceptualisation of geography as spatial science (Unwin, 1992). Moreover, each tradition has in turn developed its own distinctive theoretical positions on the epistemological issues of human agency (humanism) and structure (structuralism). The resultant fragmentation of existing disciplinary approaches has encouraged a greater eclecticism (during the 1980s and 1990s) in place-related literature. Through deconstruction of traditional (humanist and structuralist) notions of place, geographers have been able to (re)construct poststructural perspectives of place; perspectives which address issues of contextuality, structure and human agency.

### **1.5 Poststructuralism and the postmodern landscape**

The major impact of both structuralist and humanistic works in human geography was, to a considerable extent, as critique; laying bare the dehumanising nature of positivism. According to Harvey (1973 : 145) however, structuralism and humanism failed to bring about the revolution in geographical practice for which some had hoped. This led in the 1980s and early 1990s to a re-evaluation of formerly unquestioned (and seemingly disparate) epistemological and ontological bases within humanism and structuralism (see chapter three). Within this introspective academic atmosphere, the study of place (or locale) has been taken in exciting and challenging new directions both within the discipline of geography (Jackson, 1984, 1986, 1987; Ley, 1981a, 1981b, 1985, 1987; Cosgrove, 1989 etc) and the broader social sciences (Giddens, 1981, 1984 etc). The resultant re-emergence of place provided greater impetus within traditionally place-oriented geographical sub-fields such as regional, social and cultural geography.

Consequently, the basic dimensions of place-based research in the 1980s tended to reflect its varied (and fragmented) epistemological background.

### 1.5.1 Towards a reformulation of traditional approaches to the study of place

Rapidly changing urban and regional systems from the 1970s onwards necessitated researchers situating place within a broader social, political and economic context (see indepth discussion in chapter two). In this way, argues Harvey (1984 : 6), geographers could translate an understanding of the structural dimensions of social change into restructuring (through deconstruction) the 'specifics of what is happening to individuals, groups, classes, and communities at particular places at certain times'. In their social context, places were understood as the level at which social processes are *experienced* (Jackson, 1986). 'All social actions', writes Short (1984 : 2), 'take place in space and our lived experience is not of grand sociological categories but of small-scale places'. In the present study, for instance, an area of approximately 80 hectares, the Victoria and Alfred Docks, forms the backcloth (or place) to the inshore fishing community's everyday experiences, actions and interactions (see chapters four, five and six). But, as alluded to above, places (even small-scale places such as the Victoria and Alfred Harbour) are influenced and transformed by wider economic, political and social processes.

In her work titled *Spatial Divisions of Labour*, Massey (1984 : 51) showed how place is linked to, and influenced by, wider socio-economic processes. By demonstrating the effects of successive capital investment and disinvestment upon local areas, she displays that places are both unique and interdependent. In so doing, Massey (1983, 1984) purposefully emphasises that geography is often constitutive of social and economic processes. She, like others in 'locality research' (see chapter two), focused on the specificity of place and its significance to the process of capitalist restructuring (Massey, 1993). As a result, a great deal of human geographical literature during the 1980s was geared to understanding the local impact of structural changes. Authors like Robinson and Sadler (1985) and McDowell and Massey (1984) have, for example, gone some way towards showing how the geography of production affects the structuring of social relations in place; thereby creating places of 'local uniqueness' (McDowell and Massey, 1984 : 137). For Massey (1984 : 299-300):

**Local uniqueness matters. Capitalist society, it is well-recognised, develops unevenly. The implications are twofold. It is necessary to unearth the common processes, the dynamic capitalist society, beneath the unevenness, but**

is also necessary to recognise, analyse and understand the complexity of the unevenness of it all.

Thus as Rowntree (1987 : 561) points out, these (and other) authors have challenged pre-existing structuralist perspectives (of place) by helping to 'shift the emphasis from the implied unidirectionality of structuralism to a less deterministic interactivity between humans and their social structures in specific contexts'.

Central to the formulation of this socio-spatial notion of place in the 1980s has been the deconstruction of the concept of landscape (Cosgrove, 1989). Of particular interest to social and cultural geographers were the processes that transformed (and continue to transform) traditional landscapes such as the old Victoria and Alfred Docklands, the site of this study (see chapter five). Much of this literature has focused on the recycling and upgrading of relict and redundant landscapes in downtown areas of modern cities (Dear, 1988; Short, 1989a; Hough, 1990); thereby creating what some authors (Soja, 1989; Harvey, 1989) describe as postmodern landscapes (see chapter two). The creation of these new revamped landscapes of 'consumption' (Cosgrove, 1989), along with their obvious and far-reaching impacts upon place and people, has stimulated research into gentrification. David Ley (1987, 1989; Ley and Olds, 1988), one of the most notable contributors to this research, has played a pioneering role in exposing the spatial and cultural discontinuities which have developed as middle classes (or gentrifiers) move back into inner city areas. For, as Mills (1988), in his paper '**Life on the upslope**' argues, gentrifiers not only maintain the form of the original landscape, but also tend to discard the content of modern culture creating in essence their own cultural landscapes. This (post)modernist culture is best captured by Mills' (1988 : 194) description of the opening of a new inner-city apartment development:

**Launching a new development becomes a celebratory event, complete with free chocolates, hot air balloons, and a colour-coordinated (with the stucco) pop group playing all the 'baby-boomer' classics - a sad echo of the festival of youth rebellion of the 1960s.**

Thus, while focusing on the uniqueness of these postmodern places (or landscapes), many analyses of gentrification have tended to hinge on the intersection of culture and capital (Jackson, 1984). Drawing on the theory of uneven development (Smith, 1984, 1986 etc), for instance, geographers have shown how rounds of successive investment (and disinvestment) bring about the decline and eventual restructuring of inner city urban places (further discussed in chapter two). In this way, geographers, apart from linking place to wider capital processes, have also

established place as context for those processes. Similarly, in chapters two and five of this study, I examine the significance of these wider capitalist processes in the spatial and morphological development, redundancy and restructuring of dockland places in general and the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in particular.

Place, and its internal social, political and economic processes, has also become the focus of attention in itself. Whereas geographers such as Cybriwsky and Western (1982), for instance, have studied the role of the public sector in facilitating urban change, others like Sack (1988) have focused attention on place as the most obvious dimension of the postmodern landscape, consumerism. Using place as context, Sack (1988 : 642) attempts to understand 'how our everyday acts as consumers mediate between ... "places of consumption" and [those] places consumed "en masse"'. Thus places, especially from a structuralist perspective, are particularly important as the site where capital, state and local community interact (Short, 1984).

Yet another important, new and challenging area of empirical analysis (and reformulation) is the notion 'politics of place' (Jackson, 1987). This concept provides an effective means whereby political issues (such as community struggle and resistance) rooted in geographical contexts (such as waterfront places) can be studied, as in this dissertation. According to Jackson (1986 : 122) the 'rediscovery' (or reformulation) of place 'requires a sensitivity to the political significance of regional distinctiveness'. Works dealing with politics and place range in scale from nationalism (Harvey, 1985 and Smith, 1986) to neighbourhood conflict (Hall, 1982; Uzzell, 1982; Kemp, 1986; Smith, 1986).

Contrary to the behavioural approaches of the past, research into the 'politics of neighbourhood change' (Jackson, 1987) and conflict during the 1980s has raised fresh and interesting issues; issues relating to gender (Lauria and Knopp, 1985), urban crime (Eyre, 1986) and resident participation within local planning processes (Uzzell, 1982 and Hall, 1982). For example, in passionately argued and insightful essays, Hall (1982) and Uzzell (1982) raise the question of community participation within the politics of planning. By examining 'valued environments' Hall (1982) provided an insider's perspective to the way Portsmouth residents regarded their involvement within existing political institutions and organisations. David Uzzell's (1982) '**Environmental pluralism and participation: a co-orientational perspective**', on the other hand, moves a step further towards understanding how urban residents, planners and politicians perceive and interpret the same

environment. Utilising a co-orientation model, Uzzell (1982 : 189) successfully analyses the 'plurality of perspectives' held by the planners and residents on Fiary Ward, an inner-urban environment in Guildford. This work is particularly pertinent when seen in the context of the present study, a study which assesses the attitudes and perspectives of the inshore fishing community and V&AW developers (and planners) to the restructuring of the Victoria and Alfred Dockland. By focusing on what has recently been referred to as the 'politics of identity' (Keith and Pile, 1993), geographers in mainstream discourse have come to recognise (and debate) places not just as fixed and passive spaces, but as locations of struggle, resistance and identity.

Despite the preoccupation of geographers with locating place/space in context (be it social, political or economic), the notion 'sense of place' (as originally introduced by the humanists of the 1970s) has remained an important focus of empirical endeavour during the 1980s (and 1990s). While humanistic geographers have continued to investigate people's 'sense of place' (Jackson, 1986), they continue to do so within the framework of everyday reality (and material existence); an existence which includes structures, mechanisms and forces. Of particular note in this regard, is John Eyles' (1985) book, *Senses of Place*, in which he relates senses of place (agency) to material conditions of life (structure). Eyles' (1985, 1989) work, like that of Gregory (1984, 1986, 1989a, 1989b etc) and Pred (1984, 1989, 1990 etc), raises important questions concerning the traditional theoretical conceptions of human agency and structure, further pursued in chapter two.

### **1.5.2 Structuration, realism and postmodernism: frameworks underpinning and directing the reformulation of the concept of place**

Despite the seemingly fractured nature of place-related analysis, geographers continue to search for an effective theory and philosophy of place that 'neither compromises the autonomy of the individual nor neglects the forces that define and limits human agency' (Jackson, 1987 : 289); in short, what Entrikin (1991) terms the 'betweenness of place'. Increasingly during the 1980s and 1990s, geographers have attempted to establish (although not always successfully) inclusive and dualistic perspectives of place somewhere 'between' the abovementioned particularising humanist and universalising structuralist discourses of place. Specific places are, therefore, not only seen *as* context to peoples' subjective experiences or objective material existence, but also seen *in* the context of broader political and economic processes. Or as Massey (1984 : 300) puts it: 'The challenge is to hold the two

sides together; to understand the general underlying causes while at the same time recognising and appreciating the importance of the specific and the unique'.

As a result, geographers (whether supportive of humanist or structuralist perspectives) have been engaged in debates regarding the reciprocal relationship between society and space (and place). Three approaches have attempted to explain (and direct) the fragmentation and disintegration of human geographical discourse over the past 10 to 15 years, namely structuration, realism and postmodernism. Whereas structuration and realism have sought (and continue to seek) to provide an over-arching theory (or at least a conceptual framework) within which to understand the philosophical and theoretical diversity of the past years (see chapter two), postmodernism has rejected grand theory by stressing academic heterogeneity and difference (Gregory, 1989a).

Through a concept of structuration (see chapter two), Giddens (1979, 1984 etc), a sociologist, has attempted to resolve the tension between structure and human agency in explaining social reality. For geographers, one of the most pertinent features of Giddens's structuration theory is its engagement with Hägerstrands's time geography, which focuses on the significance of time and space to understanding individuals' routine movements (paths) and activities (projects). Apart from Giddens's (1985) attempts to address geographers' traditional concern with space (or place), geographers such as Pred (1984), Duncan (1985) and, in particular, Gregory (1989b, 1990 etc), have introduced the conceptions of structuration to geographical literature. Structuration, while having attempted to construct a grand theory for understanding the interpenetration of human agency and social structure (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989) should, as Cloke *et al* (1991 : 18) contend, be 'regarded as a series of warnings about how not to approach human geography' and its study of place (and space).

Realism, on the other hand, attempts to provide a wholly different foundation to positivism (based as it is on regularity). Drawing upon the realist philosophies of, for example, Bhaskar (1975), Sayer (1984) and more recently Johnston (1991) have introduced realism to human geography. Whilst positivism is grounded in the search for regularity, realism seeks to understand the causality of objects (such as place) and their interactions. Further, through its attention to the significance of space (Sayer, 1984), realism has assisted in combining an interest in places with an evolving 'new regional geography' (Johnston, 1991), which links the place (as object) with other places in the world. This emphasis on place has been given

practical direction through the concept of locality in locality research (Cox and Mair, 1989, Massey, 1993) (further expounded in chapter two). Thus, while realism proposes an 'extra-theoretical reality' (Cloke *et al*, 1991) it, like structuration, draws heavily upon other foundations of enquiry. This eclecticism in effect, then, mirrors (and explains) the fragmentation of approaches to the study of place (and space) in contemporary human geography.

Unlike structuration and realism, postmodernism (as mentioned above) rejects meta-theory in favour of the search for difference (Unwin, 1992). As a result of this celebration of difference, it is difficult to summarise the broad spectrum of ideas (and research) encapsulated in postmodernism. On the one hand, postmodernism has received prominence as a critique of the modernist (and (post)modernist) style(s) of architecture (Harvey, 1989; Soja, 1989); on the other, it challenges the structuralist and functionalist philosophical assumptions of human existence. By encouraging studies in meaning (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Duncan and Duncan, 1988; Olsson, 1991 etc), postmodernism has challenged the attitude of geographers which support grand theories; theories inherently insensitive to the differences between peoples and places (Cloke *et al*, 1991). Thus, while having encouraged diversity in academic research, postmodernism has raised awareness (or sensitivity) to the geographical study of place with all its multiple connotations and meanings. Short (1989a : 86) explains:

By denying the legitimacy of our experiences [geographers] lack the ability to comprehend fully the experiential nature of places. This is not a plea for more behavioural or phenomenological type studies, as many of these have the same exploitative relationship with people and places as more positivist research. To say something about peopling of places we need to allow room for our experience of particular places.

## 1.6 Conclusion

Place, although far from reclaiming the high ground it occupied during the first few decades of twentieth century, has steadily grown in importance as more and more geographers have acknowledged its primacy within people's everyday existence. 'The recognition of place as a category of man's [or woman's] being', writes Pickles (1985 : 108), 'has created of late much uncertainty in the geographical enquiry'. This uncertainty (or fragmentation of study) has encouraged geographers not only to study the specific subjective and objective nature of place, but to link it (and its spatial structure) to wider global processes.

The intention of this chapter has not been to provide a comprehensive literature review. On the contrary, the literature and articles cited above are only meant to illustrate the changing trends in the approach to study of the concept of place. As is stated in the introduction to this chapter, the concept of place is multi-faceted, and failure to understand its various facets can often lead to a distorted or incomplete picture. Despite its somewhat superficial societal interpretation, place (through successive and overlapping theoretical and philosophical approaches) has become the focus of an intense theoretical (structure-agency) debate which continues to unfold in geographical discourse to this day. Place and its multi-connotational character is particularly important when seen in the context of this study; a study which focuses on the Victoria and Alfred Docklands and its inshore fishing community. The Victoria and Alfred Docks must, of necessity, be seen not just as the context of the inshore fishing community's everyday existence (whether materially or otherwise), but as the outcome of broader capitalist processes which continue to shape its present form.

Having raised some of the most important theoretical underpinnings to the study of place, it is imperative that these be addressed in greater detail. In the following chapter I expand and integrate, through the approaches of historical materialism and humanism, the constructs and methodologies of structure and human agency, especially as they relate to docks and dockland redevelopment.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ROLE OF CAPITAL AND COMMUNITY IN UNDERSTANDING PLACE

#### 2.1 Introduction

In chapter one the changing trends in the approach to the concept of place (or social space) within geography were examined. Although essentially a philosophical exposition of human geography, chapter one did offer a cursory and uncritical introduction to key theoretical constructs: the concepts of structure and human agency and their respective (Marxist and humanist) traditions; and the theory of structuration (specifically Giddens's version), with its emphasis on the interconnectivity between structure and human agency, were introduced.

Building upon these preliminary theoretical assertions, this chapter constructs a critical explanation for the redevelopment of urban docklands and waterfronts as the external conditions shaping the lives of particular people living and/or working in the area undergoing restructuring. Once having established a structural (or materialist) explanation for dockland redevelopment, the focus shifts to an examination of the internal understandings and emotional attachments which people hold with respect to their geographical surroundings and the impacts of spatial restructuring upon these understandings and attachments.

The assessment of dockland redevelopment commences with a consideration of the nature of capital, its accumulation process and inherent contradictions. Dockland redevelopment will be examined as an outcome of capitalist economic restructuring. The exposition of economic transformation will address the flexible production process whereby place (dockland) becomes a commodity to be consumed. Having ascertained the material basis for dockland redevelopment, attention turns to an examination of external and local trends and features of port-land redundancy and revitalisation. A model developed by Pinder *et al* (1988) assists in distinguishing between forces and features of general and place-specific significance.

Secondly, having explained the underlying reasons for the structural and spatial transformation of dockland and waterfront precincts, the question of human agency is addressed. Here the chapter will draw on the theoretical discourses of social and humanistic geography. The intention is to highlight how people (given their attachment to place) view and respond to spatial restructuring implicit within dockland redevelopment. This will be achieved through an examination of the concepts of community, territoriality and sense of place.

## **2.2 Port redundancy and redevelopment under capitalism: A Structural Analysis**

For one can hardly look at the world today without perceiving that, at the hands of capital, the last two decades have witnessed an emergent restructuring of geographical space more dramatic than anything before. Deindustrialisation and regional decline, gentrification and extrametropolitan growth, the industrialisation of the Third World and a new international division of labour, intensified nationalism and a new geopolitics of war - these are not separate developments but symptoms of a deeper transformation in the geography of capitalism (Smith, 1984 : xiv).

One of the most significant and wide-ranging 'symptoms' of the 'restructuring of geographical space' is the phenomenon of waterfront redevelopment. These (re)developments reflect a response by capital to offset port redundancy caused by the inability of older port infrastructure to accommodate innovations in maritime technology. In order to fully understand the processes underlying and driving this worldwide phenomenon, this chapter turns to a consideration of the accumulation process inherent within capitalism. Through an exposition of what Smith (1984) refers to as the 'rhythm of accumulation', it will be possible to establish processes of capital and their concomitant pattern of uneven development, which in turn determine and characterise the specific geography of capitalism (Smith, 1984). Moreover, by focusing on the dialectic of capital accumulation and devaluation, we will be able to reveal the basic see-saw processes of capital as it attempts to overcome the immobility of the built environment. In so doing it will be possible to explain the processes which have resulted not only in the abandonment of traditional port and inner city areas but, more recently, in their redevelopment.

### **2.2.1 The laws of capital accumulation**

I begin here by emphasizing the basic logic and general rhythm inherent within the accumulation process (guided as it is by the rate of profit), and continue to outline the

structure of flows of capital within the system of production. This is achieved through an exploration of Harvey's (1982, 1985 and 1989) theory on capital circulation. Dividing capital flows into three circuits, this theory enables one to focus on the dynamic and contradictory character of capital. Yet more specifically, it allows one to trace the formation, devaluation and revitalisation of port structures; an important component of the framework of production.

#### 2.2.1.1 The rhythm of capital accumulation

In order for capital to fulfill its ultimate objective, the achievement of greater profit (or surplus value), there is a continuous investment of capital in the creation of a built environment for production. Synchronised with the cyclical rhythm of capital accumulation, capital investment in the built environment 'forges specific geographical patterns which in turn strongly influence the future agenda of capital accumulation' (Smith, 1984 : 125). 'At any given moment', states Smith (1984 : 125), 'there are capitals being built into the landscape, capitals at every stage of devalorization, devalued elements of fixed capital, and abandoned remnants of capital which have been rendered valueless'. The most systematic attempt to relate the accumulation process to the specific geography of capitalism comes from Harvey. Harvey (1989) has developed 'a cyclical model' of investment in the built environment based on Marx's (1886) theory of capitalist crisis. Harvey (1982, 1989) suggests that one distinguish between primary, secondary and tertiary circuits of the economy when examining capital accumulation. Smith (1984 : 125) elaborates upon these circuits and their interrelatedness:

The primary circuit is the locus of surplus value production and consumption as well as reproduction of labour power; the secondary circuit involves the investment of capital specifically in fixed capital and the consumption fund, part of which goes to the formation of the built environment; and the tertiary is the sphere of investment in science, education, technology, social expenditures and so forth. These circuits are thoroughly integrated and difficult to distinguish absolutely; indeed by the time he completed the *Limits* Harvey dropped the distinction between these circuits in order to emphasize precisely the unity of the process.

#### 2.2.1.2 Harvey's three circuits of capital

As the principal site of surplus value production, consumption and labour power reproduction, the *primary circuit* is understandably driven by capitalists to create surplus value (profit). This is accomplished either by increasing the length of the working day (absolute surplus value), or by reorganising the work process with the

intention of raising the productivity of labour power (relative surplus value) (Harvey, 1989 : 61). 'The capitalist', explains Harvey (1989 : 62), 'captures relative surplus value from the organisation of cooperation and division of labor within the work process or by the application of fixed capital (machinery)'. Yet, in their efforts to sustain accumulation, individual capitalists find themselves faced by overaccumulation of capital with few opportunities to utilise that capital. Herein lies the internal contradiction that exists within the primary circuit.

This tendency toward overaccumulation is temporarily overcome, and a crisis averted, by switching capital into the *secondary and tertiary circuits* (both of which are interrelated). In so doing a wide variety of investment options open to capital. Fixed capital, consumption fund formation, and in the case of the tertiary circuit, investment in science and technology, and 'human capital', are some of the most important options (ibid, 1989 : 68). Once there is a surplus of both capital and labour in excess to the needs of current production and consumption, capital will flow into the formation of long-term (or fixed) assets. Harvey (1989) distinguishes between fixed capital which is enclosed within the production process and that which functions as a physical framework for production (roads, warehouses, wharfs etc.) and consumption (houses, offices, hospitals etc.). It is upon the physical framework for production that our attention is focused.

By investing in the built environment (secondary circuit), capitalists essentially create a physical landscape for purposes of production, circulation, exchange and consumption. Because fixed capital in the built environment is immobile in space, the value incorporated in it cannot be moved without being destroyed. As a result, 'the built environment because of its large-scale and long-lasting nature and tendency to be collectively consumed, tends to be undercapitalised' (Harvey, 1989 : 65). Consequently, individual capitalists are generally reluctant to make such investments. The switching of capital into the built environment is therefore aided by a number of institutions, particularly the credit system and the state (Smith, 1984). Harvey (1989 : 65) explains:

A general condition for the flow of capital into the secondary circuit, is, therefore, the existence of a functioning capital market and, perhaps, a state willing to finance and guarantee long-term, large-scale projects with respect to the creation of the built environment. ... The nature and form of these financial and state institutions and the policies they adopt can play important roles in checking or enhancing flows of capital into the secondary circuit of capital or into certain specific aspects of it (such as transportation, housing, public facilities and so on).

Despite the initial underinvestment in the built environment, a fall in the rate of profit (due to over-accumulation in the primary circuit) expedites the concentration and centralisation of capital in fixed assets, thereby providing further impetus to the accumulation process. 'But', states Harvey (1989 : 70), 'the tendency towards over-accumulation is not eliminated' by switching circuits. Rather, it is altered, 'into a pervasive tendency toward overinvestment in the secondary and tertiary circuits'. Eventually capitalists are faced with a crisis of over-accumulation of capital in the built environment. In what Harvey calls 'switching crises', capital flows are reorganised and restructured in order to open up new channels for productive investment. This is achieved either by 'switching' the allocation of capital from one sector of the urban system (e.g. fixed capital formation) to another (e.g. education), or by 'geographically switching' the capital flow from one place to another (ibid, 1989 : 71). The latter crisis is particularly important in relation to investment in the built environment given that the built environment is 'long-lived, difficult to alter, and spatially immobile' (Harvey, 1989 : 74).

Geographically switching capital from one place to another inevitably results in place-specific devaluation of the built environment. This devaluation of the built environment does not necessarily destroy the use value of the physical resource. Rather, this physical resource can be used as 'devalued capital', and as such functions as a free good that can re-establish the basis of renewed accumulation in the form of further development or redevelopment. Harvey (1989 : 82), commenting on the contradictory character of investments in the built environment, has the following to say regarding the devaluation of fixed assets:

**As a use value the fixed capital cannot easily be altered, and so it tends to freeze productivity at a certain level until the end of the "amortization time" [the lifetime employment of physical assets' use value]. If new and more productive fixed capital comes into being before the old is amortized, then the exchange value still tied up in the old is devalued (Harvey, 1982 : Chapter 8). Resistance to this devaluation checks the rise in productivity and, thus, restricts accumulation. The pursuit of new and more productive forms of fixed capital, however - dictated by the quest for relative surplus value - accelerates devaluations of the old.**

The devaluation (or amortization) of fixed capital, such as port infrastructure, has been greatly accelerated by changes in transportation technology (a component of the third circuit of capital). By examining investment in transportation technology, it is possible to reveal the main reason for the devaluation (and ultimate redundancy) of infrastructure in general, and ports in particular.

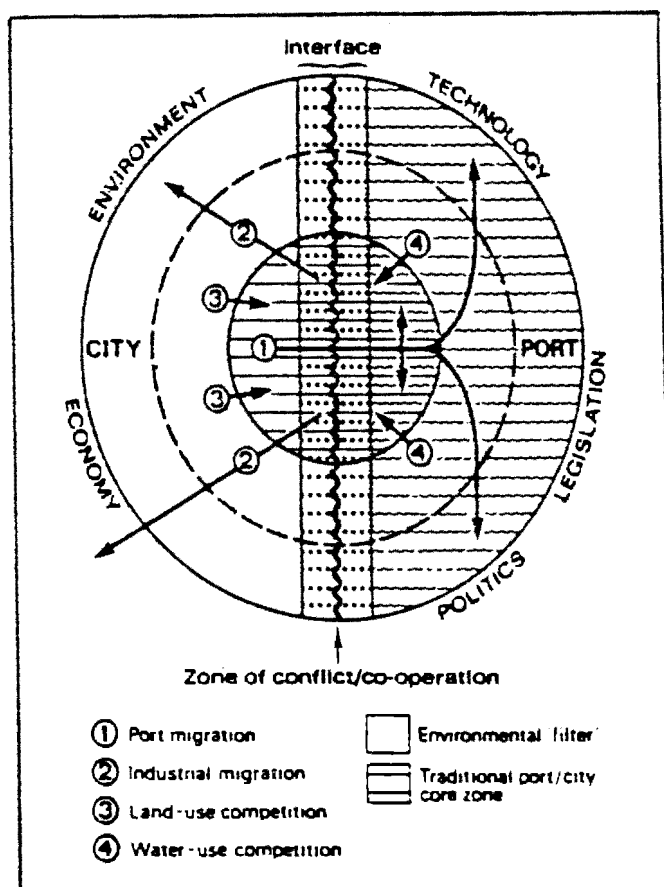
### 2.2.1.3 Technological dynamism within the accumulation process and its implications for port infrastructure

By addressing the question of investment and innovation in transport, it will be possible to demonstrate, firstly, the process whereby ports, formerly dynamic built environments for production, demonstrate their inertia and become functionally and structurally redundant (Smith, 1984), and secondly, the strategies (such as the construction of new port facilities and/or the redevelopment of the redundant port space) employed by capital and state to ensure continued capital accumulation. Such an examination is essential not only because technological change often 'leads' a major phase of economic and spatial restructuring, but also because the restructuring that results can, according to Harvey (1982), 'be both an end and a means to continued capital accumulation'.

Because the cost, speed and capacity of the transport system relates directly to accumulation (by increasing the turnover period of capital), capitalists readily invest in transport technology to make it more efficient and effective. Therefore, innovation in transport is potentially productive for capital as it attempts to go beyond spatial barriers and to quote Karl Marx, 'annihilate space with time' (Marx, 1954; cited in Harvey, 1989 : 82). And it is herein that the contradiction lies, as ports, constructed to facilitate production process through, among other things, the accommodation of water-borne vessels and the transfer of goods, are unable to adapt to innovations in shipping and cargo-handling. 'Throughout history', states Hayuth (1988 : 52), 'the siting of ports has altered with the advance of shipping technology'. Consequently, older port areas have increasingly proved incapable of accommodating new types and generations of shipping. This is mainly due to the increased size of ships and the concomitant mismatch between the need for, and the provision of, handling facilities to accommodate those ships (Gilman and Burn, 1983; Slack, 1980; cited in Pinder *et al*, 1988). As a result, these maritime technological factors have not only induced a migration of port activities towards deeper water, but have weakened, if not separated, traditionally strong functional ties between ports and cities (Hoyle, 1988). These processes are diagrammatically summarised in Figure 2.1 below.

The effect of maritime technology on port facilities is most evident in the period since the mid-1940s when most of the major innovations in shipping and cargo-handling occurred (Hoyle *et al*, 1988). The key to these technological developments has been an emphasis on scale and time. Two of the most significant innovations have centred around the development of bulk and containerised transportation both of which have

had powerful landuse implications (Riley and Shurmer-Smith, 1988). By increasing the size of conventional bulk freighters such as oil tankers, capitalists succeeded in achieving a comparative increase in the economies of scale (White and Senior, 1983). In turn, however, existing port facilities were rendered inadequate. Specialised deepwater quays capable of accommodating oil tankers as well as facilities designed to store and handle oil, had to be constructed. It was not long, however, before the size of oil tankers effectively outpaced the capability of these infrastructural facilities. For instance, by the late 1970s, oil tankers with a dead weight tonnage of between 250 000 (medium crude carriers) and 500 000 (ultra large crude carriers) were a common feature in most shipping lanes (Weise, 1981).



**Figure 2.1:** A port-city interface model: illustrating the factors involved in port-city development

(Source: Hoyle, 1989 : 432)

Similarly, the adoption in the 1960s of a standardised container, as laid down by the International Standards Organisation (ISO), heralded a 'revolution' in maritime transportation (Hilling and Hoyle, 1984). This innovation introduced unitisation (or

containerisation) to conventional port operation and management. With the advent of containerisation in the 1970s came major innovations in ship size and design, and a concomitant modification in port cargo-handling operations which in turn improved port productivity and increased the turnaround time of ships in port (Hayuth, 1988). The introduction of container ships necessitated the construction of new kinds of terminal and cargo-handling facilities (Hayuth, 1988 : 53). Both of these technological developments, therefore, not only reduced the importance of conventional services like warehousing, but directly affected existing port structure. Hayuth (1988 : 55) explains with reference to containerisation:

**The physical layout and the land-use configuration of the conventional general cargo terminal are totally inadequate for container handling. With containerisation, the ratio between the length of a berth and the amount of back-up land needed for cargo handling changed dramatically. ... Neither the traditional finger-pier, so common in many ports, nor any other configuration of narrow apron and shedded storage area adjacent to the water can facilitate container handling. The once-sufficient one- or two-hectare terminals had to be replaced with terminals of 10 or 15 hectares or more. Most ports, however, could not find the necessary space within their existing boundaries.**

Paradoxically, therefore, in order to overcome spatial barriers and to 'annihilate space with time', exchange values are committed to the creation of spatial structures (such as wharfs, quaysides, warehouses etc) for spatial movement. However, these spatial structures themselves act as barriers to further accumulation given that continuous revolutions in transportation technology perpetually seek to overcome spatial barriers (Harvey, 1989 : 83). Consequently, as the transport infrastructure (port) becomes increasingly unable to accommodate the changes in shipping technology, profits begin to fall and capitalists look for a spatial solution. Harvey (1989 : 83) explains this contradiction in the following way:

**Under capitalism there is, then, a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time. The temporal and geographical ebb and flow of investment in the built environment can be understood only in terms of such a process. The effects of the internal contradictions of capitalism, when projected into the specific context of fixed and immobile investment in the built environment, are thus writ large in the historical geography of the landscape that results.**

Harvey's general point is that while there is certainly a tendency toward spatial equilibrium (in the sense of equalisation), it is continuously frustrated by equally powerful forces at the heart of capital (such as technological dynamism) which tend toward a continual geographical disequilibrium (Smith, 1984 : 132). Ironically, however, it is this incessant competition within capitalism which proves to be its

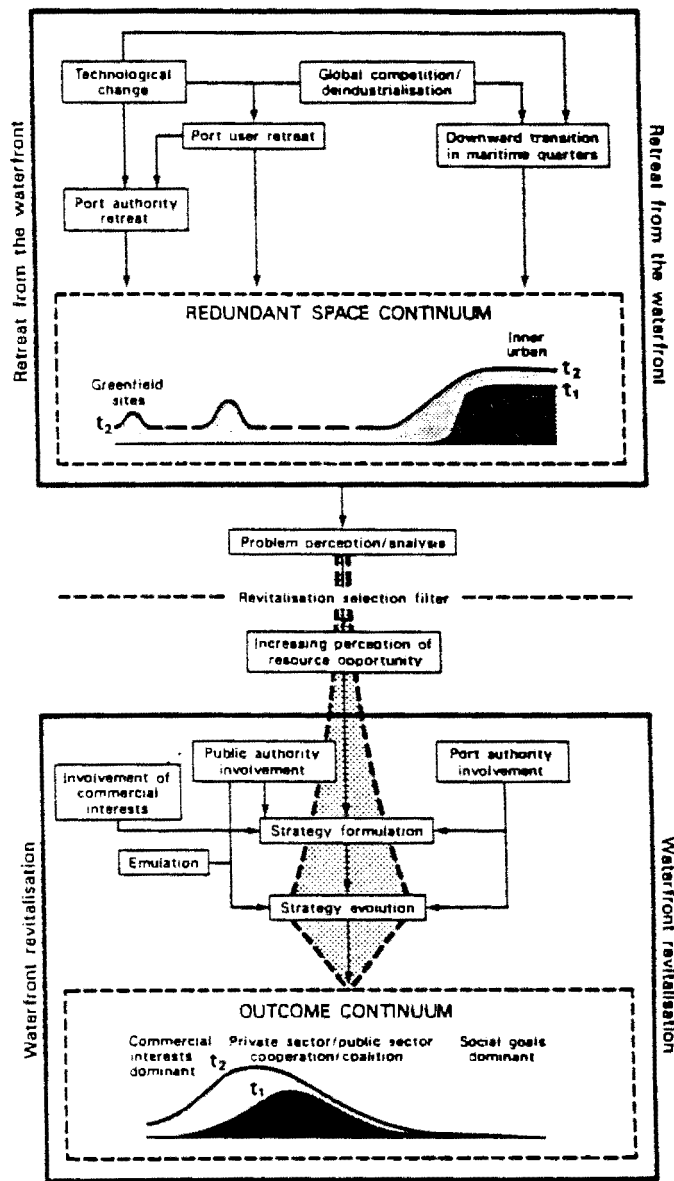
greatest weakness. 'What was once a dynamic built environment for production, at the cutting edge of expansion,' writes Smith (1984 : 133), 'now demonstrates its inertia; sporadic sometimes brutal devaluation takes place, literally, where it cannot be managed rationally'. Consequently, in an attempt to offset the effects of over-accumulation and dropping profits in the existing port infrastructure, capitalists not only restructure the production process, but attempt to solve their problems spatially.

#### 2.2.1.4 The dialectic of accumulation and devaluation: overcoming the fixity of the built environment through a process of uneven development

Capital, in an attempt to overcome the immobility of the built environment, uses complete mobility as a 'spatial fix' (Smith, 1984). In other words, capital is geographically switched, as discussed above, from the spatially immobile built environment (or place) to another more profitable area. This switching is achieved when capital 'see-saws' geographically from a developed to an underdeveloped area, then at a later point back to the first area which is now underdeveloped due to lack of investment (ibid, 1984). In this way, capital not only uses uneven development to stave off the crisis of dropping profits, but is able to achieve some sort of 'spatial fix', if only temporarily. This see-sawing process of capital is clearly evident when assessing the underlying urban processes for port-land redundancy and revitalisation (Pinder *et al*, 1988). The model below diagrammatically reinforces the explanation of port migration (resulting in redundancy) and revitalisation; two spatial strategies employed by capital to offset an accumulation crisis.

As Figure 2.2 below indicates, global competition and deindustrialisation, together with maritime technological forces (discussed above), have resulted in a retreat of capital from traditional waterfronts and maritime-quarter decline (Pinder *et al*, 1988 : 251). In an attempt to respond to the new technological environment, port authorities and users adopted strategies which necessitated intra- and inter-port migration (Pinder *et al*, 1988). Pinder *et al* (1988 : 250) have the following to say with respect to the strategies employed by port and city authorities:

**Three principal strategies have been available to port users, and all have led directly to the creation of redundant space. The first is outright closure, associated with firms lacking the resources, markets or initiative to restructure *in situ* or elsewhere. The second is migration to deeper water and more spacious handling areas within the same port. The third is migration between ports in response to effective interport competition.**



**Figure 2.2:** A model depicting the forces and trends which typify waterfront retreat, redundancy and revitalisation

(Source: Pinder *et al*, 1988 : 249)

'An aggressive port', state Pinder *et al* (1988 : 250), 'pursuing a strategy of heavy investment for the provision of new facilities, may be strongly placed to capture customers seeking an improved operational environment...'. Although port authorities, as in the case of Rotterdam (Pinder and Rosing, 1988) and Southampton (Hoyle, 1986; cited in Hoyle *et al*, 1988), have endeavoured to offset traditional port redundancy by ensuring economic viability of remaining activities, the trend has been towards intra-port migration. As indicated in section 2.2.1.3 above, this migration has been largely dictated by the requirements of ship-designers and ship-operators (Hoyle, 1988). The need, therefore, to establish facilities ( $t_2$ ) for the reception and refining of crude oil at

some distance from traditional cityport core zones (t1), and the introduction of containerisation, requiring extensive land sites, have together transformed the traditional cityport into an industrial maritime complex (Hoyle, 1988 : 10). Hayuth (1988 : 62) elaborates:

**The spatial separation between the port and the traditional waterfront has become obvious. Oil and bulk facilities have been relocated far from the traditional urban waterfront because of their need for extended land-side and deep harbours and their posing of environmental problems. Most modern container terminals have been constructed away from conventional ports. At their traditional sites, port activities - if left at all - consist of servicing shallow-draught vessels, passenger vessels (cruise ships and ferries), pleasure boats and fishing vessels. Many urban waterfront areas are occupied with port-related activities rather than active port operations.**

The impact of this port closure and migration generated by technological considerations or inner-urban pressures (such as outmoded infrastructure, urban congestion, factory dilapidation, and the difficulties of *in situ* restructuring) have intensified the redundant space problem within port areas and adjacent maritime quarters (Pinder *et al*, 1988 : 251). Yet, it is in the maritime quarter or 'sailortown' (Hilling, 1988) that the weakening of port-city socio-economic linkages is most evident. According to Hilling (1988 : 20) 'such areas were peripheral to the Central Business District (CBD) where the influence of the port was strong'. They were typically characterised by high population densities, low income, older housing stock with renters rather than owners and many multi-functional structures (including taverns, boarding houses, missions and marine surveyors etc). Consequently, the collapse of traditional port activities and the growth of new cargo-handling methods have triggered a socio-economic decline in the inner-urban maritime quarter (t1) (Pinder *et al*, 1988).

Thus, eager to overcome the inadequacies of existing port structures, capital is invested in the development of new port structures designed to accommodate maritime technological changes. In keeping with the pattern of uneven development, therefore, the traditional port core and maritime quarter is abandoned for these new port areas and greenfield locations (see Figure 2.2 above). As a result, redundant space is likely to occur along a continuum (see Figure 2.2) extending from the maritime quarter to older urban sites (Pinder *et al*, 1988). The maritime quarter and traditional port infrastructure (t1), although historically a problematic part of the continuum, is presently (t2) still important as an underdeveloped and devalued resource. 'The point', insists Smith (1984 : 150), 'is not just that capital creates a fixed geographical world after its own image, where development and underdevelopment are geographical mirrors of the capital-labour relation, but that the dynamism of geographical space is

equally an expression of the image of capital'. With the growth of urban dereliction and employment decline resulting from large scale redundancies among the port and industrial labour forces (Pinder *et al*, 1988), comes an eventual recognition by the port and city authorities of the problem of redundant and underdeveloped space. It is in the response to this recognition that the second geographical 'spatial fix' (or spatial restructuring) lies.

The geographical decentralisation of capital in the construction of new port structures, greenfield sites and residential suburbs has, understandably, accelerated the redundancy and underdevelopment of the traditional port core and adjacent maritime quarter. Because the 'direction of this geographical development is guided by the rate of profit' (Smith, 1984 : 148), capital is attracted by the high profits that could be obtained by locating in the outer city where sites are cheaper and more accessible (Law, 1988). Conversely, capital has been denied access to the inner city areas due to the low rate of return. The devaluation of the inner city has been hastened, as discussed above, by the decline of port and port-related activities (Law, 1988). In this context then, uneven development has, according to Smith (1984 : 157), 'become less a means of uneven expansion than one of uneven decline'. This is particularly evident when viewing the extant pattern of uneven development etched upon the inner city landscape by the cumulative effect of capital shifts to the outer city.

Yet, despite the spiralling underdevelopment of the traditional port and maritime quarter, 'action to revitalise [the] abandoned waterfront does not follow naturally from the emergence of redundant space' (Pinder *et al*, 1988 : 252). As represented in Figure 2.2 above, a transitional period is necessary for port redundancy to be perceived as a problem demanding immediate attention. The growth of inner city dereliction coupled with dramatic employment decline within the port and industrial labour forces due to large-scale redundancies, have been catalytic in securing problem recognition from local city and port authorities (*ibid*, 1988). Because problem recognition occurs selectively (see Figure 2.2 above), cityport authorities tend to filter redundant port space. Redundant, and often derelict, port zones and adjacent maritime quarters are generally considered ripe for redevelopment. This selection is reinforced not only by port redevelopments elsewhere, but due to the threat which their growing dereliction poses to the city's economic base (Pinder *et al*, 1988).

Thus, given that local authorities are responsible for the cityport's urban fabric, in many ports the scale of dereliction, coupled with a lack of commercial enthusiasm, has demanded that cityport authorities place port decline on their agendas. As a result,

cityport authorities have attempted to reverse private-sector apathy with regard to investment in the underdeveloped inner city areas, whether obsolete port, commercial and warehousing land uses or residential neighbourhoods. This has generally been achieved with the help of provincial and governmental grants (Pinder, *et al*, 1988). 'The state', explains Tweedale (1988 : 190), "primes the pump" by putting forward grants to cover aspects of the schemes which are unprofitable, enabling derelict industrial land to be cleared and serviced'. This not only helps to explain the similarity in land use between different schemes across international boundaries, but serves to account for the growth of the worldwide phenomenon of dockland redevelopment. Church (1988 : 199) elaborates:

**The contemporary international phenomenon of waterfront redevelopment, wherever it occurs and whatever form it takes, nearly always involves some form of public expenditure by local, regional or central government. In fact, the internationally prescribed model for waterfront redevelopment used in Australia, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and other European countries is for public-sector money to be used as a stimulus for private-sector investment.**

The main aim of these schemes has been to change the negative perception which the private-sector had with respect to investment opportunities in redundant and derelict inner city areas. By accepting the risk and initiating development, cityport authorities have, in fact, been instrumental in getting commercial interests to view redundant inner city areas, not simply as exhausted assets, but as areas with great profit potential (Pinder *et al*, 1988). This has been effected by the early involvement of local authorities.

**Public authorities have also frequently been instrumental in initiating the search for appropriate revitalisation strategies. Typically, this role has entailed fostering a local dialogue between potential actors in the revitalisation process, ... a learning process based on the emergent strategies of other (sometimes foreign) cityports. There is no shortage of reports by delegations despatched to investigate other cities' strategies... (Pinder *et al*, 1988 : 253).**

The initial investment by the local authorities in, among other things, site clearance and preparation (Church, 1988) as well as the preservation and conservation of historic buildings (Pinder *et al*, 1988), have greatly contributed to the dissipation of perception barriers. Law (1988) echoes this sentiment in his discussion of Baltimore and Salford Dockland renewal programmes, where he proposes an increase in the momentum of private-sector investment subsequent to public-sector investment. Consequently, as represented in Figure 2.2 above, the participation and influence of commercial interests in revitalisation programmes tend to increase with the passage of time (Law, 1988)

especially with the spread of waterfront redevelopment to lower levels of urban-port hierarchy.

Notwithstanding the above, cityport authorities have also played an important role in strategy-formulation by constructing a broad framework for development (see Figure 2.2 above). 'The planning assumption', assert Pinder *et al* (1988 : 256), 'is that this early framework is essentially a starting point to be revised and developed in the light of changing circumstances, such as rising commercial interest, assessments of past achievements and changes in the supply of unused waterfront land'. As a result, many redevelopment programmes are based on flexible 'incremental' planning rather than a 'rational-comprehensive' approach (Healey *et al*, 1982; Lindblom, 1973; cited in Pinder *et al*, 1988). With the increase in the number and influence of interested parties, the initial planning strategy begins to evolve. The results of strategy evolution as a consequence of interaction between interested parties can be best represented as an outcome continuum. Pinder *et al* (1988 : 256) have the following to say with respect to the outcome continuum as represented in Figure 2.2 :

**The extremes of this continuum are, on the one hand, schemes tightly orchestrated by public authorities to serve the social goals relating to downward transition in maritime quarters and, on the other hand, projects in which commercial interests are overwhelming dominant. As with the conceptualisation of redundant space, it is proposed that outcomes can be generalised in terms of a frequency distribution, and that this distribution has shifted significantly through time. Because cityport authorities have been primarily concerned with derelict port land, and because the private sector has generally required prime waterfront sites where redevelopment is not complicated by the presence of a local population, revitalisation with a strong social orientation is rarely encountered.**

Thus, far from disregarding old and devalued inner city areas, private entrepreneurs and developers in partnership with cityport authorities (Clark, 1988) have actively begun to speculate in derelict inner city areas. The outcome in physical terms has often been that cityport authorities are increasingly obliged to concede redundant land (t2) beyond the historically and spatially significant traditional port core (t1). This can be attributed, not least of all, to capital's incessant search for greater profits. 'The devaluation of fixed capital', argues Smith (1984 : 150), 'depresses the ground-rent sufficiently that the "rent gap" between actual capitalised ground rent and the potential ground rent (given "higher" use) becomes sufficiently large that redevelopment and gentrification become possible'.

Therefore, in an attempt to overcome the structural decline of the inner city areas and to realise renewed accumulation, capital once again see-saws back to the underdeveloped inner city areas. In so doing, capital is not only able to overcome an

accumulation crisis, but manages to transform the inner city into a new locus of development (or rather redevelopment). In this context then, port redevelopment can be seen as the urban spatial outcome of the wider international process of economic restructuring. By physically restructuring underdeveloped components of the urban landscape capital succeeds, if only temporarily, in spatially ameliorating the crisis of inner city decline.

In order to fully understand the rationale for port redevelopment, we need to return once again to the heart of capitalism, namely the process of capital accumulation. Apart from the abovementioned developments which have preceded as well as characterised the spatial restructuring of capitalism in general, and docklands in particular, postmodern waterfront redevelopments can also be viewed as an outcome of the regime of flexible accumulation (Harvey, 1989).

### **2.2.2 Flexible accumulation: reflections on the creation of "postmodern" environments**

Increasingly in recent years human geographical discourse has centred around what has been called postmodernism (see chapter one). Whereas some theorists have been 'more occupied with developing an attitude towards the knowledge we can acquire about the world' (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 170), most of those human geographers who have written about postmodernism have studied it as object or 'epoch' (Dear, 1988; Harvey, 1989, and Soja, 1989, among others). Thus, much of the postmodern geographical literature has focused on postmodernism as the reflection or condition of the late twentieth-century world. In so doing, they have greatly enhanced our understanding of the workings and complex interactions of contemporary economic, social, political and cultural processes (Cloke *et al*, 1991). With the focus of the present study in mind then, I turn to a consideration of postmodernism as object, particularly as it relates to the creation of postmodern (dockland) environments.

The emergence of postmodernism can be, and has been (Harvey, 1989), linked to the rise of post-Fordism, a system which, unlike Fordism (characterised by modernist rationality, functionality and efficiency), has been marked by a phenomenal 'flexibility' with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption (Armstrong *et al*, 1984; Piore and Sabel, 1984; Scott and Storper, 1986 and Harvey, 1988; cited in Harvey, 1989). The idea of flexible accumulation, although conceptually simple in outline, has generated a great deal of debate (Hudson, 1988; Pollert, 1988; Amin, 1989; Sayer, 1989b and Lovering, 1990). It is not my intention

to elaborate on what is already a well publicised debate, but suffice it to say that the theory of flexible accumulation represents an important research focus for those claiming a break with modernity and past regimes of accumulation. Harvey (1988, 1989 and 1990) has increasingly focused on this shift towards postmodernism within the urban context by emphasising changes in, and commodification of, art and architecture. For Harvey (1990), the changes in the urban arena, particularly with regard to planning and development, are examples of the cultural and intellectual transformation that have taken place in recent years, and are consistent with the regime of flexible accumulation and postmodernism, two complex and interrelated processes (Marden, 1992).

Despite the contentiousness of the term postmodernism (see chapter one), it has come to symbolise some kind of reaction to "modernism". Harvey (1989 : 257-258), quoting Eagleton (1987), has the following to say about postmodernism:

There appears, however, to be some kind of consensus "that the typical post-modernist artefact is playful, pluralist, self-ironizing and even schizoid; and that it reacts to the austere autonomy of high modernism by impudently embracing the language of commerce and commodity". Furthermore, "its stance towards cultural tradition is one of irreverent pastiche, and its contrived depthlessness undermines all metaphysical solemnities, sometimes by a brutal aesthetic of squalor and shock" (Eagleton, 1987).

Harvey (1990 : viii) effectively sidesteps what he refers to as postmodernism's 'mine-field of conflicting notions' by focusing in on the object of postmodernism. By targeting the urban context, Harvey (1989) is able to contain and direct the meaning and definition of the term postmodernism. For him (1989 : 258), postmodernism signifies 'a break with the idea that planning and development should focus on the large scale, technologically rational, austere and functionally efficient "international style" design...'. Rather, '...vernacular traditions, local history, and specialized spatial designs ranging from functions of intimacy to grand spectacle should be approached with a much greater eclecticism of style' (ibid, 1989 : 258). 'For Harvey', writes Marden (1992 : 43), 'this shift in urban consciousness and architectural design is consistent with the new regime of flexible accumulation'. By treating postmodernism as a matter of culture, Harvey (1989) is not only able to adopt a fairly straightforward historical materialist analysis of postmodernity, but can add weight to the Marxist assertion that 'postmodernity is at heart yet another chapter in the story of capitalism...' (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 181).

This 'base-superstructure' explanation is reinforced, and the resultant conceptual leap assured, by confirming the linkage between postmodern culture and flexible capitalist strategies of production and consumption.

**I see [writes Harvey] no difference in principle between the vast range of speculative and ... unpredictable activities undertaken by entrepreneurs (new products, new marketing strategems, new technologies, new locations) and the equally speculative development of cultural, political, legal and ideological values and institutions under capitalism. (Harvey, 1989 : 344)**

Moreover, according to Cloke *et al* (1991 : 182) Harvey has repeatedly insisted 'that much of the novel cultural "collage" demonstrated in postmodern art and architecture is nothing more than an extreme manifestation of the relentless and structurally determined quest for new and unusual commodities to sell in the capitalist workplace...'. Hence, by linking postmodernism to the workings of flexible accumulation, Harvey has succeeded in resurrecting the Marxist position that our culture is, in many respects, chosen for us.

Despite many inconsistencies within postmodern discourse (see chapter one), there exists consensus on the widespread nature of recent aesthetic changes in western culture (Callinicos, 1989). Jameson (1984b), for example, has argued that the production of culture has become integrated into commodity production. Similarly, Lash (1990), drawing on regulation theory, also attempts to analyse postmodernism as a cultural concept. However, in order to fully understand how postmodern culture has been integrated into the capitalist production process, we need to explore, in more detail, Harvey's (1989) concept of flexible accumulation, particularly within the urban context.

### **2.2.2.1 Flexible accumulation within the urban context**

**A critical appraisal of the current regime of flexible accumulation, of the cultural practices of post-modernity, and of the shaping of physical and social space through urbanisation, together with reflection on the ideologies through which we understand such processes, appears as one small but necessary preparatory step towards the reconstitution of a movement of global opposition to a plainly sick and troubled capitalist hegemony (Harvey, 1989 : 278).**

The failure of Fordism necessitated a shift to a more flexible form of capitalism. This shift is most evident within the urban context. 'It has partly been through shifts in the urban process', writes Harvey (1989 : 259), 'that the new systems of flexible accumulation have been so successfully implanted'. The transformation of capital consequently threatened fixed capital and physical infrastructure with massive

devaluation, which in turn, '...often meant the closure of big production-line heavy-engineering plants, for instance, and their replacement, ... by smaller units...' (Cloke *et al.*, 1991 : 181). The geographical dispersal of capital to other sectors and regions contributed to a growing redundancy of inner city areas (see section 2.2.1.4 above), threatening the property tax of the urban authorities. The resultant fiscal crisis forced urban authorities to foster a much more competitive attitude [to the urban crisis] (Harvey, 1989). As a result, entrepreneurialism replaced managerialism as the key device of urban action. The emergence of greater entrepreneurialism (Saunders, 1981) within the city not only forced city authorities to be far more innovative and flexible when addressing urban problems such as inner city redundancy, but resulted in an increase in inter-urban competition. Harvey (1989 : 261) has the following to say regarding various forms of inter-city competition:

**I have elsewhere argued ... that the [inter-urban] competition can best be broken down into four different forms: (a) competition for position in the international division of labour, (b) competition for position as centres of consumption, (c) competition for control and command functions (financial and administrative powers in particular), and (d) competition for governmental redistributions ... . These four options are not mutually exclusive and the uneven fortunes of urban regions have depended upon the mix and timing of strategies pursued in relation to global shifts.**

'It was in part through this heightened inter-urban competition', asserts Harvey (1989 : 260), 'that flexible accumulation took such a firm hold'. In turn, this increased flexibility of capital resulted in dramatic shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between sectors and between geographical regions (*ibid.*, 1989) (see section 2.2.1.4 above). Moreover, as discussed above, inter-urban competition has necessitated the formation of alliances and partnerships between the urban and regional governments, business, labour and special interest groups. Britton (1991 : 468) elaborates:

**Urban-region managers, in alliances with corporate, labour, and citizen groups have been anxious to position their territory to attract [a] mix of corporate, services, leisure, and consumption functions. Where this strategy has been taken, it has coincided with, or been legitimated by, other vital urban issues of urban management: the revitalisation of downtown areas in the face of competition from large suburban shopping malls; ... to ... large inner-city transition zones of derelict warehouses, ports, and factories rendered obsolete through changing technology...**

Increasingly, therefore, an entrepreneurial ideology has directed urban governments to create a 'favourable environment' that would attract capital to their respective cities. In order to foster a suitable environment for investment, urban governments not only encouraged measures such as wage-discipline (*ibid.*, 1989), but went so far as to

subsidise the private sector by means of public investment (see section 2.2.1.4 above). This investment was generally aimed at making the city more attractive as a cultural consumer centre. Not surprisingly, city authorities invested public capital in the (re)development of, among other things, redundant waterfront and dockland precincts. Given the intense 'competition for position as centres of consumption', waterfront renewal projects, convention centres, sports stadia and disney-worlds, were promptly developed in cities across the world (ibid, 1989 : 260). The 'leap-frogging' of these consumer-based developments from city to city not only assisted the transition to flexible accumulation, but helped establish a postmodern urban culture (ibid, 1989).

The outcome of this transition can be seen in how cities, spurred on by inter-urban competition, began to restructure their internal and often, underdeveloped spaces. This was effected by what Harvey (1989 : 272) refers to as 'a new and relatively affluent generation of professional and managerial workers [who] came to dominate whole zones of inner city urban space seeking product differentiation in built environments, quality of life, and command of symbolic capital'. In order to realise this flexible accumulation, "history" and "community" were incorporated within downtown developments. This was accomplished through the inclusion and institutionalisation of postmodern architectural styles within the built environment. These architectural styles were 'seen in the emergence of ornamental tower blocks, imitation medieval squares and fishing villages, custom designed or vernacular housing, renovated factories and warehouses, and rehabilitated landscapes of all kinds' (Harvey, 1990). Hence, postmodernism within the built environment has been described as representative of 'the cultural clothing of flexible accumulation' by Harvey (1989 : 274), or as the 'cultural logic of late capitalism' by Jameson (1984b). No matter what the interpretation, one thing remains clear: postmodernism reflects a dramatic shift in the nature and form of space. This shift has been achieved, and flexible accumulation realised, through the interrelated and broad spatial processes of commodification and 'spectacle-isation'.

#### 2.2.2.2 The commodification of place (and the production of symbolic and cultural capital)

Certain places and sites (such as derelict waterfront areas) have increasingly become the target of urban managers, and more recently, capital, because of their physical, social, cultural, and commercial attributes (Britton, 1991). And it is through 'the use of a particular place', assert Logan and Molotch (1987 : 18), that capital 'creates and sustains access to [these] additional use values'. As a result, the material, spiritual and

psychological aspects of places and sites have, to a lesser or greater extent, become commodities to be developed, exchanged, and ultimately exploited. Britton (1991 : 462) identifies two generic forms of commodification:

**...first the legal recognition or transfer of commercial property rights involving ownership or lease of a site itself (a building, recreation site, or beach); or second, where the attraction cannot be privately appropriated directly, the inclusion of the touristic experience or attributes of place into saleable commodity (a tour, the ambience of a hotel in close proximity to a significant site, souvenirs, or symbolic image with recognisable connotations).**

With both forms of commodification, places provide opportunities for urban authorities and capital, either separately or in partnership, to capture rent and profits by virtue of their unique qualities (ibid, 1991). To take advantage of new flexible production technologies, and pursue and corner the spending power of the affluent middle classes (Harvey, 1987; 1989), places have increasingly, since the 1970s, been transformed into what Lefebvre (1976) refers to as 'leisure spaces'; an outcome of the tourist production system (Britton, 1991).

Ranging from wilderness reserves to public places offering product and service diversity, a hierarchy of leisure spaces has been developed to provide the tourist with 'romantic' and 'collective' forms of tourist gazing (Urry, 1990 : 31). Because of their amenability to 'systematic management by commercial alliances and local state, there has been a far greater investment of capital in the construction and provision of "collective" attractions' (Britton, 1991). These collective attractions have attempted to break down the separation of tourism from other commercial activities (Urry, 1990); to create places of 'carefully contrived consumption and excitement' (Britton, 1991 : 463). This trend is most evident in revitalised historic waterfront sites, where renovated warehousing and factories sometimes lie adjacent to, or within, the commercial port complex. Moreover, whereas some of these commodified places are organised and marketed along commercial lines, others with unique physical and historical features are preserved by the state. However, given the historic and public nature of most waterfront and dockland sites, revitalisation schemes within these locations are often directed by a partnership between capital and local government (see section 2.2.1.4 above).

However, as intimated above, an explanation of the process of commodification would be incomplete without addressing the question of 'symbolic' or 'cultural' capital production (Jameson, 1984b; Harvey, 1987, 1989; and MacCannell, 1989). The concept of symbolic capital was developed originally by Bourdieu (1977, 1984) to

denote the consumption and collection of social and cultural commodities located in the built form. Harvey (1989 : 269) expands upon Bourdieu's (1977 : 188) ideas by incorporating them into the analysis of regional economic restructuring and flexible accumulation:

[Symbolic] capital is, of course, a transformed kind of money capital, but "provides its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in "material" forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effect". The fetishism is obvious, but it is here deliberately deployed to conceal, through the realms of culture and taste, the real bases of economic distinctions.

This demand for 'symbolic capital' has been heightened, not only by an urban crisis (brought on by a decrease in traditional Fordist-organised product markets), but by the increase in inter-urban competition. 'Because of the limited amount of mobile capital', argue Logan and Molotch (1987 : 34), and because 'the growth apparatus in each area must compete with that of other areas to attract scarce investment, [c]oalitions of interest, recruited and organised along territorial lines, becom[e] working cooperative units, even if on other grounds their members have divergent goals'. Thus, by investing in aesthetic (symbolic and cultural) aspects of place, urban governments and capital in the form of large commercial property speculators and corporations, have been able to sustain and strengthen the rents and value of local property (Loch and Molotch, 1987). Moreover, this has meant the ideological reinforcement of capital's commitment to (re)development and (flexible) accumulation (Harvey, 1989). Put another way, '[f]lexible accumulation permits a profitable response to the cultural discontents of the 1960s, which implied rejection of standardized accumulation and a mass culture that provided too few opportunities to capture symbolic capital'(Harvey, 1989 : 270). This repressed desire (on the part of capital) to acquire symbolic capital has been realised through the construction of postmodern built environments (Smith and Lefebvre, 1984). 'Buildings' have according to Dear (1986 : 370), 'assumed an iconography (or signification) directed both at previous architectural styles and at anticipated critics of the new building itself. The post-modern building', stresses Dear, 'has become a self-referential symbol and commentary'.

In some instances, therefore, the demand for symbolic and cultural capital has done much to transform prevailing built environments and their predominant economic and social relations. Britton (1991 : 470) emphasises this transformation in the context of inner-city gentrification, as in the case of urban renewal projects, and rehabilitation of old dockyards:

The retail base is transformed and complemented with outlets serving demand from buyers of art and culture as well as tourists attracted by boutique shops and preserved architecture. Property values soar and draw new rounds of investment. And proximate secondary manufacturing and distribution activities give way to corporate and producer service offices. In the end, the enhancement and rejuvenation of the architectural environment in combination with the transformation of the social and economic milieu, creates a coherent space of consumption which signals both the appropriation of the inner city by the upper classes, and a particular interpretation of what constitutes fashionable symbolic and cultural capital...

This 'transformation' of inner-city neighbourhoods or redeveloped docklands is, for Cloke *et al* (1991 : 182), made possible because:

...an individual can "buy" an exalted place in the capitalist social order by displaying the right sort of cultural attributes (knowledge of the arts; possession of the "right" educational background) and by acquiring certain marks of personal distinction (the customised car; the individualised home)...

The appropriation and 'mystification' of symbolic and cultural capital has, according to Harvey (1989 : 269), resulted in, among other things, 'the recuperation of "history" ... and of "community", and the need for embellishment, decoration, and ornamentation...'. For Corner and Harvey (1990 : 101), it is this conjunction of 'history' and 'commerce', which signals the transformation of culture (by capital) into 'material capital'. As it is impossible to separate subjective symbolic and cultural meanings from their physical contexts, the co-option of symbolic and cultural capital (in the form of postmodernism) has, therefore, inevitably meant the further commodification of place.

In most instances, places have been assimilated into the flexible production process as tourist commodities. Advertising, packaging, and marketing are the primary mechanisms employed in tourism production. 'The purpose [for these mechanisms]', argues Britton (1991 : 464), 'is to persuade the consumer, the tourist, that by purchasing a particular product (a stay in a certain hotel, visit to a destination, taking a tour), she or he will receive more than the product is capable of delivering'. Britton underscores this by means of a place-specific example:

...in purchasing an inclusive tour to Uluru (Ayers Rock) in Central Australia, tourists buy the "right", certainly the expectation, to experience the mystic and spiritual qualities advertised as the essence of this place. And this "right of experience" includes not just the physical qualities of the monolith, or the connotations of its location as virtually the geographic centre of the continent, but extends to the peoples as well, because the mystic of the Rock is inextricably bound up with White Australia's notion of aboriginality and the social position of the Aborigines at Uluru and in the wider society (*ibid*, 1991 : 464).

Thus by marketing places as desirable products, public-private sector alliances are able to 'package and sell' (to the postmodern tourist) place-specific sensations, feelings and perceptions (Feiffer, 1985). In the final analysis, however, the commodification of place represents one of the most recent and flexible avenues whereby aesthetic innovation (along with place) is integrated into the overall system of capitalist accumulation (Jameson, 1984b). We turn now to a consideration of the second manifestation of flexible accumulation; namely the mobilisation of place as spectacle.

### 2.2.2.3 The 'spectacle-isation' of place: towards post-Fordist consumption

Since the early 1970s, capital has facilitated accumulation by mobilising the mechanism of urban spectacle. Unlike the counter-cultural events of the 1960s (anti-war demonstrations, peace rallies, and inner-city riots), the urban festival or spectacle of the 1980s and 1990s has come to symbolise and effect community unification (Harvey, 1989) as well as encourage greater post-Fordist consumption. For Britton (1991 : 471), the urban spectacle or festival is 'designed to attract not just local residents, but domestic and especially international tourists'. It is not surprising, therefore, that competition for major public spectacles, and festivals, such as trade expositions (Vancouver (1986); Brisbane (1988); and Barcelona (1992)), cultural performances (changing of the guard in London or the Passion Play in Oberammergau), and sporting events (such as the Super Bowl; Olympic Games; and Commonwealth Games) have, of late, become exceptionally fierce (Hall, 1989). It is through this 'spectacle-isation' of place (Urry, 1990), that cities have been able to benefit financially as well as ensure the commercial viability of costly investment projects. The spectacle is, as Debord (1983; cited in Harvey, 1991 : 271) observes, 'never an image mounted securely and finally in place; it is always an account of the world competing with others, and meeting the resistance of different, sometimes tenacious forms of social practice'.

The process of 'spectacle-isation' has been effected through the use of postmodernism. Postmodernist architecture has been, and continues to be, used to enhance the display of a particular tourist attraction or place. As a result, postmodernism as both style and attitude has become central to the success of the spectacle or festival (Harvey, 1989). Due to the ability of these spectacles to attract crowds, entire built environments have been transformed into what Harvey (1989 : 271) refers to as 'centrepieces of urban spectacle and display'. Of particular note in this regard, are the growth of massive trade expositions and waterfront and dockland redevelopment projects in cities across the world.

For a city to host a world trade exposition, for instance, it needs, out of necessity, to construct an entire built environment for the purposes of international trade orientation and promotion, and ultimately consumption (Ley and Olds, 1988). For Britton (1991 : 471), the trade exposition as spectacle does much to facilitate, among other things, 'the expansion of trade, creation of an international image in the mind of the corporate community of a location with suitable status and infrastructure from which to base corporate operations, land development, tourism development, and downtown renewal'. Therefore, through the spectacle of trade expositions, capital and urban governments have been able to expedite increased investment in, among other things, the amelioration of the inner-city crisis.

This brings one to a consideration of the second large-scale urban spectacle; namely redeveloped waterfronts or festival markets. As one of the most 'recent development[s] in the integration of tourism with [post-Fordist] consumption' (Britton, 1991 : 471), festival markets such as those in London, Sydney, Toronto, Swansea, Baltimore and Hong Kong, have become common phenomena in port cities around the world. The proliferation of these waterfront spectacles attests to the fact that tourists (be they local or international) want to spend their money in a place that not only offers pleasure and entertainment, but ensures one's safety and security (Harvey, 1989). Thus, the 'spectacle-isation' of, for example, Baltimore's Harbour Place, must be seen not only as an economic outcome of flexible accumulation, but also as a political manifestation. Harvey (1989 : 276) elaborates:

**Planners can try to ensure that the transformations of neighbourhood will preserve rather than destroy collective memory. Far better that a deserted factory be turned into a community center where the collective memory of those who lived and worked there is preserved rather than being turned into boutiques and condos that permit the appropriation of one people's history by another.**

Waterfront spectacles, like many other built environments around the world, have been described not only as 'the common ground of deceived gaze and of false consciousness', but (as intimated to earlier) 'an instrument of unification' (Debord, 1983 : 271). '[P]ostmodern redevelopments of many Western inner cities (the "pavilions" and "plazas", office towers and apartment complexes, the shopping malls and leisure centres)', write Cloke *et al* (1991 : 183), 'perform the time-honoured role of 'bread and circuses': a well-tryed formula, which according to Harvey (1989 : 88) is 'consciously deployed to pacify restless or discontented elements in the population'. Harvey (1989 : 271) stresses his point by highlighting Baltimore's Mayor and urban class alliance, who, 'consciously used the spectacle of Harbour Place ... as a symbol of supposed unity of a class-divided and racially segregated city'. By this Harvey

suggests that the postmodern spectacle (with its attractive and uplifting appearance) is not just closely tied to the logic of flexible accumulation, but that it essentially endeavours to divert people's attention away from this logic.

In the light of the above, therefore, it can be argued that the distinctive qualities of place (and community) have increasingly been drawn into the centre of the regime of flexible accumulation, through the process of 'spectacle-isation'. Rather than exhibit an outdated and discredited modernist architectural style, cities' downtown areas instead reflect the notion of festival and spectacle. 'It is on this terrain of the spectacle', writes Harvey (1991 : 271), 'that the break into the post-modern urban culture that has accompanied flexible accumulation has partially been fashioned, and it is in the context of such images', he continues, 'that the opposition of class consciousness and class practices have to unfold'.

### **2.2.3 Towards a consideration of the social**

We have, in some depth, examined the universal processes which underlie the creation and transformation of built environments in general, and waterfronts in particular. Moreover, using an historical materialist analytical approach, I have attempted to construct a better understanding not only of how urban landscapes evolve over time, but what role capitalism plays within that evolution. From the decentred vantage point of historical materialism, it has been possible to concentrate on those structural external conditions which inevitably shape urban place and space. By focusing on the objective reality of urban place and space, it was possible to expound upon the processes of uneven development which have, in turn, resulted in port redundancy and redevelopment.

Although useful as a structural analytical tool, historical materialism, short of showing how the mode of production (through structure) influences peoples lives, is wholly inadequate when it comes to obtaining a centred or subjective viewpoint of place. 'It is difficult', asserts Entrikin (1991 : 3), 'to appreciate fully [the 'situatedness'] of human existence from the distant and detached viewpoint that we associate with scientific theorizing'. We need, therefore, to consider place not just as the external context of people's actions, but as locations imbued with individual and group meaning. Places (such as urban waterfronts and docklands), therefore, not only provide structure to peoples' everyday practices, but also socially and spatially reinforce their 'felt sense of the quality of life' (Pred, 1983 : 58). 'The identification with place', writes Agnew

(1993 : 263), '...contributes ... to the meaning of place: one place or "territory" in its differentiation from other places can become an "object" of identity for a "subject".'

In order to ensure a balanced perspective of place, this chapter now turns towards a consideration of the existential qualities of people's experience of place. This will be achieved by focusing on the sociological and humanistic theoretical constructs of community, territoriality and sense of place. By focusing on the centred viewpoint of the human subject, it will be possible to determine the significance of place in relation to issues of social identity and action. Thus, by focusing on how people (be it individually or communally) view and respond to their geographic and social place, we will be able to enhance our understanding as to the possible impact which spatial restructuring (as in the form of dockland redevelopment) has on place-based social relations.

### 2.3 Understanding people within changing places: A Geographical Humanist Approach

**We are, then, conscious, self-aware beings who recognise the potential for disruption to everyday life. And when people have to confront their personal troubles and concerns in relation to public issues in particular, it is possible to obtain powerful insights not only into the nature of everyday life but also into the forces that impinge on everyday life (Eyles, 1989 : 106-107).**

Having ascertained the material determinants of waterfront redevelopment, it is essential to consider those people whose everyday lives are disrupted by the inevitable structural and functional changes which accompany urban redevelopment. This will be achieved by focusing on place as the geographical, social and experiential centre of people's existence. 'Places are not abstractions or concepts', writes Relph (1976 : 141), '... [t]hey are important sources of individual and communal identity, and are often profound centres of human existence to which people have deep emotional and psychological ties'. Not surprisingly then, structural changes to place can, and do, severely disturb existing social and spatial relations, activities and identities. By adopting a geographical humanistic perspective (Ley, 1981b), I aim to highlight (to quote Cloke *et al* (1991 : 79)), 'the way in which 'ordinary' people leading 'ordinary' lives encounter, perceive and ... reflect upon the ... places and environments all around them'.

Through a discussion of the concepts of community, territoriality and sense of belonging, I seek to consider place as a multifaceted phenomenon of experience, identity and source of meaning. Moreover, by addressing the relationships between

place, community, identity and sense of place, it will be possible to construct a far more holistic perspective of place. Having established the structural and material context of waterfront places, it is essential to recognise the importance of place within people's everyday lives, thereby avoiding a one-sided and constrained perspective of place. In so doing I will attempt to locate, in social and temporal terms, the particular place that is the focus of this study. The rationale for this is that one cannot hope to understand the importance and relevance of place to people without establishing it within its social and temporal context.

### **2.3.1 The politics of place: towards an understanding of place through the conception of community**

Now that I have ascertained how (dockland) urban places are formed, it is necessary to consider what can be referred to as the politics of place. Through a consideration of 'place', and more specifically, the struggles and achievements of its inhabitants, it will be possible to trace out its meaning as physical context and social process. For just as space is appropriated and transformed by capital, place (through social struggle) 'imposes itself as a potential barrier for capital to overcome' (Merrifield, 1992 : 103). Consequently, capital (intent on, among other things, urban redevelopment) has to deal with 'place-bound' groups who are determined to ensure their continued existence in a territory with existential significance. Through a consideration of community studies it will be possible to explore the social grouping and interaction of people within specific territorial settings. This exploration will, in turn, provide insights into how people experience the place(s) in which they find themselves.

#### **2.3.1.1 'Community lost, community saved': considering the problem of definition and scale**

The concept of community, although useful in exposing people-place relations and interactions (see below), is nevertheless itself problematic insofar as its definition and scale are concerned. Part of the problem lies in its evasiveness, ambiguity, and almost ethereal nature. This can be attributed to its long history (Pacione, 1984) of application within a wide range of social science disciplines (including geography) concerned with individual and group behaviour (Knox, 1987). In turn, this extended multi-disciplinary application of the concept of community has resulted in the creation of a vast amount of semantically ambiguous and often conflicting literature. This literature (and its multiple definitions) generally revolves around the question of 'community lost' and 'community saved' (ibid, 1987).

Even before the turn of the century, sociologists such as Tonnies (1887) believed that community represented an era which had long passed and which was, therefore, 'lost' within the urban context. Tonnies (1887), for instance, identified two basic forms of human association: *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Whereas *Gemeinschaft* related to an earlier period of social interaction characterised by 'closer, warmer, more harmonious types of bonds between people' (Elias, 1978 : xiii), *Gesellschaft*, was viewed 'as the product of urbanisation and industrialisation which resulted in social and economic relationships based on rationality, efficiency and contractual obligations amongst individuals whose roles had become specialised' (Knox, 1987 : 69-70). This famous *Gemeinschaft* (community)/*Gesellschaft* (mass society) dichotomy has been given further weight by subsequent sociological writings such as those by Durkheim (1893), Wirth (1938) and Packard (1972). The result was the establishment of a 'community lost' perspective (Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979), whereby the concept of community was dismissed as archaic and irrelevant to the modern city. Community (and its decline) was thus defined in terms of the process of modernisation and large-scale economic organisation. Cater and Jones (1989 : 171) elaborate:

**The modern city thus represented the kind of benefits which can only be achieved through increasing scale: the economic benefits derived from specialised division of labour; the individual self-expression which comes from the breaking of traditional parochial ties. There is no place for the small community in the scheme of things.**

Despite the eclipse-of-community school, there has been growing (sociological, anthropological and geographical) empirical evidence to support and prove 'the continuing survival and social relevance of urban local communities' (Cater and Jones, 1989 : 172). These studies have ranged from Hoggart's (1957) autobiographical essay through to sociological studies of family and kinship (Guest and Lee, 1983), to the spatial approach of geographers (Buttimer, 1972; Pacione, 1984; Cater and Jones, 1989). Despite the various approaches to the study of community, this literature has played an important role in dispelling the urban myth of 'non-community'. Rather than 'realms of non-place' (Webber, 1964), cities have increasingly been proved to consist of urban villages or neighbourhoods (Knox, 1987), where people socialise and interact with each other and their surroundings. This perspective has become known as 'community saved' (ibid, 1987). In the context of this school, then, community has been defined in terms of its territorial, social and functional foundations (Cater and Jones, 1989). Geographers, not surprisingly, subscribe to the 'community saved school' as they pursue the study of people and places. For them the 'geography of communality' is paramount. Ogburn and Nimkoff (1968; quoted in Dennis, 1968 : 75) suggest that:

**...the locality group or community ... may be thought of as the total organisation of social life within a limited area. Human social life is characteristically carried on in such communities. They are the loci of group activity, of institutional organisation, and the development of human personality.**

Thus geographers have helped to foster a concept of community (or neighbourhood) which recognises the significance of territorial bounds and shared living space (Ley, 1974; Herbert and Raine, 1976). Just as community defines place, place (or social space) defines community. As a result of geographers' emphasis of territoriality, the definition of community is further complicated by the issue of geographical scale. Thus, a community can, and must, be defined in geographical terms. This definition can vary from 'a collection of houses and streets', to 'the world' (Eyles, 1985 : 59). Eyles (1985 : 60), for instance, displays the importance of geographical scale by associating community with various international (and territorial) entities.

**There is ... the European Economic Community and perhaps we may refer to the community of nations that make up NATO. With these ... examples, we can see that the question of geographical scale is tied up with the social concerns of membership and interest. In other words, who belongs to the "community" and why? We speak, therefore, of the Polish community, the academic community and the football community.**

Not surprisingly, therefore, of the 94 definitions assembled by Hillery (1955), and examined by Bell and Newby (1971), no less than 70 were found to have used locality as one of their criteria (Cater and Jones, 1989 : 167). This interchangeability between 'community' and 'locality', or as I prefer to call it, 'place', can be attributed to the attachments between people and place, and more specifically, the identity (or sense of belonging) which these attachments elicit (Eyles, 1985). 'It may, in fact, be this need to have roots - to belong - ', asserts Eyles (1985 : 62), 'that ensures the continued social relevance of "community", "locality", "place", or whatever, when its sociological irrelevance is being espoused'. Thus, it is difficult, if not impossible, to accurately define the concept of community. What one can say, however, is that it encompasses three interrelated elements: geographical area, social interaction, and sense of belonging. It is toward the consideration and elaboration of these three elements that this chapter now turns.

### **2.3.1.2 Community as geographical context: understanding the relationship between people and their physical location**

Given that the concept of 'community' is, by definition, as much a spatial construct as it is a social construct, it follows that it can, and does, geographically delineate

people's everyday activities. This is supported by Jones's (1973 : 54) table of constituent elements of community in which he identifies 'geographical area' as one of the primary criteria. Thus, in order to fully appreciate the role which *physical* place (or area) plays in people's lives, we need to consider 'community' as the geographical arena of 'activities, institutions and practices' (Eyles, 1985 : 64). To this end I propose to discuss 'community' both as ecological and territorial structure.

I begin with a brief discussion of ecological theory developed by the Chicago school of human ecology. Of particular interest in this regard is the extent to which the Chicago school in general, and Park in particular, illuminated the spatial and physical relationships in which beings are organised (McKenzie, 1968). Park (1952) has encapsulated the (spatially-orientated) thinking of the Chicagoans in what can be referred to as the ecological theory. The distinctive feature of this approach is that the city was conceived of as a kind of social organism within which people's social organisation and activities occurred (Knox, 1987).

Notwithstanding the naivety of the ecological approach, many of its central concepts remain 'implicit in the abstract models of urban spatial structure which still form part of any course of urban geography' (Jackson and Smith, 1984 : 66). Most important among these are the concepts of natural or biotic areas (community) and natural culture (society). By focusing on these two interrelated levels of everyday human existence, human ecologists could portray the community (natural area or biotic) as a dynamic and competitive phenomenon which derives its significance from natural culture (or society). Park (1952 : 151) therefore points to a society (cultural superstructure) in which 'biotic [cultural substructure] competition has declined and the struggle for existence has assumed higher and more sublimated forms'.

Although subordinate to society (cultural superstructure), the community (natural area or biotic) continually attempts to adjust to its environment. 'The general effect of the continuous processes of invasion and accommodation', asserts McKenzie (1967 : 77), 'is to give to the well-defined areas, each having its own selective and cultural characteristics'. Therefore, natural areas (as a reflection of natural culture), 'can be studied both ecologically and sociologically' (Saunders, 1981 : 60). Eyles (1985 : 65), however, manages to succinctly capture this dialectic when he says:

**Objective and functional analyses dominate the study of community as ecological structure. A relatively small number of functions, specifically those which enable a population to carry on its daily life, link the population with its environment (see Hawley, 1950; 1968). It is not the population that decides these links. Communities are determined by ecological processes. In this way, community**

**becomes the place in which people live and to which they have been unconsciously directed by the functional requirements of the competitive process. It is where life occurs and individuals have little choice in how it is lived.**

'Community', in human ecologist terms, therefore, is assumed to exist if only as an *a priori* assumption of social existence (Hawley, 1950). Despite its inherent generalities, ecological analysis does provide insights into among other things, the relationship between place and community struggle (Merrifield, 1992). However, as intimated earlier, except for the interactionist tradition (Matthews, 1977; Rock, 1979; Entrikin, 1980), human ecology (as theory) has steadily waned in popularity within geographical literature. Instead geographers have endeavoured to study people (or community) in far more concrete geographical (or spatial) terms (Cater and Jones, 1989).

This has generally been achieved through the conception of territoriality. Viewed as a device whereby the geographical context can be maintained (and controlled), territoriality (an offshoot of animal behaviour) was applied by geographers in the study of human spatial behaviour. In this way, human geographers (particularly social and historical geographers) were able to redefine territoriality as a social and geographical construct. 'Territoriality', writes Sack (1986 : 2), 'is intimately related to how people use the land, how they organise themselves in space, and how they give meaning to place'. Geographers have therefore used the theory of territoriality within ideographic as well as nomothetic studies. Whether studying the particular or analysing general trends, territoriality has assisted human geographers in their quest to better understand social-geographical relations. Porteous (1976) and Cater and Jones (1989), for example, have illustrated the function of individuals' home territory (or neighbourhood) as geographical haven, while Agnew (1982) and Cooper (1976) have focused on the home as an expression of individual and group identity. Others have demonstrated territoriality as the background to everyday social relations. Whereas geographers such as Yablonsky (1970) studied the existence of gang 'turfs', Suttles (1972) and Boal (1978) (cited in Knox, 1987) have documented the complex territorial behaviour exhibited by social groups within inner-city areas. More recently, however, geographers have cast territoriality within an historical-materialist mould. Harvey (1989 : 266), for instance, has the following to say regarding the spatial empowerment of low-income populations who find themselves trapped in space:

**Within the community space, use values get shared through some mutual predation, creating tight but often highly conflictual interpersonal social bonding in both private and public spaces. The result is an often intense attachment to place and "turf" and an exact sense of boundaries because it is only through active appropriation that control over space is assured.**

In this way, argues Harvey (1989), territoriality is used to exert control or power within a particular area. This in turn gives rise to communities with specific ethnic, racial or status identities.

Thus territoriality is intimately involved with social context, and more specifically with the concept of community. Although usually defined as a classification of area, territoriality has also come to represent a means whereby people or communities attempt to claim differential access to, and power over, their living and/or work places (Sack, 1986). Thus, not only does territory define group membership, but it assists in geographically bonding people's everyday activities. Put another way:

**Territoriality ... forms the backcloth to human spatial relations and conceptions of space. Territoriality points to the fact that human spatial relationships are not neutral. People do not just interact in space as billiard balls. Rather, human interaction, movement, and contact are also matters of transmitting energy and information in order to affect, influence, and control the ideas and actions of others and their access to resources. Human spatial relations are the results of influence and power (Sack, 1986 : 26).**

Not surprisingly, faced with developers' bulldozers and subsequent gentrification, urban communities have been found to have increasingly rallied around the issue of territory. 'Territorial concerns', argues Merrifield (1992 :117-118), '... are ... important tactics for local communities struggling for the "reconquest" of place as "lived space"'. Territory, therefore, not only defines community action, but can encourage territorial consciousness based on parochialism and emotional attachment to place (Fitzgerald, 1991). In this context, territoriality represents the basic geographic expression of people's attempts to influence, control and 'protect' their environment.

Human geographers, using humanistic geographical approaches, have endeavoured to replace the cold and abstract view of space with 'place', a geographic area filled with social content and meaning. In so doing, geographers such as Relph (1976), Ley (1978), Buttner (1978), Samuels (1981), Eyles (1985) etc have not only acknowledged place (or geographic area) as the existential setting for people's (or 'communities') everyday activities and practices (Eyles, 1985; 1989), but strived to 'recover the "nitty-gritty" of everyday people-place relations' (Cloke *et al*, 1991 : 84). 'The relationship between community and place', asserts Relph (1976 : 34), 'is indeed a very powerful one in which each reinforces the identity of the other, and in which the landscape is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvements'. In this way, the communality of people's experience, of place-based messages and symbols, serves to maintain and reinforce 'a collectively conditioned place consciousness' (Aldo van Eyck, 1969 : 109; cited in Relph, 1976).

By focusing on community as ecological and territorial entity, we have acknowledged the geographic imperative of group interaction. Having ascertained the 'geography of community', it is necessary to determine how place gains social meaning. To achieve this we turn to a consideration of community as social construct.

### 2.3.1.3 Community as social context: understanding social interaction and locational conflict

While the geographical context (with its ecological and territorial components) is important as a pre-determined framework, the social element of community is equally important as it places people and their activities at the centre of attention (Eyles, 1985). Thus just as social interactions and relationships can be defined in terms of location, place can be said to receive its significance and meaning from patterned and often conflictual social relationships. Moreover, individuals find their social meaning (or sense of being) through interactions with others who are similar to themselves (Blumer, 1966; Denzin, 1971). Through these interactions, individuals can construct their own social networks. Yet, as Viljoen *et al* (1987 : 236) assert, 'urbanism helps to generate varieties of social worlds within which people build communal and supportive networks to help them to cope with the demands of everyday living'. These networks are generally characterised by, on the one hand, patterned and stable social relationships (which in turn encourage internal group cohesiveness), or on the other hand, community-based inter-class conflict.

Patterned relationships, unlike community conflict, have been found to exist in small-scale (often rural) societies (Williams, 1956). Despite the strong tendency towards community cohesion and social interaction, there is no suggestion that 'all the people interact with everyone else in the community' (Eyles, 1985 : 67). Mewett (1982; cited in Eyles, 1985), for instance, shows how, in 'Clachan' on the Isle of Lewis, individuals' social interactions are shaped by their respective kinship, neighbouring and religious relationships. Similarly, in the urban context, stable, patterned social relationships have been found to exist, despite a multitude of externalities (third-party effects) impacting on urban life (Knox, 1987). Researchers who have studied inner city environments from the perspective of working-class residents have discovered neighbourhoods characterised by highly developed social networks. The interpersonal relationships present within these social networks generally display congruency with day-to-day social life in that particular socio-economic group (Viljoen *et al*, 1987).

Gans (1982 : 15), for instance, found stable social relationships in the poor, ethnically mixed populations of Boston's West End.

Everyone might not know everyone else; but ... they did know something about everyone ... especially within each ethnic group. Between groups, common residence and sharing of facilities - as well as the constant struggle against absentee landlords - created enough solidarity to maintain a friendly spirit... For most West Enders, then, life in the area resembled that found in the village or small town, and even in the suburb.

Although present within urban areas, stable, patterned social interactions are generally eclipsed by community conflict. Much of this conflict has been found to revolve around location. Because of this, many regard the social geography of the city as the outcome of conflicts (Knox, 1987). 'The unequal distribution of power, wealth and prestige created by occupational structure', writes Pahl (1970 : 113), 'may be simply reinforced in a given locality - so that the less privileged are made more "less privileged" by differential access to facilities'. Thus, conflict occurs as unequally endowed communities and groups attempt to obtain and/or retain access to positive locational externalities (ibid, 1987). Western's (1981) *Outcast Cape Town* is particularly insightful in demonstrating how people-place relations take on extra political meaning in situations of potential conflict between social groups with differential access to power. He shows how the 'Cape Coloureds', lacking effective ethnic and cultural identity, were able to develop community solidarity through strong emotional attachment to 'District Six'; an inner city neighbourhood condemned as a slum in the mid-1970s (Western, 1981 : 150-154).

Therefore, the transformation of the urban fabric brought on by capitalist restructuring and/or state intervention, introduces new sources of potential conflict. With the disintegration of local social networks, for instance, urban residents have attempted to reassert popular control over space (Cater and Jones, 1989). The result is the urban social movements discussed by Castells (1977; 1978; 1983). Usually, the main protagonists in these local movements are those with the most to lose: for example, property owners, who perceive possible falls in land values. Because of their financial means and links to the political system, affluent property classes are generally able to prevent local changes that will injure their interests (Johnston, 1982; 1984). 'Local changes', argues Knox (1987 : 249), 'are part of the general contest between classes within capitalist society'. Fitzgerald (1991), goes further in his analysis of the Tri-State Conference on Steel, a community-labour organisation fighting plant closings in Pittsburgh. Stressing the class-based nature of community movements, Fitzgerald (1991 : 118) has the following to say:

Thus, it is suggested that class and community are competing, rather than complementary, bases of collective action. To the extent that community movements promote interlocal competition, they only fragment the working class, and thereby reinforce the hegemony of capital.

In the long run then, locational and inter-class conflict is resolved through the creation of *de facto* territories on the basis of ethnicity and income. In the case of South Africa, however, not only were black Africans treated as temporary sojourners in the cities, but those who were allowed urban residence had to suffer the injustice of living in officially segregated residential areas commonly referred to as 'townships'. The reduction of inter-racial conflict was generally proffered as justification for these and other segregationist policies. The result was the emergence of 'a structurally simpler and more rigid "apartheid city"', in which the black majority had little, if any, access to public resources (Crush, 1992).

One of the most common community strategies employed (internationally and to a greater extent of late in South Africa) to improve facilities is that of *voicing* (Johnston, 1982). This has generally involved the 'organisation of petitions, lobbying politicians and bureaucrats, writing to newspapers, forming local resident groups [civics], picketing, or distributing handbills and posters' (Knox, 1987 : 249). These strategies have sometimes developed into *illegal activities*, such as personal violence, damage to property, sit-ins and deliberate violations of discriminatory laws (Dear and Long, 1978).

Alternatively, some of the more prosperous communities are able to use formal channels of *participation* as a strategy, when in conflict with other communities or institutions (Lake, 1986; cited in Knox, 1987). Another 'strategy' available to communities is that of *resignation*. This is especially common among the poorer marginalised communities who, because of their social status and class, may view voicing strategies as ineffective. Thus, as Knox (1987 : 249) puts it, '[m]any people who disapprove of city plans, for example, simply resign themselves to the "inevitable" because they feel unable, individually or collectively, to exert any real influence on policy-makers'. The final strategy according to Knox (1987) is that of re-location, or *exit*. This strategy can lead to the disruption, if not destruction, of community and place attachments.

Similarly, the redevelopment and consequent gentrification of inner city areas can also severely disrupt existing social and institutional networks and result in conflict. In the case of dockland redevelopment, for example, the interests and opportunities of the established residents and tenants might be harmed (or destroyed) through the

(re)creation of a publicly subsidised 'waterfront' area catering to the tastes of upper classes and tourists (Clark, 1988). In an attempt to realise the site potential in terms of land values and social status, cliques of property developers attempt to drive out temporary and low-status land uses (ibid, 1988). This, in turn, has resulted in inter-group conflict (harbour-related activities versus developers) as well as the displacement of those people economically dependent (either formally or informally) on these port-based operations. Clark (1988 : 230) questions the underlying social cost of revitalisation strategies:

**The re-establishment of value in abandoned dockland areas may be achieved at considerable concealed cost to society as a result of the influence which capital is often able to exert in decision-making processes. ... [T]he over-evaluation of rapid change and short-term profit entails many risks. The benefits are unlikely to solve the socio-economic problems of disadvantaged groups which, by force of circumstance, have often been channelled into the maritime quarter of cities.**

From the above discussion, it is evident that place essentially derives its meaning and significance from the complex and interrelated, often conflictual, interactions which occur within and between communities. By looking at the broader societal issue of class it is possible better to understand inter- and intra-community tensions and social stratification. While this section has been concerned with that 'which is' (place as representation and reflection of people and their interactions and conflicts), community need also be examined in ideological terms; that which is 'implicit and often hidden'.

#### **2.3.1.4 Community as ideological context: understanding place as the concrete 'grounding' of people's sense of belonging**

As it is my intention to determine people's sense of belonging to place (or sense of place), it is necessary to focus on their overarching collective ideology: a term used to denote the beliefs and notions which people receive about the social world and its accepted values and goals (Johnston, 1961). This is by no means a recent development. As Eyles (1985 : 70) points out, the notion of shared 'received beliefs' was being applied to place as early as the 1940s in the work of Firey (1947), who viewed values as one of the criteria whereby certain groups choose particular locations. These values (as the shared perspectives of particular groups), in turn, enabled the sense of belonging to a place to emerge (Eyles, 1985). Moreover, as intimated in the section above, community sentiment is usually translated into locational action by those groups who have the economic power to protect and promote their geographic sectional interests. This attachment to place has been found in various groups: among the residents of Boston's Beacon Hill (Firey, 1947), the Norwegians in New York

(Jonassen, 1961), or the 'Cape Coloureds' in District Six (Western, 1981) (see chapter four).

Thus, sense of belonging must be seen as a social product of shared group values and aspirations. This view has gained support from studies within a sub-discipline of behavioural geography, namely perceptual geography (Saarinen, 1976; Gold, 1980; Walmsley and Lewis, 1984). Proshansky (1978 : 155), for instance, defines place identity as 'those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and ... skills relevant to this environment'. Yet, although shared sense of belonging has been treated as a mental construct, it is in fact, as shown above, also based on social and geographical conditions of human existence. Although place can sometimes be viewed as an aspect of psychological well-being, within which people perceive themselves as being environed (Suttles, 1968; Duncan, 1973; cited in Eyles, 1985), it is also the core of people's identities (Ley, 1981). Because, as Viljoen *et al.*, (1987 : 234) put it, 'for each role-related identity, there are physical dimensions and characteristics which help define it' (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987 : 234).

As a result of growing social and urban complexity, therefore, place has come to symbolise a diversity of different identities (Hunter, 1974). Moreover, as the centre of people's 'felt value' (Tuan, 1977 : 4), attachment to, and identity with, place has been assumed (by humanistic geographers) to be a significant basic human need (see chapter one). According to Weil (1955 : 53):

**To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognised need of the human soul... A human being has roots by virtue of his [sic] real, active and natural participation in the life of the community ... this participation is a natural one in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings.**

Thus, as the- foundation of people's identities, place has been described as being dialectical in terms of individual or group aspirations, needs, and functional activities (Tuan, 1977). By this I mean that people have both authentic (genuine) and inauthentic (contrived) senses of place similar to the artificial experiences of people in postmodern urban environments (see Harvey's discussion on commodification in section 2.2.2.2 above ). Relph (1976) identifies this dichotomy of senses of place by means of his insider-outsider dialectic. He argues that people experience place both as insider and outsider. He (1976 : 49) writes:

To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is this identity with place. ... From the outside you look upon a place as a traveller might look upon a town from a distance; from the inside you experience a place, are surrounded by it and part of it. The inside-outside division thus presents itself as a simple but basic dualism, one that is fundamental in our experiences of lived-space and one that provides the essences of place.

Because the boundary between inside and outside moves with our intentions (ibid, 1976), there are many possible levels of insideness. Apart from behavioural insideness (one's physical presence in place) and empathetic insideness (emotional participation and involvement in place), people also experience existential (or cognitive) insideness which generally requires a complete and unselfconscious commitment to, and immersion in, place (Berger, 1971 : 20-21). By this we mean that people experience place through their senses of touch, taste, smell, hearing and vision (see chapter one). Whether experienced as rational landscape (Relph, 1981), soundscape (Schafer, 1977), smellscape (Porteous, 1985), or all three, these senses of place remain existentially part of the insider. For it is only through our various senses that we can appreciate our authentic lived spaces. Yet, as Eyles (1985 : 72-73) points out,

...authenticity seems to mean being unaware of being aware. ... It can point to the apparently pre-reflexive state in which small-scale societies seem to live, where place is simply part of living (Sack, 1980). Or, it can demonstrate the failure to recognise dominant meanings or "distortions" that make us experience place in particular ways.

Planners, for instance, generally lacking an integrated understanding of the existential character of urban life, have been expected to design and organise its physical form (Buttimer, 1980). Thus, as existential (or reflectively uninvolved) outsiders, they have been largely instrumental in undermining the authenticity of place.

The emergence of an inauthentic attitude to place (along with the subsequent destruction of meaning) has, however, paralleled the growth of modern industrialised mass societies (Walter, 1988). These societies have, in turn, endeavoured to create functionally efficient and objectively organised places (Eyles, 1985). Because an inauthentic attitude to place effectively denies any sense of place, it remains unaware of the deep and symbolic significance and identities of place. Increasingly, therefore, there has been a growing trend towards 'placelessness' (Relph, 1976). Relph's (1976) notion of placelessness has been used in reference to the creation of standardised landscapes that diminish the differences among places. However, as seen earlier in this chapter, the same effect is also realised even when the symbolism and uniqueness

of place is exalted (see section 2.2.2.3 above). The result is a postmodern landscape which only manages to 'standardise' eclecticism within present day places.

'The most obvious casualty of such a change', writes Entrikin (1991 : 57), 'is the sense of attachment that comes from the stability of meaning associated with places and landscapes'. By implication, therefore, placelessness denotes both an environment devoid of significant places as well as an attitude which does not acknowledge the significance of places in people's lives. This attitude, entrenched as it was in the modernist planning ideology, is reflected in the *gemutlichkeit* (quaintness, cuteness or artificiality) built form of the 1960s and 1970s (Relph, 1976). This so-called 'dream planning' (Gladstone, 1976) epitomised the life-style vision of planners concerned with entrenching their own class-culture as well as catering to the life-style needs of the rich to which they assumed most people aspired. According to Knox (1987 : 304-305), this modernist planning praxis:

**...is manifested in planning documents which are generously sprinkled with references to yachting marinas, golf courses, shopping malls and leisure centres, to the needs of households with second homes and second cars, to the problem of providing retailing complexes to cater for mass consumption on unprecedented scales, and to the urgency of remodelling the environment to match the spirit of the bright new future.**

Imbued with elitist notions, these attitudes and practices of inauthenticity (whether modernist or postmodernist) represented a one-sided perspective of place. Shaped by middle and ruling class ideas, place presently reflects an eclectic mix of modernist, and most recently, postmodernist architectural forms. Of particular note in this regard, are the developments of subtopia or suburbia (with its endless subdivisions of identical houses), and the futuristic recreation and entertainment complexes (see section 2.2.2.3 above). Thus, rather than entrenching a sense of place, the dominant value-system has promoted social alienation through the creation of a placeless geography. This in turn, has simultaneously resulted in the weakening of ties between people and their places.

Nevertheless, as Eyles (1985 : 73) asserts, people still manage to 'make their lives out of what is available ... or develop a sense of place'. Although often constrained and alienated by inauthentic modern and postmodern places, people still manage to mould places in their own image (see section on structuration below).

**The city's plasticity can provide opportunities and it can produce panic, envy and hatred. In other words, choices have to be made as to what kind of identity we want. The city is the "emporium of styles"; identity appears to be a matter of possessions and appearances and involves, in some ways, a search to find others like oneself. There are in fact many realities and "communities", created by a**

variety of styles and linked by activities, life-style, locality or whatever (Eyles, 1985 : 74).

Despite being powerless to stop the structural transformation of places, 'people do shape their own lives and create their own identities', even if it is 'not necessarily or overwhelmingly in conditions of their choosing' (Eyles, 1989 : 109). This is particularly true of the everyday lives of poor, ethnic and working class communities, whose material conditions are generally determined by wider socio-economic forces. Today, therefore, working class places, fragmented as they are along age, gender, race and occupational lines, have come to represent a multiplicity of realities (ibid, 1989).

Moreover, with the trend towards urban redevelopment, for instance, working class communities have increasingly found themselves (and their sense of belonging) being commodified along with their physical location (see section 2.2.2.2 above). According to Raban (1976), sense of belonging and community have become negotiable commodities, a style, to be sought out like any other good. As such, places and their underlying connotations have become 'targets' for wealthy, mobile social groups looking for 'a specific life-style which emphasises social harmony and attachment to place' (Eyles, 1985 : 79). Thus because 'places encapsulate and communicate identity' (Mills, 1993 : 150), gentrifiers (or community-seekers) move into places where they feel there is community and identity. Planners and developers of dockland-style redevelopments, for instance have, not surprisingly, emphasised the symbolic and aesthetic dimensions of place in order to attract these community-seekers (Crilley, 1990). Seen in the context of the commodification of place, however, gentrification can also be understood as a process whereby people attempt to regain, if only superficially, their lost sense of community (Eyles, 1985). By acquiring place as object, people attempt to realise their place-in-the-world, an identity shaped by their expectations and aspirations (Parkin, 1971). Yet, in so doing, they inevitably undermine that which they are trying to obtain, namely a sense of belonging. Ollman (1976 : 215) explains:

**With the communal interest lost behind a host of competing particular interests, society becomes a battleground. People experience others only by struggling against them. In this situation, the conditions of cooperation which were established in the division of labour win an independent existence over and against the separate individuals and become a "bond alien to them".**

It is in the context of this material and ideological 'obstruction' of place and its underlying meanings, therefore, that community opposition (as discussed above) should be viewed. For not only does ideology and alienation provide the societal framework for community (Eyles, 1985), it also empowers, albeit negatively, place-bound groups

to resist the exclusionary and 'pulverising' tendencies of capitalist urban redevelopment (Lefebvre, 1991).

#### **2.4 On Foci and Frameworks: reflections on a chapter concluded**

In the introduction to this chapter I outlined my intent. In this, its conclusion, I propose to reflect on the underlying conceptual frameworks and foci, explicit and implicit in that which has been studied above.

Because the nature of this study mitigates against the embrace of, on the one hand, purely structural theory, or on the other purely agency-orientated theory, conceptual explanation has drawn on both historical materialist and geographical humanist theoretical approaches. As can be seen above, this chapter has endeavoured to understand place as both outcome of structural forces and site of human agency. By drawing on Marxist as well as humanist discourses, I have been able to achieve a conceptual equilibrium between concrete human experience (in place) and overarching structural process (shaping place). Implicit within such an undertaking has been the theory of structuration, in which the structure-agency dialectic first found expression.

By exposing the ontological polarisation of structure and human agency, structuration theory was able to carve out a theoretical niche between Marxist- and humanist-orientated conceptual interpretations (Cloke *et al*, 1991). Moreover, the formulation of this middle ground has not only encouraged discussion about how structures and human agency interact, but also echoed the calls for greater Marxist-humanist dialogue emanating from geographical quarters (e.g. in Ley and Samuels, 1978 and Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989).

In his evolving theory of structuration, Giddens (1984; 1985; 1987; 1989; 1990; 1991 etc) tries to approach structure and agency within one coherent theoretical framework. 'In seeking to come to grips with problems of action and structure', writes Giddens (1991 : 204), 'structuration theory offers a conceptual scheme that allows one to understand both how actors are at the same time the creators of social systems yet created by them'. Central to Giddens's structuration theory, therefore, is the notion of the duality of structure, in which Giddens indicates how 'social structures are both constituted by human action, and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution' (Giddens, 1977 : 121). Thus, as the epitome of opposition to dogmatic pre-1980 theoretical interpretations of social reality (see chapter one), 'the theory of

structuration ... effectively resolve[s] the problem of structure and agency, and the associated poles of determinism and voluntarism' (Sayer, 1983 : 109).

Yet, whilst structuration represents an attempt at constructing a grand theory for the understanding of society, there are major problems in transferring its ideas directly across to the empirical research of human geographies (Gregson, 1987a; 1989). Cloke *et al* (1991 : 131) sum up the role of structuration theory in the following way:

**Overall, it may be that the most important role for structuration is to present us with a series of warnings about how we should *not* approach the complex matters that constitute human geography (that is, by avoiding the excesses of either overly structure-oriented or overly agency-oriented approaches), as opposed to presenting us with a comprehensive blueprint for how we should carry out our studies.**

Despite providing no such methodological blueprint, structuration is useful (albeit implicitly) as a framework for the Marxist-humanist theoretical explanation developed in this chapter. It is also relevant particularly within the South African context, as it alerts us to 'the uniqueness, complexity and heterogeneity of concrete social practices constitut[ed] and shaped by complex relations between material and cultural practices in specific historical settings' (Scott, 1986 : 61).

Central to this thesis, however, is the concept of place: place as the context and focus of people's everyday activities, practices, struggles and identities (see chapter one). Moreover, I have endeavoured to bring together divergent theoretical discourses of place, specifically as they relate to the fall and rise of 'waterfront' places. This conceptual strategy places the work within the context of locality studies.

Locality studies have evolved partly out of geographers' attempts 'to operationalise the theoretical work on human agency and spatial structure in an empirical context' (Unwin, 1992 : 174), and partly in response to the renewed disciplinary emphasis on, and interest in, the concept of place (Johnston, 1991). As the most popular geographical organising concept in the 1980s (Duncan, 1989), 'locality' has helped geographers to understand the ways in which their respective sub-disciplines are linked to other sub-disciplines (Jackson 1989; cited in Massey, 1993). Localities have, in effect, focused geographers' attention on the space (or place) in which people work and live. By stressing the non-parochial view of place (Massey, 1993), locality studies added a new dimension to the study of place. They emphasised the importance of contextuality and totality. For Massey (1993 : 144), it is almost impossible to satisfactorily understand or explain places 'in isolation from the wider context, both national and international, in which they are set'. Localities, therefore, assist in

geographers' understanding of parochial place (with its unique identity and sense of place) by setting it in its wider context. By extrapolating out to the global context, so it is argued, one is better able to see and understand those relations of interdependence (political, economic and cultural) which constitute place. 'The challenge for geographers', according to Massey (1993 : 146), 'is to retain an appreciation, and an understanding of the importance, of the uniqueness of place while insisting always on that other side of the coin, the necessary interdependence of any place with others'.

Yet, in spite of its growing acceptance, the notion of locality has been criticised for being empirical rather than theoretical. Although essentially descriptive in nature, locality by its very nature denotes an implicit recognition of wider structural forces. 'It is a mistake', argues Warde (1989 : 274), 'to think that locality studies necessarily lead to idiographic descriptions of the particular, that they herald some return to the a-theoretical, descriptive glorifications of the uniqueness of places'. Far from being 'misleading and unsupported' (Duncan, 1989 : 247), or 'confused, unsatisfactory, and largely redundant' (Duncan and Savage, 1989 : 202-203), locality can be seen as the link *between* those particularising and universalising discourses in the study of place (Entrikin, 1991).

However, locality (and place-related) studies have assumed renewed relevance in the late 1980s and early 1990s, particularly due to their engagement with, and response to, the approaches of realism and postmodernism (see chapter one). Whereas the realist approach attempts to better understand the 'real world independent of human perception' (Unwin, 1992 : 175), postmodernism (see section 2.3.2 above) encourages interpretations informed by human attitude and subjective understanding. Although vastly different in approach, realism and postmodernism provide place-related studies with a vast array of possible interpretations. Together these two approaches strengthen and indeed support the assertions made by locality research; assertions upon which this study is based.

As a whole, then, chapters one and two have been concerned 'with what place can be'. While it is most certainly shaped by the wider socio-economic processes, place is also the geographic, social and ideological site of peoples' everyday activities and practices. By focusing on these interrelated elements, it has been possible to elucidate the nature and significance of place. Moreover, by focusing on what Entrikin (1991) calls the 'betweenness of place', it has been possible to consider place as material condition, social reality, and source of identity. Through its discussion of the underlying conceptual frameworks of structuration and locality research, and the central foci of

place and people, this chapter provides the main conceptual tools with which to interpret sense of place in relation to the totality of individuals' lives. These conceptions will, in turn, assist with the empirical analysis conducted in chapters five, six and seven. However, discussion now turns to a consideration of the methodological bases of the present study.

## CHAPTER THREE

### TOWARDS A QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

#### 3.1 Introduction

The different versions of "common sense", sense of place, and other collective consciousness shared by persons and social groups, the individual, or biographical, and collective memories acquired by any woman or man, all result from and contribute to their concrete social actions and bodily being in the world, ... that govern what people do and under what circumstances... (Pred, 1990 : 18).

The previous chapter established the theoretical context of this study. However, the success of an empirical study such as this rests mainly upon the methodology adopted. The choice of methodological strategy is crucial in determining whether the researcher gains meaningful access to the social reality (or lifeworld) of the people or community being studied. As it was my intention to uncover the dialectic between insider and outsider perspectives of life in a rapidly changing Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, it was vital that a methodological approach be utilized which provides the tools to unearth the inshore fishermen's understanding of their individual and collective social reality and 'sense of place' (see chapter two). Consequently, this investigation was undertaken from the fisherman's perspective within a qualitatively-inclined methodological framework. Yet, the adoption of a qualitative methodological context brings with it a number of challenges, some of which surfaced during implementation.

Before addressing the methodology adopted and its subsequent implementation, it is necessary to reaffirm, if only briefly, the (humanist and historical materialist) philosophical discourse and theoretical conceptions underpinning and informing methodological construction. In light of this philosophy and theory, the aims of this chapter are fivefold.

These are, firstly, to demonstrate the appropriateness of a qualitative research approach in relation to underlying philosophical and theoretical positions; secondly, to indicate how this underlying philosophical stance determined methodological formulation; thirdly, to address the research design and some of the methodological issues which arose in the process; fourthly, to consider data collection research methods employed in

terms of both the underlying principles and practical application; and finally to address the effectiveness (and challenges) underlying the implementation of the multi-method research design.

### **3.2 Understanding the philosophical and theoretical background to methodological strategy**

In the preceding two chapters of this study I have endeavoured to map both the underlying philosophies and the theoretical conceptions and assumptions of humanism and historical materialism within geographical discourse. Although initially opposed to each other in philosophy, methodology and empirical work (see chapter one), these paradigms have increasingly since the 1980s witnessed greater convergence, especially with respect to the treatment of the concept of place (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989). In seeking to understand their social world, containing both people and place, geographers (whether humanist or Marxist) have encouraged greater synthesis not only between humanistic and historical materialist theoretical approaches, but their respective methodologies. For Sayer (1989), this synthesis has been prompted by a common desire to address respective concerns raised; concerns about structure and agency, object and subject.

Both having evolved as critiques to positivism, the alternative paradigms of humanism and historical materialism continued to develop their respective (and competing) approaches during the 1960s and 1970s. Based on philosophies such as phenomenology and existentialism (see chapter one), humanistic (or interpretive) approaches understandably focused on the people dehumanised by positivist science (Ley, 1981b). Values, meanings, consciousness, creativity, and reflection formed the backbone of humanist endeavour. Landscapes and places, in turn, were viewed as 'centre[s] of meaning constructed by experience' (Tuan, 1975 : 152). Historical materialism, on the other hand, addressed what humanism had overlooked in its preoccupation with human consciousness, namely the question of context. In so doing, historical materialism highlighted 'the complex constraints and conditions in which the individual was embedded and through which the individual was created as a social being...' (Kobayashi and Mackenzie, 1989 : 6). As a result, initial criticisms revolved around issues of structure and human agency. Whereas the humanists criticised the historical materialists for their reductionist and mechanistic treatment of human agency, historical materialists derided the humanists' failure 'to situate human thought and action within the wider social and historical totality' (Ley, 1981b : 252). Despite this early antagonism, and to a large extent because of it, humanists and historical materialists

have been exposed to, and influenced by, each other's theories and methodologies. *Rapprochement* has subsequently replaced misunderstanding, leading to greater convergence of theory and practice.

Whilst humanists have come to appreciate the significance of the conception of 'context' (be it geographical, political, economic or social) (Relph, 1976, 1981; Ley, 1981a, 1981b; Buttimer, 1976, 1980 etc), historical materialists, as Mackenzie (1989) and Harris (1989) forcefully argue, have shifted toward an incorporation of the concepts of human intentionality and agency. Increasingly therefore, academics have moved beyond the duality of structure and agency towards a common ground based on holism, intentionality and material existence (Giddens, 1976, 1979, 1981 etc). The ensuing debate (and theoretical interaction) has fueled a greater degree of eclecticism as Marxist and humanist geographers attempt to transcend their conceptual pigeon holes. This 'postmodern attitude' (as some have called it) to theoretical and philosophical discourse (Cloke *et al*, 1991), has broadened the scope and nature of academic enquiry through the establishment of a 'community of concern' which, according to Kobayashi and Mackenzie (1989 : 11), 'denies the separation of "personal" and "political", of "what I do today" and "what the world is"'.

It is within this academic tradition that the present study is located. Drawing on historical materialism and humanism, it is possible to understand the global economic processes which shape the material (and geographical) conditions of people's everyday activities while, at the same time, ascertaining how place-bound groups (such as the inshore fishing community) perceive, encounter, and respond to, their surrounding environment. These epistemological and ontological contexts have, in turn, informed and directed the formulation of a qualitatively-inclined methodology.

### **3.3 Towards a balanced methodological approach**

**The status of social science is seriously in doubt. Outsiders' attitudes towards it are often suspicious or even hostile, and social scientists themselves are deeply divided over what constitutes a proper approach to social science. The uncertainty has been heightened by increasing doubts in the philosophy of science about traditional views of scientific objectivity and progress (Sayer, 1984 : 1).**

This quote from Andrew Sayer's book *Method in Social Science A realist approach*, raises important concerns about method in social research. For Sayer (1984 : 1), it is necessary that the researcher decide between, on the one hand, the use of the 'usual empirical methods of hypothesis formulation and testing, [and] search for generalisations', or on the other, to 'displace or supplement' these with ethnographic or

interpretive methods. Although seemingly simple, the act of deciding between a systematic (or quantitative) and responsive (or qualitative) methodological approach should not be underestimated. For not only does the researcher have to choose a methodological approach, but s/he has to be prepared to justify that decision in terms of the underlying epistemological context because, as Hughes (1976) contends, data collection instruments obtain significance only when placed in a particular context or meaning system. But to merely state that a qualitatively-inclined approach was adopted, is wholly inadequate. In order to appreciate the significance of adopting such an approach, one needs to understand (without becoming entangled in a lengthy philosophical explanation) the nature of social geographical research.

As mentioned above, this study draws on broad and seemingly opposing philosophies. It follows that the methods underpinned by these philosophies will be equally broad and varied. In fact it can be argued that a methodological continuum (or contrast) exists, between what Relph (1989) refers to as 'responsive methods' and 'systematic methods'. Mirroring the contrast between science and the humanities (both of which are reflected in geography), responsive (or qualitative) methods emphasise the subjective dimensions of human experience (Halfpenny, 1979) whereas systematic (or quantitative) methods stress objective prediction and verification procedures (Epstein, 1985). Although opposed to positivism, humanism and historical materialism initially reinforced this methodological division (Sayer, 1989b) through their divergent treatment of structure and agency.

Traditionally humanist (or interpretive) research has been described by Entrikin (1976) as 'focused intuition'. Based on philosophies of meaning such as phenomenology and existentialism, humanist geographical work during the 1970s focused mainly on the voluntarist dimensions of human agency. As a result, these studies were based on overly subjective methodologies which, according to Ley (1981b : 252), proved to be little more than 'an eclectic and illustrative use of facts and anecdotes'. There was a rejection of anything that was remotely positivist in nature. Conversely, early proponents of historical materialism, in their attempts to understand the social and political contexts of human existence, utilised research methods which, although not positivist, did enhance causal (and structural) explanation (Sayer, 1989b). Yet, in their eagerness to understand the constraints to peoples' lives, historical materialists have overlooked human agency (and related explanation), thus drawing criticism from humanists.

However, as argued in the section above, there has been convergence of humanist and historical materialist epistemological positions. Dissatisfaction with postivistically-orientated approaches (Schurink and Schurink, 1988), coupled with an attendant need by researchers to comprehend peoples' social worlds from their subjective perspectives (Phillips, 1990), resulted in an increased recognition by human geographers of the advantages of researcher 'insideness' or reflexivity (Steier, 1991) and the insights derived from employing qualitatively-inclined methodologies. This development has in turn 'challeng[ed] the traditional objectivist and rationalist view of inquiry, which keep the world, both physical and social, at a distance...' (ibid, 1991 : 1).

Notwithstanding their different 'official' philosophical positions and antagonistic past relationship, humanists and historical materialists have increasingly since the early 1980s utilised similar evaluation procedures (Foot *et al*, 1989). Convergence within the theoretical realm (having assisted in undermining orthodox philosophical divisions) has resulted in greater methodological flexibility and synthesis (Sayer, 1989b). Rather than impose any one set of methods (be they scientific or responsive) in empirical data collection, human geographers of whatever philosophical persuasion have applied divergent methods. In an attempt to explain the relationship between people and place (or landscape), for instance, humanist geographers have adopted methods as diverse as unobstructive observation (Relph, 1981, 1989), participant observation (Rowles, 1978), indepth interviewing (Seamon, 1979), interviewing (Eyles, 1985) and more structured survey and statistical methods. Despite the continuing emphasis on interpretation rather than quantification or verification, human geographers in the 1980s have begun to address the initial methodological imbalance (Ley, 1981b). Through, for example, the structure-agency discourse (see chapter two), geographers have been able to overcome their pre-existing philosophical/methodological categorisation by drawing on methods that not only focus on understanding structure (be it local, national or international), or on the people's everyday activities, patterns and interactions, but on the interdependence of structure and human agency.

Theoretical (and philosophical) overlap has resulted in the application of responsively-inclined methodological approaches by human geographers. 'Concrete research', writes Sayer (1989b : 223), 'invariably has to mobilize and integrate concepts from several theories, in order to capture the many-sided nature of its object [or subject]'. Thus, rather than adopt any one method or approach to the exclusion of others, human geographers (in the light of growing philosophical and methodological synthesis) continue to draw on and apply multiple and complementary methods of data collection. Similarly, within the present study the philosophical diversity dictates that one adopt a

methodology that reflects this diversity as well as enhances the understanding of the totality of place. A qualitatively-inclined (although not completely responsive) methodology, therefore, informed the research design which in turn directed collection of data in practice. Direct observation, interviewing and analysis of private and historical documentation formed the basis of the study's research design.

### **3.4 Research Design**

In order to understand how the inshore fishermen perceived their 'place' within the context of a changing Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Dockland, it was necessary to understand the significance of the V&A Dockland and surrounds to the fishermen living and working in the area. This, it was felt, could be achieved by unearthing the fishermen's underlying feelings about the redevelopment, as well as reconstructing their perceptions of themselves as (inshore) fishermen in relation to the world around them; a world being spatially altered by the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Company. This required, on the one hand, an examination of their lifeworld<sup>1</sup> and the importance (both past and present) of the V&A Dockland within that lifeworld (see chapter four), and on the other, an exploration of their sentiments regarding the redevelopment (see chapter seven). The intention was to ascertain whether the inshore fishermen considered themselves outsiders to the development process, and thus to the physical redevelopment itself, and to determine the consequent effect upon their feelings of rootedness.

To operationalise the study a research design was constructed to facilitate the examination of the fishermen within their localised social setting as well as in the Victoria and Alfred area as a whole. For this purpose the triangulation strategy of Denzin (1970, 1978) was incorporated in the research design. This refers to the combination of multiple methods (of observation) which direct the researcher to utilise several different tools in the research process. The rationale is that no method alone, given its restrictions, can adequately deal with all the problems of discovery and testing. Denzin (1978 : 101-103) proposes that the greater the triangulation in a research design, the greater the confidence the researcher may have in his or her findings. He suggests that a triangulation strategy should embrace multiple data sources, multiple methods and multiple perspectives. A combination of strategies was therefore used, with the intention of revealing the importance of the harbour in the inshore fishermen's lives.

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1 "Lifeworld" is the 'taken-for-granted' context and pattern of daily living (Buttimer, 1976).

### 3.4.1 Sampling strategy<sup>2</sup>

Interpretive in character, the overall research design was based on a mixed sampling strategy. This strategy had to allow for the sampling of participants from two distinctive groups, namely the inshore fishing community and the V&AW management (or property developers) and planners. The underlying assumption was that sampling should not only be adapted to the population (or group), but that it should be undertaken in such a way as to ensure that the attitudes and opinions expressed reflect those of the group as a whole. Thus, whereas a random sampling strategy was decided upon within the inshore fishing group, a non-random (or targeted) sampling strategy was utilised when choosing which of the V&AW managers and planners to interview. These differing strategies were adopted because of the distinctive characteristics of the respective groups.

#### 3.4.1.1 The inshore fishing community

Unlike the fishermen employed by the deepsea fishing companies, it was difficult to determine accurately the absolute number of fishermen working on the V&A-based inshore fishing boats. This is mainly due to the absence of formalised employment practices. Inshore fishermen are employed by the boat's skipper and/or owner on a first come, first employed basis, at which time their names are recorded for the purpose of payment when, and if, they return from the fishing expedition.

This lack of formalisation has resulted in the creation of a group of transient fishermen who, although based in the V&A Dockland, are forced to migrate between fishing harbours in the Cape Peninsula in search of work. As a result, there was no accurate means of determining the exact size of the population employed in inshore fishing. A rough estimate could be obtained from the port authorities licensing list, in which all Cape Town based vessels were listed with their respective allowable complement of crew. By identifying those vessels which formed part of the inshore fishing fleet<sup>3</sup> as well as their corresponding crew, it was possible to ascertain that a maximum of 900 fishermen were allowed to be employed on 72 wooden fishing boats with CTA registrations (see Appendix A1).

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2 In the case of inshore fishing community respondents were interviewed directly after having been sampled.

3 The inshore fishing fleet was identified as wooden fishing vessels weighing less than 14 000 tons. The size of these vessels generally precludes them from deepsea fishing.

However, it must be pointed out that the size of the population does not stay constant throughout the year, but is contingent upon fishing quotas, licences and weather conditions. In order to facilitate the sampling process, it was decided to interview fishermen during winter, the rationale being that crayfish quotas are generally filled by May and tuna fishing by June, at the latest (see Table 6.1 in chapter six). Despite the occasional stockfish or linefish fishing, the winter months (May to August) are generally set aside to undertake much needed boat repairs as well as to allow for the annual surveying of the boats by the Department of Sea Fisheries. It was consequently decided to undertake random sampling from mid-May through to the end of June. Based on initial observations of the physical setting it was determined that it would be possible to identify key locations of social organisation and interaction (see Figure 3.1 below). Sampling (and interviewing) would then be conducted within these strategic sites, every day for the six week period. The intention was to approach and ask every individual fishermen who passed through the site whether they worked on the inshore (crayfish and tuna) fishing boats or on the deepsea trawlers. If the fisherman identified himself as an inshore fisherman he would be requested to participate in the research. The nature and purpose of the research would be explained, and confidentiality and anonymity assured (see Appendix A2). Once having consented, the fishermen would be drawn into the sample.

Those fishermen who displayed particular knowledge of the history of inshore fishing and the community, and a willingness to talk about it, would be asked to participate in an indepth interview at a later stage. Similarly, the names and addresses of fishermen and dockworkers who, I was told, possessed relevant historical knowledge would be noted and traced (with the intention of sampling and interviewing them).

A sample of 64 fishermen was finally drawn. Eighteen were skippers. They were all male and ranged in age from 23 to 65, with the average age being 44.

#### 3.4.1.2 V&AW Co. Managers and Planners

After having randomly sampled (and interviewed) members from the inshore fishing community, a second sample would be drawn from the management of the V&AW Co. as well as those planners coordinating the development. This would be effected by first identifying the V&AW Co. managers and planning coordinators listed in the **Directors, Advisors & Consultants** published within the V&AW Review (1991a). In this way it would be possible to target those individuals directly involved in the planning and

execution of the redevelopment. Then, having determined whom I wished to interview, a typed letter would be sent to the respective individuals. This letter, apart from requesting an interview with the targeted person, would provide the researcher's credentials as well as outlining research aims and objectives. Three members of the V&AW management team were identified and targeted in this way. They were the Managing Director (Mr David Jack), Development Manager (Mr Piet van Zyl) and Marketing Manager (Ms. Maureen Thompson). Furthermore, representatives from the two planning and urban design companies, Gallagher, Prinsloo and Associates (Mr Rob Meek) and MLH Architects and Planners (Mr Neil Swartz), assigned the task of co-ordinating the design and planning of the V&A redevelopment, were targeted.

#### **3.4.1.3 Additional sampling**

Further to the sampling (and interviewing) referred to above, additional sampling was conducted among representatives of key institutions and organisations. Apart from targeting (or sampling) the representatives in all of the major deepsea and inshore fishing companies located in the Victoria and Alfred Basins (thirteen in total), individuals such as Mr Gawie Fagan, special advisor to the V&AW, Mr Le Roux, Director of the South African Cultural History Museum, and Mr Roy Bross, secretary of the Port of Cape Town Fishing Association, were also drawn into the sample. These men were targeted because of their collective knowledge of the harbour, its people and activities as well as for their positions on the Minister's Liaison Committee established to review and advise the V&AW Company on the various stages of the redevelopment. Representatives of the port authority, Portnet, were also sampled. They were Port Captain Mr Bill Sheuwell and assistant chief engineer (and chairman of the historic commission that endorsed redevelopment plans) Mr Arie Burggraaf.

### **3.4.2 Multi-method data collection strategy**

As mentioned above, central to any substantive research design is its methodological strategy. In order to enhance 'triangulation' and facilitate comprehensive data collection, multiple methods were adopted. This multi-method strategy was based on observation, interviewing and documentary evidence, all of which are discussed below.

#### **3.4.2.1 Observation as method**

Observation was one of the three main methods employed within the data collection process. As the mainstay of ethnographic (or descriptive) geographic research (Jackson

and Smith, 1984), observation as method is firmly established within geographical enquiry (Rowles, 1978; Bulmer, 1983 etc). However, this method varies depending on the degree of participation. For instance, Denzin (1978 : 188) identifies four strategies of observation. They range from complete immersion within the research setting (or participant observation) to non-participatory forms of observation. Unable to observe through 'participation' (because of seasonality and time constraints), direct observation was employed. By informing subjects in the research setting of the purpose and nature of ones field work, the researcher can easily assume the role of 'observer'.

Through direct observation, it is possible to observe participants' (such as inshore fishermen) everyday actions, interactions and conversations, thereby accessing their taken-for-granted affections towards a specific place (such as the Victoria and Alfred Dockland). Further, as Bruyn (1962) points out, observation (as method) is based on the assumption that understanding (or *verstehen*) of people's views can be achieved by 'immersion' in their world. By purposefully exposing one's scientific role, it is possible to overcome initial suspicion and distrust (see below) and move about the research setting without disturbing established social and functional activities. Given its simplicity, observation as method underpinned and supplemented the interviewing method.

#### 3.4.2.2 Interviewing as method

Interviewing as method formed the central pillar of the research design. Underpinned by (direct) observation, interviewing was used as the primary data collection tool. In order to realise established research objectives through comprehensive understanding, three forms of interview were used. These included scheduled standardised, nonscheduled standardised and nonstandardised (or indepth) interview formats (Denzin, 1978).

##### 3.4.2.2.1 The scheduled standardised interview: the basis for Questionnaires A and B

Scheduled standardised interview, as Denzin (1978) calls it, usually takes the form of an orally administered questionnaire. Within this format, respondents are asked the same questions in the same order. If probes are anticipated, they too are standardised. This format was seen as useful in interviews with members of the inshore fishing community (Questionnaire A) and V&AW management and planners (Questionnaire B), given that it was necessary to unearth their respective attitudes, opinions and

perspectives. These questionnaires were constructed in the form of an interview guide. Essentially a list of topics and sub-topics, the interview guide provided the framework within which to develop and format questions as well as determining which information to pursue in greater depth. On the basis of preliminary investigation (including observation and literature review), it was possible to identify key problems and to establish the topics to be explored in the study. The interview guide (or questionnaire) was divided into four sections: the first was aimed at eliciting *contextual* information; the second attempted to ascertain *attitudes and opinions*; the third focused upon *public participation* in the planning process; and the fourth involved the collection of *personal details*.

Once having established these main topics, it was necessary to construct the respective subtopics. However, the nature of the research necessitated the formulation of two structured standardised interview guides or questionnaires (see Appendices A2 and A3). Although retaining the main topics for both questionnaires, the subtopics, consisting of open- and closed-ended questions, were formulated and oriented towards each of the two groups (inshore fishermen and the planners and developers) under investigation. Open-ended questions were interspersed by a number of closed-ended questions. Closed-ended questions were used particularly where factual information was required (as in the case of sections 1 and 2). Closed-ended questions were designed not only to offer the respondent a range of categories from which to choose, but encouraged elaboration by means of probes. The majority of questions were, however, open-ended in nature (see Appendix A2). But, as will be shown below, the distinctive character of the two groups (i.e. the inshore fishermen and V&AW management and planners) required alternate questions and probes.

Subtopics within Questionnaire A: The Inshore Fishermen were aimed at collecting (1) *contextual* data concerning the social organisation of the inshore fishing community, the operation and legality of inshore fishing, and perceived threats to the continued existence of the inshore fishing industry (and consequently their livelihood); (2) the fishermen's *attitudes and opinions* with respect to the redevelopment and its effect upon their physical, social and cultural environments; (3) the fishermen's *degree of participation* with respect to initial public input in the planning process, consultation with the developers, and involvement in localised planning; and (4) *personal details* designed to generate demographic information and establish contact numbers for oral history purposes (see Appendix A2).

The evolution and construction of the question framework proved a slow and often frustrating process. Having formulated a range of questions based on the data obtained by observation, it was necessary to eliminate ambiguity and inconsistency within the questionnaire. Rather than conducting pre-tests or pilot studies, it was decided to obtain practical input from a range of individuals<sup>4</sup> well versed in qualitative research. Based on the feedback obtained from these individuals, the question framework was systematically reworked and redrafted ten times over a period of three weeks. This process of redrafting proved invaluable in honing down and synthesising the questionnaire. Once having effected all the changes considered necessary, and with my supervisor's endorsement, it was decided to begin interviewing fishermen.

The second scheduled standardised interview guide, Questionnaire B: The V&AW Developers and Planners (see Appendix A3), was formulated subsequent to the implementation of Questionnaire A. The data obtained from Questionnaire A were consulted when developing the subtopics and questions for Questionnaire B. These questions were aimed at collecting (1) *contextual* data concerning the origin, function, policy and planning approach of the V&AW Co.; (2) the V&AW's *attitude* with respect to the working harbour, Fishing Industry, and inshore fishing community; (3) the V&AW's attitude regarding *public participation* and more specifically the nature and scope of participation from the fishing community, and (4) *personal details* designed to establish contact addresses and telephone numbers of people involved in the planning and/or development of the V&A Waterfront.

Questionnaire B evolved in much the same way as did Questionnaire A. Based on the data obtained from interviews with fishermen, a range of open- and closed-ended questions were developed. These questions were presented in the form of a question framework to the same individuals who had reviewed Questionnaire A. Questions (both open- and closed-ended) were specifically constructed to display the researcher's comprehension of the problems and issues confronting the planners and developers. Furthermore, given the professional nature of the interviewees, questions were pitched at an appropriate level in terms of their language and terminology. As in the case of Questionnaire A, the question framework for Questionnaire B was also redrafted (four times over a period of two weeks). Having formalised the questionnaire, selected representatives of the V&AW Co. were contacted (as described in section 3.4.1.2 above).

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4 Most notably Dr Belinda Dodson who conducted her doctoral fieldwork in Bangladesh, and Dr Wendy Milroy, co-editor of *The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education* (1990), who for her fieldwork had become a cabinet-maker's apprentice.

#### 3.4.2.2.2 The unstructured standardised interview: designed to assist in interviewing representatives of the Fishing Industry

Unlike the scheduled standardised interview formats used in Questionnaire A and B, it was decided to use a nonscheduled standardised format in interviews with representatives from the V&A-based Fishing Industry; a total of thirteen inshore and deepsea fishing companies. Although standardised in terms of the questions and probes (see Appendix A4), the interview format allowed for greater flexibility during implementation. The nonscheduled standardised format not only allowed one to change the order in which the questions could be posed, but afforded the interviewer the opportunity of pursuing related issues that might present themselves during the interview.

By standardising the interview guide for representatives of the V&A-based fishing companies, it was possible to ascertain Industry reaction to a range of questions most of which were open-ended. As seen in Appendix A4 the interview guide was also divided into three subtopics: the first was *contextual* in that it attempted to determine the scope, nature and scale of fishing operations in the Victoria and Alfred Basins; the second focused on the fishing companies' perception of, relationship with, and reaction to, the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Company (V&AW) and its *redevelopment* project; and the third assessed the degree (and willingness) of *participation* between the Fishing Industry and the V&AW. This interview guide not only provided the necessary means whereby the V&AW-Industry relations (conflictual or otherwise) could be ascertained, but allowed me to determine present and potential areas of conflict and co-operation. Although less structured than the abovementioned questionnaires, the unstructured standardised interview format did allow for the enumeration (and synthesis) of the results, a process central to determining (and understanding) the extent, functions, logistical problems and perceptions of the Industry as a whole and the inshore fishing industry in particular.

#### 3.4.2.2.3 The unstructured (or indepth) interview

As already mentioned (in sections 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.3 above), a number of individuals were targeted (or sampled) for indepth interviews. These included members of the inshore fishing community, retired dockworkers, longtime residents, urban professionals and administrators. These individuals were viewed as important because

of the special knowledge and insights they possessed by virtue of their position, status, group membership or life-history.

In order to access that information, it was decided to use a nonstandardised interview format (Denzin, 1978) otherwise referred to as key-informant or life-history interviewing. Understandably, therefore, the interview guides which formed the basis of these nonstandardised interviews were far more flexible in nature. Although directed by a number of sub-topics and general open-ended questions, the interview format was meant to act more as a guide than as a rigid format. Key-informant interviews, aimed at Minister's Liaison Committee member Mr Le Roux, Port Captain Bill Sheuwell and V&AW specialist advisor Gawie Fagan, were more directed than the life-history interviews. Whereas the key-informant interviews were aimed at determining the interviewees' affiliation with, and views and impressions of, the harbour and the redevelopment, life-history interviews generally focused on the participants' memories of past lifestyles, neighbourhoods and landscapes. It was also decided to record these indepth interviews where, and if, possible. This would assist in capturing, and accurately transcribing, the words and feelings of the respondents interviewed.

#### 3.4.2.3 Documentary evidence as method

Documentary evidence formed the third and final methodological pillar in this research design. As a 'life history' or 'life story' methodology (Burgess, 1984) documentary material was viewed as central to understanding the harbour, its people and many developments. Thus, it was decided (from the start) to actively study, duplicate or collect and retain (where possible) those photographs, letters, correspondence, newspaper articles, diagrams, journals or books uncovered during the course of the investigation. This included a search for pertinent archival material.

### 3.5 Data collection in practice: implementation of the research design

The adoption of a qualitative framework together with the decision to focus on people's everyday life experiences necessitated the application of the several methods of data collection, the rationale being that a multi-method approach affords the researcher the opportunity of observing the subjects' social reality from as many angles as possible. The implementation of the abovementioned research design (and subsequent collection of data) was effected in four different and overlapping stages.

### 3.5.1 Orientation in the setting

In the first stage of data collection, I sought to orientate myself in the investigational setting. A twofold approach was adopted in order to secure this orientation.

Firstly, it was necessary to become personally acquainted with the physical features of the setting and the spatial layout of these features. This was accomplished by walking through the setting with a representational map (see Figure 3.1 below) of the area familiarising myself with the various features and their present function(s). In this way it was possible to develop a better understanding of the physical environment in which investigation was located, as well as its position in relation to the Victoria and Alfred Dockland as a whole.

The main site of the setting where the study was located forms part of the 83.2 hectares of dockland (V&AW, 1989 : 8) ceded to the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Company by Portnet for the purposes of redevelopment. More specifically the study site was located on a peninsula approximately 2.1 km<sup>2</sup> in extent and situated in the south-east corner of the V&A Harbour complex. This peninsula is bounded in the west by the Alfred Basin, by railway tracks in the south, by Victoria Basin in the east and by the harbour cutting between the two abovementioned basins in the north (see Figure 3.1 below). More notably this promontory of dockland not only separates the Alfred Basin from the Victoria Basin, but is distinctive in that it possesses infrastructure specifically suited to meet the requirements of the inshore fishing fleet. Whereas the Fish Quay<sup>5</sup> is uniquely suited to the offloading of fish from the wooden lobster and tuna fishing vessels, the inlet nestled between the Alfred Basin's east quay and Concentra Quay offers safe moorage for more than 30 inshore fishing boats.

In addition, the peninsula has a relatively high building density. The site is dominated by an eight storeyed building, Concentra (Pty) Ltd. Single storey warehouses front onto the Fish Quay whilst double storey buildings are located alongside the Alfred Basin's east quay. These buildings serve many functions. There are fish factories with the facilities to process, pack and refrigerate fish; storerooms which accommodate fishing equipment during the winter months; and workshops which allow for the quayside repair of vessels.

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5 The Fish Quay is a proclaimed lobster landing area (Burggraaf A. *et al*, 1987).

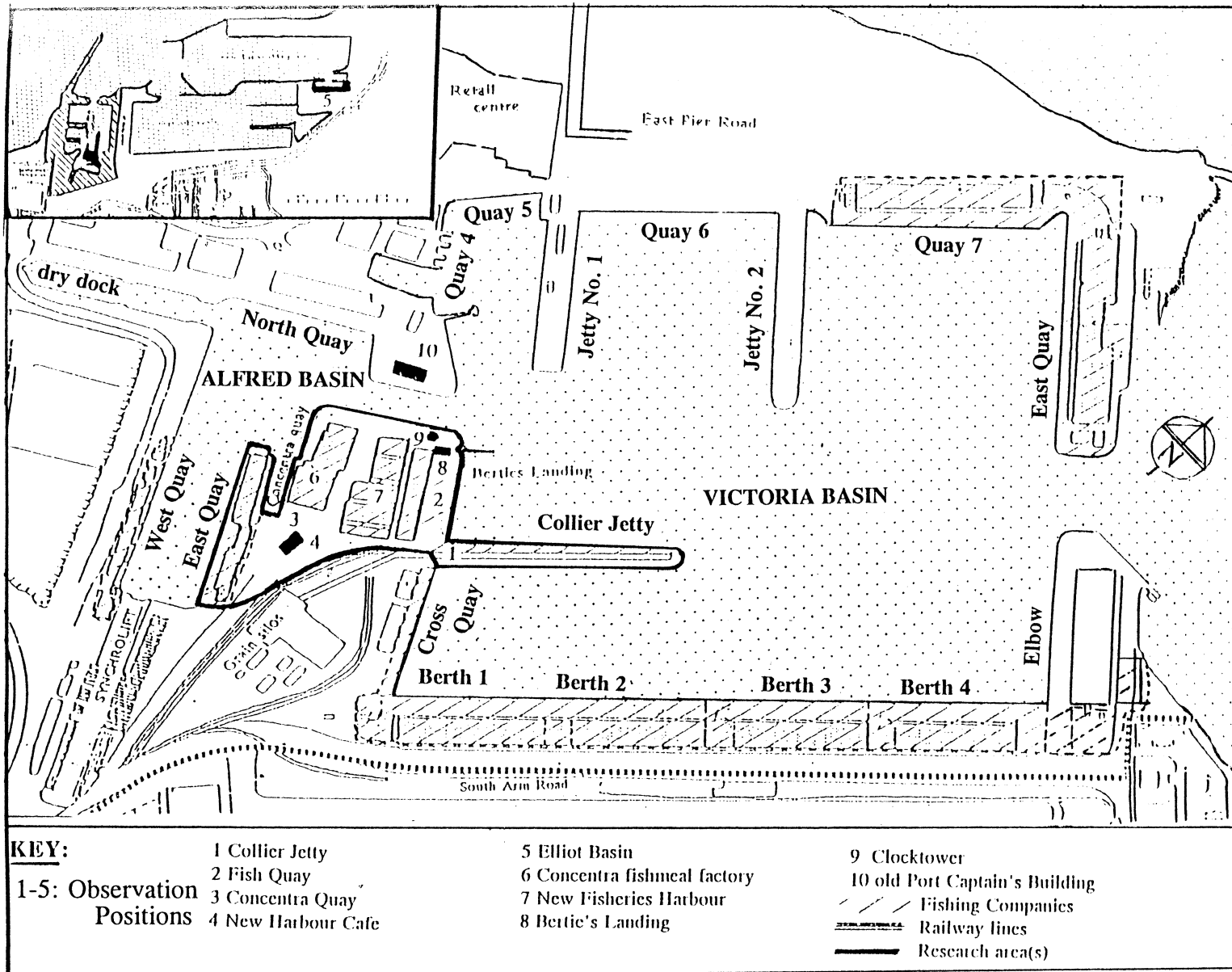


Figure 3.1: Representational map of the study site (inshore fishing peninsula) in the Victoria and Alfred Docks

(Source: Adapted from Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990 : 4)

At the time of the study there were only three structures unrelated to the Fishing Industry. One was the Victorian clocktower<sup>6</sup>, the other the New Harbour Cafe, and the third an upmarket restaurant and bar, Bertie's Landing.

Secondly, having secured my physical and spatial orientation, it was necessary to familiarise myself with the layout of the concrete social setting. This was achieved over a period of several weeks. At first I simply observed the comings and goings of fishermen, skippers and company staff. In this way it was possible not only to identify those individuals who lived and/or worked in the research area, but to 'acclimatise' myself sensorially<sup>7</sup> to the setting. I then proceeded to approach and establish contact with company managers and administrative staff, factory workers, skippers and those fishermen living onboard moored fishing boats. Introductions were effected and explanations given for my presence in the harbour. Subsequent conversations proved extremely useful in providing insider perspectives of events and problems. They also helped to secure entry to the social setting. A written record was kept of all conversations. Yet, in order to build confidence and trust, field notes were written down immediately after the conversation had occurred. Wherever possible, statistics and documents (relating to the Fishing Industry and V&AW activities and objectives) were secured and perused.

### 3.5.2 Observation in practice

Having established a degree of physical and social orientation in the setting, it was necessary to progress to the second phase of implementation, namely observation. Data collection was effected through (direct) observation over a period of four weeks. During this period I spent several hours daily between 07h30 and 17h00 in the setting. There were a number of different observational positions (1 - 5). Whereas positions 1-4 were located within the setting, the fifth observational position was located outside the research setting (see Figure 3.1 above). These observational positions were: on the Fish Quay in front of the fish handling sheds (1); on the Collier Jetty looking down on the Fish Quay (2); alongside the Concentra Quay (3); in the parking area surrounding the New Harbour Cafe (4); and alongside the Elliott Basin quayside (5). Skippers, fishermen and factory workers encountered in these various subsettings were greeted and wherever possible encouraged to talk about their experiences, the intention being to

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6 Built in 1887, this building has been proclaimed a national monument.

7 Immersion in an environment with the help of one's senses. In this regard, the senses of sight, smell and hearing proved most helpful. By experiencing the sights, smells and sounds of the harbour, it was possible to develop a degree of empathetic understanding for the fishermen's everyday existence.

identify from the participants' actions and utterances elements of perceived insecurity with regard to their present location (or place) and livelihood.

By moving between these five subsettings, it was possible to observe and record spatial, temporal, ritualistic and interactional features of the inshore fishing community. Obviously, the observation of inshore skippers and crew were of primary concern.

### 3.5.2.1 The skippers

The skippers would begin arriving in the research setting from approximately 07h30 onwards. After having greeted fellow skippers, skippers would proceed to check up on their boats, moored either in the inlet (3) or alongside the Collier Jetty (2) (see Figure 3.1 above). Once having examined their boats, some skippers would depart; some would have tea in the New Harbour Cafe (4); whereas the vast majority would stand around talking. They were observed standing in small groups at the entrance to the Concentra Quay (3) as well as alongside the Fish Quay (1) or moving between these subsettings. As they spoke in Portuguese I was unable to ascertain the content of their conversations. However, by observing body language it was possible to determine whether conversations were light-hearted or serious. Skippers seemed far more contemplative and preoccupied when conversing in the New Harbour Cafe (4) or when standing and surveying the moored boats (at 2 and 3). Most of the skippers would assemble on the Fish Quay (1) when fish was being offloaded. On the few occasions that this did occur, skippers appeared excited and cheerful. Most of the skippers left the setting by 13h00, not to return until the following morning.

### 2.5.2.2 The crew

The social organisation of 'ordinary' inshore fishermen tended to be determined and influenced by, on the one hand, the rituals and interactions of the skippers, and on the other, the activity surrounding the Fish Quay (1). Those fishermen living on the moored boats (2 and 3) were already up and about by the time the skippers arrived. On most occasions skippers were seen to offer a cursory greeting to these fishermen. Certain of these fishermen were afforded more respect than others. Although a few fishermen (not necessarily the same as those fishermen interviewed) were observed crouching or leaning against the walls of the ablution block (3) and New Harbour Cafe (4), most fishermen could be found in the vicinity of the Fish Quay (1 and 2). In these subsettings, fishermen were seldom observed casually conversing with skippers. Rather, they could be seen standing, either singly or in small groups, on the quayside a

little way from the skippers. Little interaction was observed between skippers and crew, other than when ordinary fishermen (or crew) were seen asking those skippers either preparing to depart on, or arriving from, a fishing expedition, for employment or free fish (or 'fry') respectively. Many of those fishermen who did not live in the harbour would start to leave shortly after the departure of the skippers. However, in the late afternoon (between 16h00 and 18h00), resident fishermen could usually be observed sitting onboard certain boats smoking and/or drinking. They were then generally more relaxed and talkative.

Observation proved invaluable in the generation of contextually relevant descriptions which, in turn, aided in the reconstruction of the fishermen's (both skippers and crew) subjectively meaningful lifeworlds within which I as the researcher/observer had to work. Observations were recorded daily in the form of comprehensive field notes. These notes consisted mainly of descriptions of the people and events observed and conversations conducted or overheard.

### **3.5.3 Interviewing**

Only once having established a degree of trust as well as collected a great deal of pertinent data through a process of direct observation, did I proceed to the implementation of the second and most important (and comprehensive) method of data collection, namely interviewing. Having encouraged free narration from community members in the early stages of the research, I felt it necessary to focus further narration in order to ensure the collection of data which would contribute to the achievement of the research objectives. To this end, the structured standardised, nonstructured standardised and nonstandardised (or indepth) interview formats discussed above, were implemented. Because of the interconnective nature of the research, there was a great deal of overlap between these various interviewing strategies.

#### **3.5.3.1 The structured standardised interview in practice: implementing Questionnaires A and B**

As mentioned above, two questionnaires (see Appendices A2 and A3) were designed on the basis of a structured standardised interview format. Whereas Questionnaire A was aimed at the inshore fishing community, Questionnaire B targeted the V&AW developers and planners. The implementation of Questionnaire A preceded the implementation of Questionnaire B as responses from the community to the questions

of the first interview guide (Questionnaire A) directly affected and informed the form and nature of Questionnaire B.

### 3.5.3.1.1 The implementation of Questionnaire A

In order to encourage a free and unrestrained response to questions in Questionnaire A (see Appendix A2), fishermen (both skippers and crew) were interviewed, with a few exceptions, in the research setting at the time and site of sampling. Fishermen were interviewed throughout the setting mostly on their boats (in the case of the skippers or resident fishermen) and alongside the Fish- and Concentra Quays (see subsettings 2 and 3 of Figure 3.1). The interviews were conducted in English, to the Portuguese skippers, and English and Afrikaans, to the 'Coloured', Xhosa, Zulu and Ovambo fishermen. On occasion it was not possible to conduct the interview in either English or Afrikaans. With the help of Joseph, a Zulu fishermen, who acted as a translator, I was able to interview those Zulu and Xhosa speaking fishermen who did not have a rudimentary grasp of English or Afrikaans.

The duration of the interviews ranged from 40 to 60 minutes. Because interviewing was (with a few exceptions) conducted where the respondents were encountered, tape-recording was impractical. Furthermore, it was felt that a tape-recorder would not only undermine rapport and trust between myself and the subjects, but would seriously jeopardise the quality and depth of responses. Consequently, sparse notes were made of key sentences and words on spaces provided below each question on the questionnaire (or interview guide). Directly after the interview these notes were elaborated upon. These notes also served as an *aide-memoire* when writing up notes on my impressions of the subject and the interview. Both the notes and the completed questionnaire were filed for later analysis.

### 3.5.3.1.2 The implementation of Questionnaire B

After having completed all the (structured standardised) interviews with inshore fishermen, the second questionnaire, Questionnaire B, was formulated and implemented (see Appendix A3). In the case of the V&AW management, all interviews were conducted in the old Port Captain's Building situated on the Pier Head<sup>8</sup> (see Figure 5.8 in chapter five). Interviews with the two planners were conducted in their respective

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<sup>8</sup> A promontory of dockland situated at the centre of the historic V&A Harbour complex which presently forms the commercial and entertainment core of the redevelopment.

offices in Cape Town City<sup>9</sup> (see section 3.4.1.2 above). These interviews were held at pre-arranged times over a four week period (between September and October). Because many of the questions related to the development site, a map (see Figure 3.1 above) was used to assist both the interviewer and interviewee in terms of visual reinforcement and clarification. The chosen map not only delineated the V&A Harbour complex, but identified the various stages of the redevelopment.

The duration of the interviews ranged between 60 and 90 minutes. Only four of the original five people targeted for interviews were in fact interviewed. Despite securing an interview with Ms Maureen Thompson, she cancelled saying that I could attain all pertinent information from Piet van Zyl (the Development Manager). It was, however, possible to direct questions at Mr Derrick van der Merwe (Company Secretary and Financial Executive), who attended the interview with Mr David Jack, at David Jack's request.

Further, all except one of the four interviews were tape-recorded. Permission was obtained from each of the subjects before tape-recording the interview. Only David Jack, MD of the V&AW, refused to grant permission for tape-recording, his reason being that he did not want what he said taken out of context. Apart from my inability to use a tape-recorder during my interview with David Jack and Derrick van der Merwe (Financial Director), I found that the tape-recorder afforded me the freedom to participate actively in the interview. Key sentences and words were, however, recorded on the interview guide. These were later written up, after replaying the recording. As in the case of Questionnaire A, notes were also written on my impressions of the subjects together with tentative interpretations of the data collected. The questionnaire, notes and a transcription of the recording were filed for later analysis.

### 3.5.3.2 The nonstructured standardised interview in practice

The thirteen members of the Port of Cape Town Fishing Industry Association (or POCTFIA<sup>10</sup>), instituted in 1990, were requested to participate in an interview (see Appendix A4). Yet, in order to facilitate my access to the manager/owners of these

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9 MLH Architects and Planners situated on the 4th Floor, 51 Wale Street and Gallagher Prinsloo Associates located in Dock House on Dock Road, Table Bay Harbour.

10 Loose association formed after an incident whereby Ornelas Fishing was forced against their will to relocate because the V&AW Co. refused to renew its lease of the structure which presently houses the V&A Hotel. This marked the start of tension between the V&AW Co. (as landlord) and the Fishing Industry (as industrial tenants).

companies (who were initially suspicious of my intentions), it was decided to first interview POCTFIA's secretary, Mr Roy Bross. Apart from providing invaluable information about the association's aims and objectives, an interview with Roy Bross, who was representing the Fishing Industry in its tenure negotiations with V&AW, enhanced my credibility in the eyes of the Industry. In view of my interview with Mr Roy Bross, company representatives agreed to be interviewed. In the case of the smaller inshore fishing companies (such as Wavecrest, Redaco, Silvermar and Good Hope), company managers and/or owners were interviewed after being approached in their offices alongside the Fish Quay (see Figure 3.1). Interviews with representatives of the larger inshore and deepsea companies were only undertaken subsequent to written and telephonic correspondence. For instance it took many weeks before I could secure an appointment with a representative of Lusitania Fishing despite numerous letters and phone calls.

Consequently, it took more than eight weeks to obtain interviews with representatives of all thirteen companies. The duration of these (nonstructured standardised) interviews ranged from 30 to 60 minutes. All except three of the thirteen company representatives interviewed (Redaco, Silvermar and Wavecrest) consented to be tape-recorded. As in the case of the abovementioned questionnaires, these tape-recordings were transcribed and filed for later analysis.

### 3.5.3.3 The nonstandardised interview in practice

Indepth interviews were conducted concurrently with other structured and unstructured standardised interviews. These interviews began in June and continued through until the end of September. Whereas life history interviews were undertaken with nine members of the community (both retired and still active), key-informant interviews were held with individuals from the harbour authority, public institutions, planning agencies and the V&AW management. Retired fishermen and dockworkers identified by those interviewed as possessing information of the 'old days' were contacted for interviews. Most of these individuals were interviewed in their homes located in the surrounding maritime quarter or suburban townships. Further, five of the fishermen who participated in Questionnaire A (and who had grown up in the surrounding inner city areas) also participated in indepth interviews. These were conducted onboard fishing boats, on the quayside, in my vehicle or the New Harbour Cafe tearoom. Only one of these fishermen agreed to the interview being taped. All those individuals interviewed in their homes, however, agreed to tape-recording. They (unlike the

fishermen interviewed in the harbour) were retired and therefore more willing to have their narration recorded.

Key-informant interviews with (among others) Port Captain Bill Sheuwell, V&AW special advisor Gawie Fagan, Director of the South African Cultural History Museum Mr Le Roux and V&AW education co-ordinator Sheryl Ozinsky, were conducted in the individuals' respective offices after written and telephonic contact. These interviews, like the life-history interviews, were tape-recorded with the consent of the various interviewees. Because of the nonstandardised nature of the interview formats, the length of interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 120 minutes. This open-ended format encouraged responsiveness from interviewer and interviewee alike. The conversation rather than the interview guide directed the interview. Both transcriptions of tape-recorded interviews and written notes of key words, sentences and phrases of those not tape-recorded were filed for later assessment.

#### **3.5.4 Collection and utilisation of documents**

Finally, as mentioned above, a great deal of pertinent data was collected by consulting personal and official documentary sources. Since before the fieldwork had begun, documentary evidence relating to the targeted research area and groups was collected. This practice was continued throughout the period of fieldwork. After having completed the fieldwork, a search of archival material pertaining to the fishermen and their past social and physical existence was conducted. By reconstructing the inshore fishermen's past, it was possible to better understand the nature of their present existence and 'sense of place' within the V&A Dockland and the inner city residential areas (see chapter four). Much of this primary documentary evidence was to be found in the Cape archives and the Special Collection Unit in the African Studies Library of the University of Cape Town. Relevant secondary documentary data, in the form of books, journals, unpublished theses and newspaper articles, was also consulted.

Additionally, photographs were taken not only of inshore fishermen, but of their social and physical environment. By capturing aspects of the fishermen's daily experiences on film, it was possible to construct a visual mosaic of their present social and physical reality (see Figure 4.8 in chapter four). Furthermore, as many of the fishermen interviewed had recounted memories of life in the urban areas surrounding the V&A Harbour, it was considered important to visit these areas. Unfortunately little remained of the vibrant sailortown which I had been told once existed. However, a photographic record was made of the physical and social remnants of the sailortown and its adjoining

residential districts such as the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant. This record included photographs of, on the one hand, buildings (in the form of houses, churches, warehouses and factories) and street scenes, and on the other, people working or living in and around the V&A Harbour.

### **3.6 Challenges to the implementation of the research design**

A number of methodological difficulties (or issues) arose while implementing the research design, issues which needed to be addressed from the outset in order to enhance the effectiveness of the chosen design.

#### **3.6.1 Gaining access to the setting**

Gaining access to social settings is generally accepted by researchers to be difficult. Yet, when a chosen social setting is undergoing some form of transformation, the researcher's entry into that setting can be severely hampered, if not restricted altogether. The community in such an environment can usually be expected to be suspicious of the researcher or outsider, his or her affiliations and possible hidden agenda(s).

In this study it was feared that the members of the inshore fishing community (both crew and skippers) would close ranks, thereby seriously undermining the investigation by limiting the insights I hoped to obtain into the community's daily experience or "lifeworld". Consequently, in an attempt to reduce possible suspicion, I made a point of being reflexive with respect to my own preconceived ideas about the fishermen, their social experience and present situation. Furthermore, it was decided beforehand to obtain the skippers' permission before speaking to crew (a strategy which, as will be shown later, did not have to be employed). Although aware of the possible impacts of this practice upon my results, I did not want to be the cause of undue victimisation of those crew members seen as speaking out of turn. In addition, given that many skippers and crew worked on company fishing boats, it was considered necessary to first secure co-operation from the company owners and/or managers. This was achieved by fully discussing the aims of my research with them in order to allay any possible fears and avoid future misunderstanding.

### **3.6.2 Dealing with researcher 'subjectivity'**

For the qualitative researcher, 'subjectivity' should be viewed as the key to understanding not only the lifeworld of those people being studied, but also enabling him or her to be inductive or reflexive (Steier, 1991). The adoption of a qualitatively-inclined methodological approach emphasised the relevance of subjectivity within research. Moreover, it required from the researcher greater understanding and sensitivity not only of, and for, the people (inshore fishermen) being studied, but of his or her pre-existing expectations regarding those people. Thus, by acknowledging my inherent subjectivity, and by being reflexive about my own personal ideas and attitudes, I could in fact be open to the views expressed by members of the inshore fishing community.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has established the qualitative methodological approach which not only directed fieldwork on the ground, but facilitated the study of both the inshore community and V&AW Co.'s perceptions, attitudes and opinions of each other and themselves. By outlining the theoretical and philosophical background to the study, it has been possible to explain the formulation of a multi-faceted methodology. This was followed by a comprehensive assessment and explanation of the research design, its underlying principles and data collection methods. Apart from displaying the way in which the methodology was formulated, this chapter also described the manner in which that methodology (as entrenched in the design) was implemented in practice. Here I attempted to demonstrate how and where subjects were interviewed, along with some of the problems encountered.

Finally, this chapter identified a number of underlying (and often overlooked) issues which challenged implementation both in terms of design and practice. Among the issues addressed were: access to the social setting, researcher subjectivity. All of these issues or challenges were, to a lesser or greater extent, ameliorated during the course of design formulation and/or practical application. The methodology thus established (using the information thus collected), this study now turns to a historical description of the past landscapes, lifestyles, practices and activities of the Cape (inshore) fishermen.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### BYGONE DAYS, ROGGE BAY AND THE OLD DOCKS: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ORIGINS, LIFESTYLE AND FISHING ACTIVITIES OF THE CAPE FISHERMEN

#### 4.1 Introduction

Ken jy die see, Meneer, ken jy die see?  
Hy lyk nou soos jou voorstoep blinkgeskuur  
en kalm soos min dinge hier benee,  
maar hy's gevaarliker as vlam of vuur.

Dan sy jy nog, Meneer, die vis is duur.

(Krige, 1983: 213)

This chapter focuses on the occupational and emotional importance of Rogge Bay and the Old Docks to the fishing community formerly located in the surrounding inner city areas. With the aid of indepth interviews and historical literature, the chapter attempts to recreate the past lifeworlds of this community. This attempt at reconstruction necessarily includes an exploration of the way in which everyday activities of these people were dictated by the fishing routine and practices. It will be shown that, by altering long-established spatial patterns, the group areas legislation of 1950 permanently changed this fishing routine and the way of life which depended on it. This account provides the background for chapters five, six and seven which assess the impacts of structural redevelopment on the V&A-based Fishing Industry in general and inshore fishing community in particular.

#### 4.2 The history of the Fishing Industry

In an attempt to understand the relationship between the fishermen and fishing as well as Cape Town and the sea, it is necessary to briefly trace the evolution of the Fishing Industry. Whether undertaken from the sandy beaches of Rogge Bay (Roggebaai) or the formalised Fish Quay and market in the Victoria Dock, fishing has been, and still remains, an important activity in the life of the city of Cape Town.

#### 4.2.1 From bygone days of exposed shores and white-sailed fishing boats...

The start of South Africa's Fishing Industry can be traced back to 6 April 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck, the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) commander sent to establish a refreshment station, arrived at the Cape (see also chapter five). Upon anchoring in Table Bay Van Riebeeck's 'first act was to send a boat ashore to look for letters [left by other DEIC ships] and to draw the net for some fish for the crew' (Franck and Robb, 1975 : 2). Since then thousands of fishermen have fished from the sandy beaches of Table Bay in much the same way (i.e. using small boats, nets and handlines) because of the fixed nature of technology and methods of inshore fishing prior to the nineteenth century. This technology was distinctly different from fishing conducted by indigenous tribes. The Khoikhoi (Hottentot) and the San (Bushman) people, for example, are generally believed to only have eaten fish cast upon the shore (such as dead whales). There was also a Khoikhoi tribe called the 'Fischmans' who were reportedly good fishermen (ibid, 1975). Equipped with handlines (made of animal guts or sinew) and spears, they could, according to Kolbe (circa 1705), 'in every kind of fishing outdo the Europeans about the Cape'. As a result, the early settlers traded for fish with the 'Fischmans' (Franck and Robb, 1975). Given the irregularity of this supply, Van Riebeeck's men were nevertheless 'constantly at work netting fish to supply the young settlement' (ibid, 1975 : 2).

The DEIC was, however, not in favour of its servants or free burghers (vrijburghers) getting involved in fishing to the detriment of agriculture (such as fruit and vegetable gardening and stock rearing) (Stohr, 1975). Van Riebeeck's own attempts to 'diversify the economy by starting sealing, whaling and fishing' met with little success (Wilson and Thompson, 1985 : 193). It was rather the 'Malay' slaves imported from the East Indies who established the Cape fishing tradition (Stohr, 1975). As skilled fishermen, these slaves established a solid foundation for what would become the Cape ('Coloured') fishing community (see below). By the end of the eighteenth century there were nevertheless estimated to have been no more than 200 fishermen at the Cape (ibid, 1975). This can be attributed not only to the limited Cape market, but also to the fact that fishing was generally undertaken by the depressed sections of the community (Franck and Robb, 1975). Further, fishing was a hazardous occupation and as such remained a risky enterprise. This element to fishing is stressed by Thompson (1983) in *Living the Fishing* where he states that:

Fishing has been an unstable occupation for centuries, for, in order to survive the constant changes in the sea's resources and the demands on society, generations of fishermen have had to seek new grounds and new markets, learn new techniques and new attitudes.

Consequently, in the early days, fishing remained little more than a means of subsistence for poorer sections of the Cape community. During the period of Dutch rule at the Cape, fishing generally remained an activity practised by 'Malay' slaves, Company men or free burghers (Grant, 1987). Whereas the slaves caught fish to supplement their diets, DEIC servants and free burghers fished (by consent of the Commandant of the DEIC) to supply the settlement and passing ships (Muller, 1942).

Despite the establishment in 1658 of the first 'private fishing industry' in Saldanha, when four 'freemen' (or burghers) were allowed to settle there to sell dried fish and eggs to passing ships, the lack of fresh water focused Company attention back to the dangerous and unprotected anchorage of Table Bay (Franck and Robb, 1975). Fishing was, therefore, more or less confined to Table Bay and False Bay. By the time of the British occupation of the Cape in 1806, the community at the Cape had grown, but the Fishing Industry centred on and around Rogge Bay (see Figure 4.1, picture 1 and 2 below) remained small. This, however, changed in the nineteenth century with the discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886) in the interior of the country. The resulting increase in population numbers of Cape Town (from 33 000 to 75 000 between 1875 and 1891 (Bickford-Smith, 1986)) provided the necessary market for the Rogge Bay fishery. Whereas the evolving gold and diamond mining industries provided the impetus for the elaboration of existing port facilities (i.e. unprotected jetties), the establishment of the Alfred (1870) and Victoria (1905) Basins provided the Fishing Industry with the harbour facilities that would take it into the twentieth century (see chapter five, section 5.2).

These influences on the Fishing Industry only took effect, however, with the coming of the railways (Stohr, 1975). This is manifest in the numbers of fishermen (500) and boats (100) operating from the shores of Rogge Bay by the end of the nineteenth century as opposed to the 200 fishermen and 40 boats recorded in 1830 (Grant, 1987 : 7-8). Yet in spite of these increases, established inshore fishing methods and technology did not change. Duncan Grant (1987 : 8) has the following to say in this regard:

**Throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, fishermen continued to rely on small open rowing/sailing boats which carried only five to six men. These boats were about 16 to 20 foot in length and weighed between 1.5 to 2 tons. Similarly, throughout the century, the predominant method of fishing was hand-line although some "trek nets" were also used but from Woodstock beach.**



**Figure 4.1: The Rogge Bay fishery in the late nineteenth century (c. 1890)** (Photograph 1 (top) depicts the small wooden fishing vessels, fresh and cured fish company and chandlers of the Rogge Bay fishery. Photograph 2 (bottom) shows the commonplace activity of snoek curing on the beaches of Rogge Bay).

(Source: Cape Archives AG 983 and J 5864)

Before the Alfred and Victoria Harbour was built (and for many years afterwards), fish such as kabeljou, silverfish, geelbek and snoek were caught by handline and sold off the sand of Rogge Bay (see Figure 4.1 above). Surplus snoek catches were pickled and sold as 'mootjies', 'marsbankers' and 'harders' caught by trek net were dried into 'bokkoms' (Grant, 1987 : 10). According to a report conducted by the Fisheries Committee (1892 : xvi), 'bokkoms' and 'mootjies' constituted an important component of the fish trade between Cape Town and inland settlements. The emphasis of the Rogge Bay fishery nevertheless remained on the supply of fresh fish for Cape Town and its immediate surrounds. As mentioned above, the introduction of the railways in the Cape Colony essentially opened up inland markets to fisheries such as Rogge Bay. The locomotive could carry fish rapidly into the hinterland, thereby greatly increasing the potential market for fish products (Stohr, 1975). Similarly, installed within a boat, the steam engine made trawling more efficient by reducing the time it took for trawled fish to be transported to the port (ibid, 1975). These two factors encouraged entrepreneurial involvement (and state encouragement) in the Fishing Industry. At the same time, the 'old techniques of fishing as practised by Rogge Bay fishermen proved inadequate for meeting the increased demand for fish' (Grant, 1987 : 3). As a result, by the end of the nineteenth century, the focus began to shift from the sandy beaches of Rogge Bay with its white-sailed fishing boats, to the Alfred Docks and deepsea trawling. This signalled the beginning of the end for less formalised fishing villages such as Rogge Bay and the rise of an efficient, capital-intensive Fishing Industry.

#### **4.2.2 To more recent times of imposing harbour works and steel trawlers**

By the beginning of the twentieth century the foundation of the South African trawling industry had already been established. This fledgling trawling industry was pioneered by George Irvin, a 'member of a long-established British fishing company', and Charles Johnson, 'Swedish-born fisherman and adventurer' (Stohr, 1975 : 11). In 1910 Irvin and Johnson amalgamated and formed a company (I&J) which not only dominated the South African Fishing Industry for many years, but set the pace for the technological changes to come. With an efficient inland distribution system and sizeable fleet of steam-powered trawlers, I&J was able to entrench its position within the South African Fishing Industry. 'By the early 1930s', writes Stohr (1975 : 11), 'I&J controlled at least half the fish sold in South Africa, and had a virtual monopoly of ocean trawling'.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Italian fishermen began to exploit the gap left by local Cape fishermen's inability to find new fishing grounds or to familiarise

themselves with new techniques of fishing (Grant, 1987). In so doing these Italians (like the Portuguese fishermen who followed them) began to change the nature of inshore fishing. Using some of the latest fishing techniques and technology, they were able to improve the efficiency of inshore fishing. As a result, these fishermen were able to take advantage of the emergence of the rock lobster industry. Although not considered a delicacy at the Cape, rock lobster (or crayfish) was used as 'bait or as rations for "Coloured" farm labourers' (Stohr, 1975 : 11). Despite the initial difficulty in finding suitable markets, a number of small canning factories began to open at the Cape with the intention of exporting rock lobster.

By the 1930s, when the Rogge Bay fishery was being closed down to make way for the reclamation of the foreshore for the construction of the Duncan Dock (see chapter five), a rapidly growing market for lobster tails had been established in the United States of America (USA) (ibid, 1975). Similarly, while Rogge Bay was being buried under millions of tons of dredged sea sand, the harbour authority was constructing facilities that would accommodate the inshore fishing industry (both rock lobster and line-fishing industries) for the next five decades. The New Fisheries Harbour (1937) and Fish Quay shifted the focus of the Cape inshore fishing industry and its dependent communities to the Alfred and Victoria Dock. Thus, by the mid-1940s (with the completion of the Duncan Dock) all of the fishing activities, whether trawling, line-fishing or lobster operations, were centred in the Table Bay Docks both new and old. Franck and Robb (1975 : 34) describe the traffic passing through Table Bay Harbour at this time in vivid language:

**In the Duncan Dock big steel trawlers and line-fishing vessels are double-banked wherever they can be fitted in, and often there are others lying in the roadstead awaiting berthing. But in the Old Docks the local steam trawlers - the "Company boats" - still come in, salt-encrusted from the Agulhas grounds or the West Coast banks, and thread their way through the narrow cut between the Victoria and Alfred Basins to tie up and discharge their catch, and the smaller local boats battle to berth in the "Fishing Harbour" corner of the Victoria Dock.**

The 1940s saw the dramatic expansion of the Cape Town-based Fishing Industry, particularly the trawling and shoal industries. With the financial assistance of the Fisheries Development Corporation (established by the state in 1944) these industries were able to develop their respective operations. Prior to the start of the Second World War in 1939, for instance, shoals of small fish on the west coast remained unexploited. However, the war created new markets and the shoal fishing industry began. In order to cope with the demand, some of the rock lobster canning factories started canning pilchard while, in 1944, the Concentra fishmeal factory was constructed to process fish by-products. Like coastal trawling operations started over 40 years earlier, shoal

fishing rapidly developed into a large-scale industry requiring massive injections of investment from the Fisheries Development Corporation and the private sector (Stohr, 1975). By the mid-1970s, Cape Town-based deepsea fishing companies (both shoal- and trawling-related) began to relocate their operations from the Duncan Dock to the Victoria Dock (see chapter five).

By contrast, inshore fishing (initially undertaken from Rogge Bay) and more specifically the rock lobster operations remained small-scale. Whereas the size, shape and equipment of these boats did not change very much, the processing (in factories located in and around the New Fisheries Harbour) and marketing aspects of the inshore industry became large-scale and well organised (Stohr, 1975). All inshore catches were offloaded at the low-level wooden quay (or Fish Quay). Much of these catches was sold in the vibrant quayside Fish Market (see below), and it was also from here that most of the fish destined for residential fishmongers and street vendors originated. Having purchased the fish from skippers, fish traders (or 'langanas' as they are called) would in turn sell this fish to smaller fish markets and fish vendors. The fish vendor and his 'fish-cart' would then distribute his produce throughout the inner city residential areas (Franck and Robb, 1975). Thus, as Franck and Robb (1975 : 32) eloquently put it, the 'products of the sea flowed through the arteries' of Cape Town's streets (ibid, 1975 : 32); a situation that would persist up until the 1960s. But, from the mid-1940s onwards, the growth of the inshore fishing industry became increasingly (given the scale of its operations) directed and eventually constrained by a series of restrictions imposed by the state (Stohr, 1975).

During the 1940s and 1950s rock lobster catches rapidly increased to meet the growing demand from the USA. A drop in catches pointed to the over-exploitation of the lobster resource. In order to protect this resource, the state imposed a series of restrictions on the rock lobster industry, restrictions which would not only determine the nature and pattern of inshore fishing operations to come (see below), but which would be entrenched within the social relations of those fishermen involved in the industry (see also chapter five). Consequently, with the further decline of lobster catches during the 1960s the export quota instituted in 1946 became more seriously enforced. Quotas were reduced to production quota levels, a lobster season was imposed (November to June) and marine sanctuaries which had been declared in 1940 became more stringently enforced (ibid, 1975). It was during this period that most of the Madeiran-born Portuguese fishermen began to enter the industry by purchasing boats from established companies (wishing to upgrade their fleets) or independents (such as Italian and 'Coloured' skippers). In 1970 the state decided that no new boats

were to be allowed to fish rock lobster. After 1970, therefore, the rock lobster (or crayfish) fleet did not increase. Instead, it slowly shrank in size due to the withdrawal of boats and occasional accident when a boat would sink. Whereas most of the 'company boats' were replaced by large modern trawlers capable of processing and freezing catches at sea, the small wooden day-fishing boats and longline (or Tuna boats) remained essentially unchanged except for the installation of a radio or the odd echo-sounding device (Franck and Robb, 1975).

Whilst the march of technology has not dramatically altered the nature of the Cape Town-based inshore fishing fleet, it has precipitated changes in the techniques of inshore fishing especially rock lobster fishing (see below). The original landscape of the Fisheries Harbour has also undergone changes. The wooden Fish Quay which had seen decades of use was eventually replaced by a permanent concrete quay in the 1970s. The demolition of the old jetty, necessitated by its ruinous state, irreparably altered the character of the Fish Market. This decline was further hastened by the imposition of group areas legislation which led to the forced removal of inner city communities from District Six and De Waterkant to the Cape Flats (see below). By the early 1980s, the Fish Market had all but disappeared. Nevertheless, the New Fisheries Harbour remained the focus of the inshore fishing industry and its dependent communities. In spite of the many past changes and restrictions, the inshore fishing industry (and fleet) has managed to survive.

The same cannot be said for trek netting, another one of the original methods of inshore fishing in Cape Town. Despite the displacement of the Rogge Bay fishery by a capital-intensive Fishing Industry, trek nets were still used on the Woodstock beach (Grant, 1987). The construction of Duncan Dock in the 1940s, although having irreparably altered the traditional waterfront, did not prevent fishermen from fishing from the Woodstock beach. 'Joey' (pers. comm., 1992), an inshore fisherman, recalled having regularly undertaken trek netting from this beach.

**We here [referring to other inshore fishermen] used to pull the net right out there onto the shore... Then the owner of the net and the dinghy who helped me would share out the fish so that he had enough for him to sell and make his profit. Sometimes we got as many as 40 mandjies [baskets] of harders. And then we fishermen used to come together, buy a couple of loaves of bread and fry our harders. We would sit there and eat nice fresh harders on the beach. That time you could still just dig in the sand on the beach and get the white mussels there. We fried the mussels also on the fire.**

However, the increase in the number and size of visiting ships during the 1960s as well as the advent of containerisation necessitated the further elaboration of the Table Bay

port complex (see chapter five). By the late 1960s construction began on the Ben Schoeman Basin (Appendix D). As a result the Woodstock beach (like Rogge Bay before it) disappeared under a maze of marshalling yards, oil tanks and warehouses. Trek netting of the kind described above, thus ceased to exist either on the shores of Table Bay or in the lives of Cape Town's fishermen. Despite its continued application in west coast fishing villages, trek netting in Table Bay was relegated to the annals of history.

The transformation of the city's Fishing Industry (from pre-capitalist fishing operations to technologically- and capital-intensive industry) had a distinctive social cost. Not only did the dependent fishing communities (of Cape fishermen) have to adapt to subsequent technological developments, but they had to come to terms with the destruction of the waterfront, a long-established focus of cultural identity and social interaction.

### **4.3 The Cape Fishermen: ascertaining their cultural and social heritage**

As mentioned above, the formation of the Cape fishing community can be traced back to the days when Cape Town's underclasses became involved in the marginal activity of fishing. Historically most of these fishermen were drawn from the 'non-White' sectors of society. These Cape fishermen were largely comprised of Cape 'Coloured' or 'Malay' people (Grant, 1987).

#### **4.3.1 The origins of the Cape Fishermen**

The Cape 'Coloureds' are essentially, as Western (1981 : 12) points out, 'the products of miscegenation among Whites (who established themselves in South Africa after 1652...), their slaves (who were imported mainly from Madagascar and the East Indies), and the autochthonous Khoisan peoples (otherwise known as Hottentots and Bushmen)'. Whereas the 'Coloureds' assimilated the White culture during their 176-year-long experience of slavery (Cilliers, 1971), the Cape 'Malay' (or Malayo-Indonesian) sub-group adhered to their Muslim religion (Mayson, 1963). According to Patterson (1953 : 17), a British social anthropologist, 'the term "Malay" came in the Cape to denote a religious rather than an ethnic group'. Not only did these slaves bring their Islamic culture with them, but they were also skilled in a wide range of crafts, not least among them cabinet-making and building. Fishing at Rogge Bay also came to be identified with the Cape 'Malays' (Grant, 1987) as well as the Cape 'Coloured'. The

terms Cape 'Coloured' and Cape 'Malay' can in fact be used interchangeably to denote a unique 'mix' of ethnicity and culture.

The Cape fishing community although mainly Cape 'Coloured' (and 'Malay') in composition, was not racially, socially or economically homogeneous (Grant, 1987). There were also a number of 'White' Cape fishermen such as Mr Finck who, as a boy of 8 years old, used to help his father on the family fishing boat. Moreover, many of the fish dealers in the new Rogge Bay fish market, built in 1900, were Jewish (Thompson, 1913). Despite their heterogeneous nature, the majority of the Cape fishermen had in common their membership to the settlement's underclass. Even after emancipation in 1834, most of the Cape slaves (now ex-slaves) remained an economically marginalised group. Legally bound to their masters as servants, many of these ex-slaves' social and economic conditions did not change. For others, fishing represented a means of subsistence and many of these early fishermen established themselves close to the Rogge Bay fishery (Grant, 1987).

#### **4.3.2 Residential patterns in pre-apartheid Cape Town: focusing on the inner city quarter**

The fishermen's quarter, as it was called, formed part of the poorest sections of Cape Town. As can be seen in Figure 4.2 below, this quarter, located between Strand Street and the shoreline, was crowded with rows of closely packed 'hire-houses' interlaced by narrow 'steegs' or lanes (ibid, 1987 : 12), 'blind alleys and narrow courts' where fishermen and fisherwomen busied themselves 'with net making and salting' (Sam Sly, 1844). High population densities, poverty and squalor formed part of everyday life in the fishermen's quarter (in which most fishermen lived prior to 1850). Following a smallpox epidemic in the area, the Wardmaster's Report in 1840 (Cape Archives, CO 490 item 159), described the fishermen's 'hire-houses' as 'dirty, crowded and unventilated..., hung inside and out with drying fish'. However, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the growth of the Rogge Bay fishery resulted in the establishment of fish-curing and related industries in the vicinity of Rogge Bay (Grant, 1987). This encouraged the Cape fishermen to move out from the fishermen's quarter into inner city areas such as the Bo-Kaap (including the Malay Quarter, Schotsche's Kloof and De Waterkant) and Kanaaldorp (later named District Six) and Papendorp (Woodstock) (Western, 1981). As the population of Cape Town grew, so did the demand for 'cheap' fresh fish, the staple form of protein for the town's underclasses (Grant, 1987). The growth of the Rogge Bay fishery was paralleled by heightened awareness by Cape fishermen of the importance of their role in supplying the

underclasses with fish (ibid, 1987); an awareness voiced in a series of petitions addressed to the Cape Town municipality (Cape Archives, 3/CT I/I/5/60).

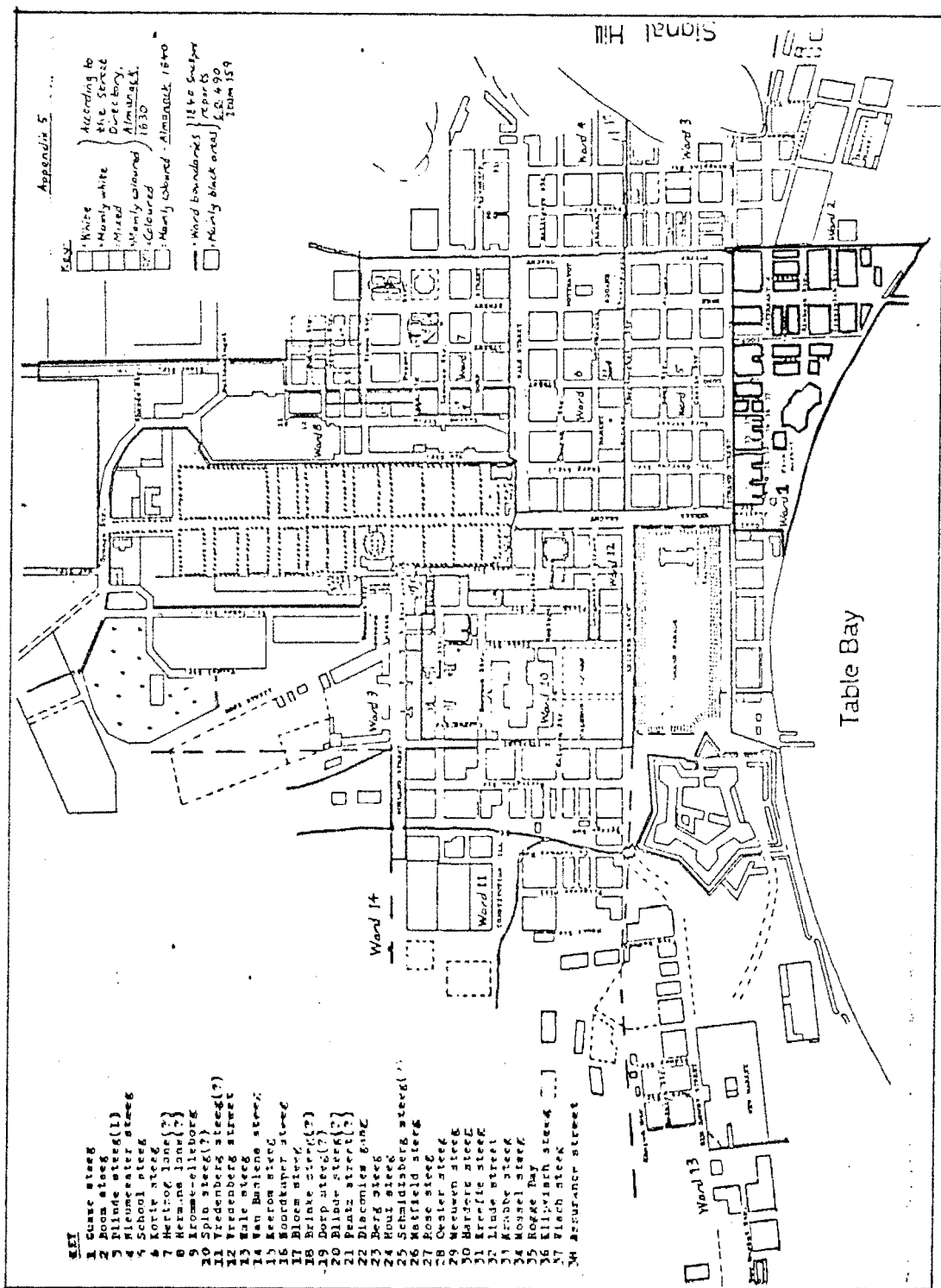


Figure 4.2: Historical map representing the fishermen's quarter (Ward 1) at Cape Town (c. 1850)

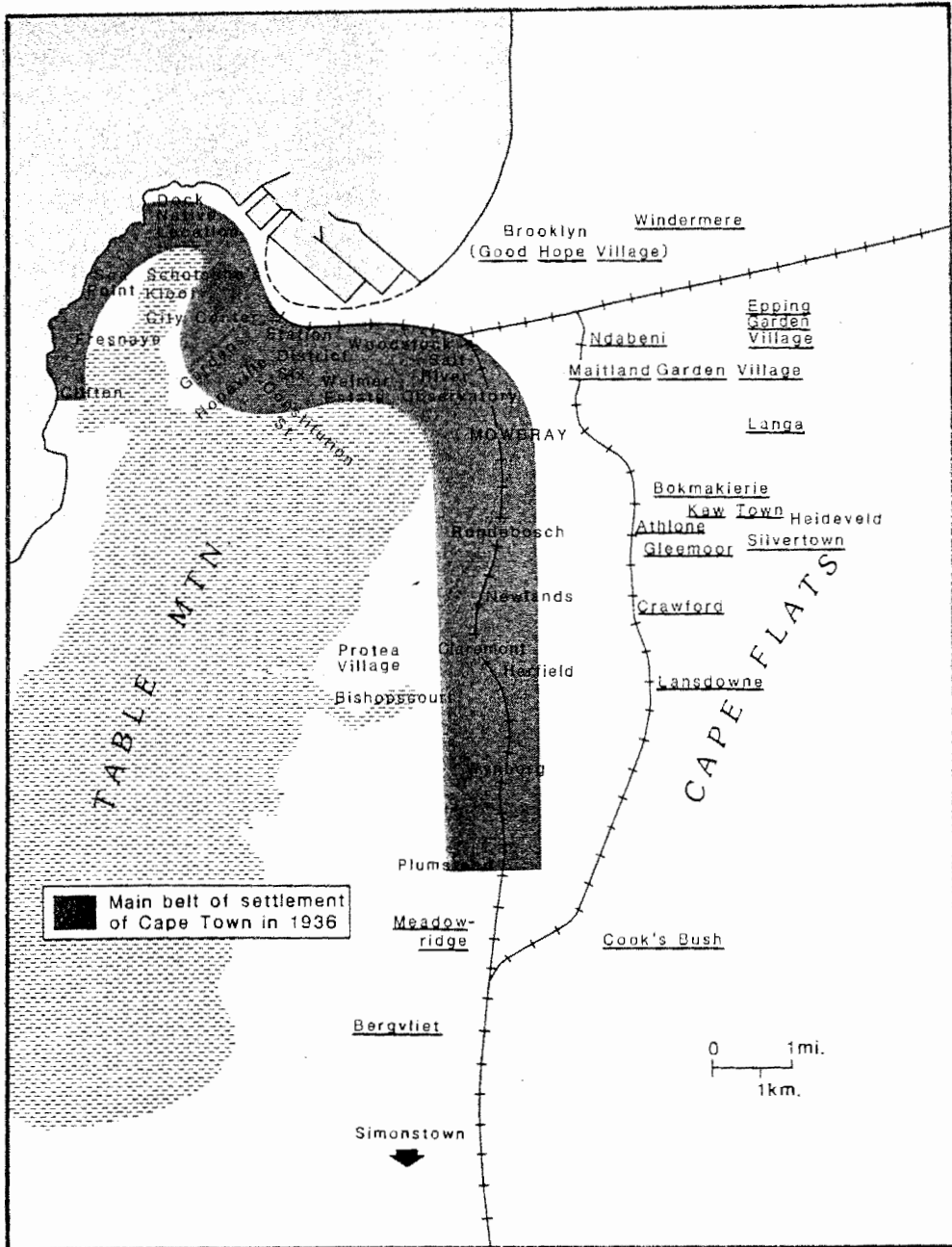
(Source: Cape Archives, C.O. 490 item 159)

Not surprisingly, the economic position of many Cape Fishermen was improved with the growth of Rogge Bay's economic importance. A number of these fishermen were not only able to acquire their own boats, but were able to purchase property. Because there was no racial segregation in the Cape, property was 'sold to the highest bidder' (Western, 1981). Financial means rather than race, therefore, determined where people lived. Marais (1939 : 257) explains that Cape Town still experienced a form of segregation because:

**...those of the Coloured who could pay for it purchased housing accommodation in the ordinary way. Though no Municipality in the Cape had (or has) the power to compulsorily segregate its Coloured from its European inhabitants, the Coloured People quite naturally tended to live together in the poorer quarters of the towns. Some of them, however, live interspersed with Europeans.**

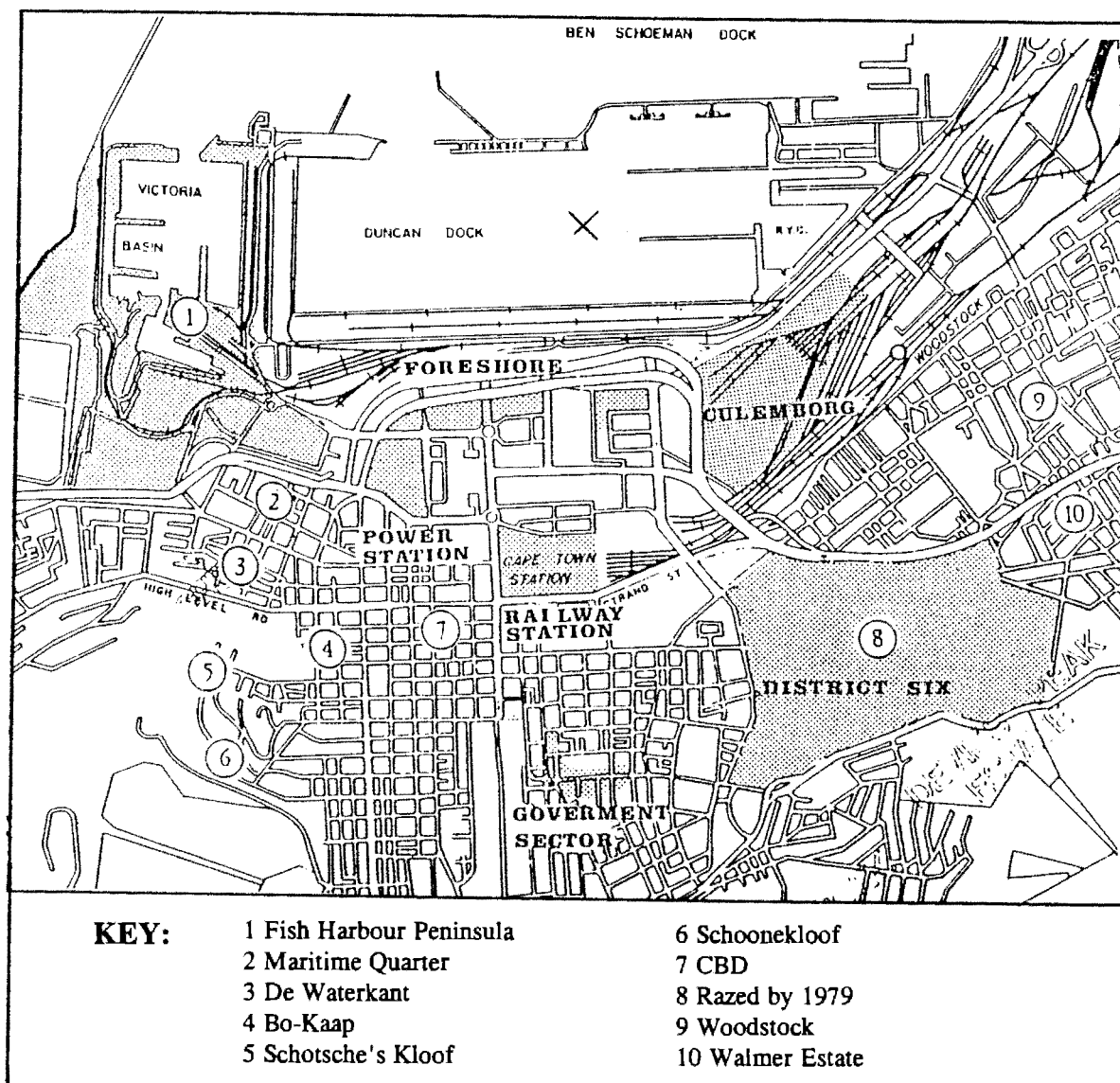
Although no regulations existed to prevent the sale of property to Cape 'Coloureds', few 'Coloureds' (relative to the total 'Coloured' population) had the means to acquire property (Western, 1981). As a result, most Cape 'Coloureds' (the Cape fishermen included) were forced to live in 'high-density working-class housing close to [and within] the industrial areas developing along the docks-Observatory rail axis' (ibid, 1981 : 35) (see Figure 4.3 below). Of particular interest in the context of this study are the inner city areas of Bo-Kaap and surrounds, District Six and Woodstock. Situated on either side of the city centre overlooking Table Bay (see Figure 4.4 below), these working-class areas originally displayed a high degree of racial integration.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Cape fishermen, along with other members of the marginalised underclass, began to establish themselves in inner city areas. Areas such as District Six, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap attracted the greatest numbers of people because of their proximity to the city centre and sea (see Figure 4.4 below). The establishment of District Six, the best known inner city area (Western, 1981 and Ridd, 1981), can be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century when Cape Town's residential housing began to spread across the boundary canals on the castle side of the city (Picard, 1968). Soon after, in 1867, this area was demarcated as the sixth municipal district of Cape Town. The area continued to expand as factories, small artisan businesses, wholesale outlets (such as fish markets) and shops were located amongst the houses (Ridd, 1981). Due to the continued influx of people, District Six not only exhibited high building densities, but developed a distinctive cosmopolitan character. 'Its proximity to the harbour and central Cape Town', writes Ridd (1981 : 131), 'made it convenient for immigrants, from inland and abroad, to find cheap accommodation and work near at hand'.



**Figure 4.3:** Location of Cape Town pre-apartheid neighbourhoods

(Source: Adapted from Western, 1981 : 34)



**Figure 4.4:** Map depicting Cape Town's CBD, inner city areas and port complex

(Source: Adapted from V&AW, 1989 : 3)

District Six's cosmopolitan character, like the adjacent suburb of Woodstock, developed further with each successive wave of immigrants. Apart from sizeable 'Coloured' and 'Malay' population, there were also Russian and Polish Jewish immigrants, who together with the Indians, became the largest property owners in District Six and other inner city areas (Ridd, 1981). Substantial numbers of Southern

European immigrants, especially Greeks and Italians, also established themselves in District Six. As mentioned above, many of the Italians became involved in the Rogge Bay Fishing Industry, effectively undermining the local fishermen with their advanced fishing techniques. Etched into its social and urban geography, this racial and ethnic heterogeneity became the hallmark of the area.

As a residential area, District Six acquired a reputation as diverse as the composition of its population. Some parts were notorious for their squalor and crime, others, mostly on the periphery, were considered respectable or well-do-to. Yet throughout this area there was reportedly an unspoken ethic of coexistence and tolerance. For Johannes 'Joey' Carolus, an inshore fisherman who grew up in District Six, people coexisted like 'family'. 'You know', says 'Joey', 'if I have a quarrel with you, it's only like a brotherly quarrel. Everybody was happy'. He continues to say that there were 'gangsters, but they never fought with you because you were from the area'. According to Pam, another former District Six resident, there were 'respectable' and 'skollie' gangsters (see glossary). Yet, despite these (and other) idealised images of District Six, the area was not as glamorous and idyllic as people recall it to be. Notwithstanding its initial cosmopolitan social character, the area (like other inner city areas) began to deteriorate structurally. Ridd (1981 : 143) elaborates:

**As time went on the whole area became run down as the poor continued to move in, replacing those that could afford to move on. District Six was a place where people came to establish a livelihood. Those who succeeded left for better residential areas, while the rest remained behind.**

Mr Henderson (pers comm, 1992), for instance, recalled how his father, a doctor's driver, had decided to leave District Six because of increased crime and the physical deterioration of the area.

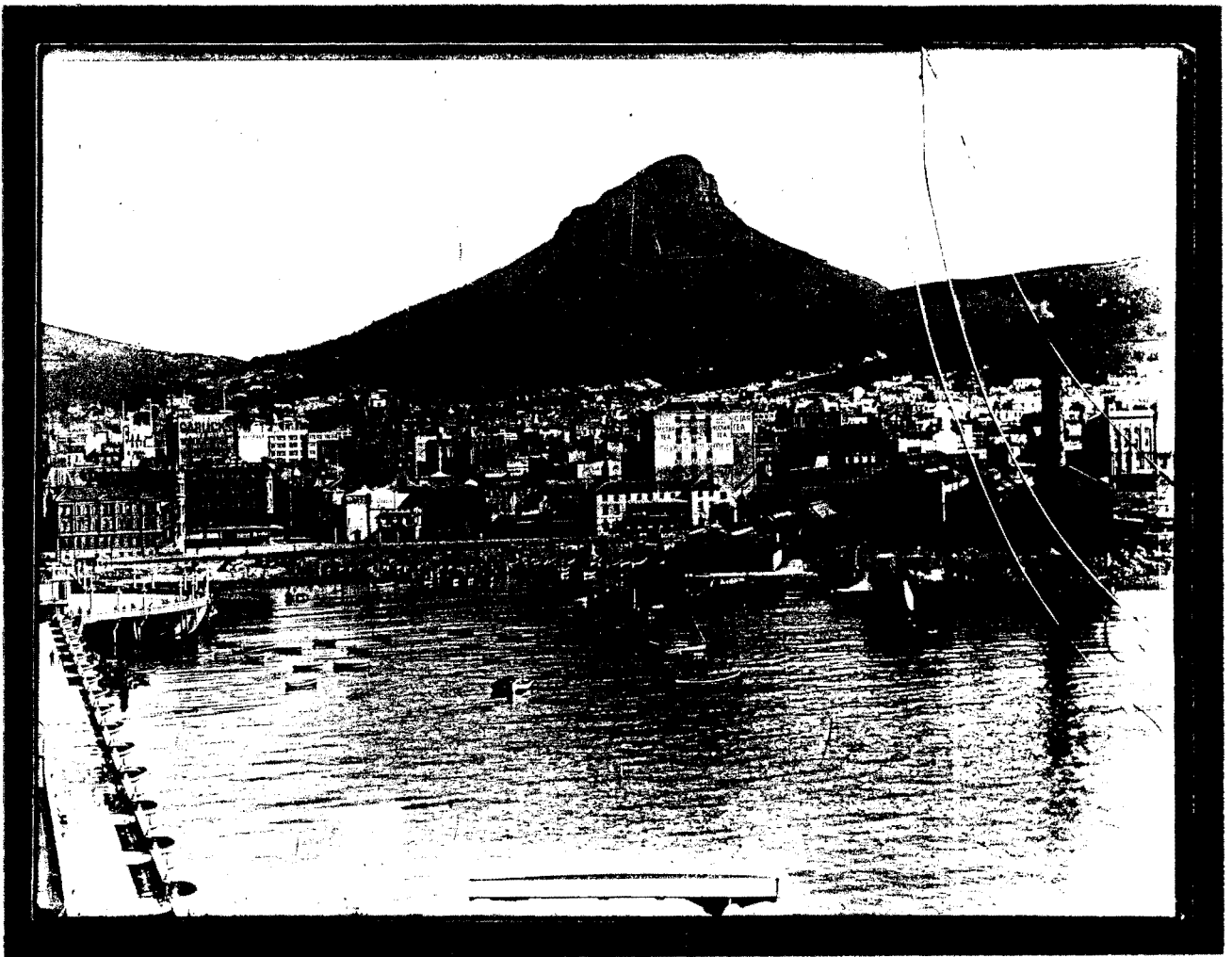
**Houses were neglected. The drains and brickwork started to crumble. It was very sad. The people tried to look after it but they had no money. One day my father said that we had to move. He just didn't like it anymore. So we moved to Rondebosch close to the fountain. We were one of the few "non-White" families to move out.**

By the early twentieth century many Europeans began to move out of District Six into the newly established southern suburbs of Mowbray, Rondebosch, Newlands and Claremont (see Figure 4.3 above). Although staying until the 1930s and 1940s, Polish and Russian Jews also eventually moved out to new suburbs. They, however, kept their businesses in the area. At the same time a number of 'Coloured' families migrated into neighbouring areas of Woodstock and Walmer Estate (see Appendix B).

Woodstock having also been moulded by successive waves of British and Southern Europeans (Greeks and Italians), displayed some of District Six's cosmopolitanism. Since this suburb (originally the village of Papendorp) was located along the shore of Table Bay, it is not surprisingly that this area housed a large population of Cape fishermen. This population of local fishermen was eventually eclipsed by the influx of Portuguese-speaking fishermen during the 1930s. Initially from Madeira, their numbers were dramatically increased by refugees fleeing from Mozambique and Angola during the 1960s and 1970s. Such were the numbers in Walmer Estate and University Estate that it was nicknamed "little Madeira" (Ridd, 1981 : 154) (see Appendix B). As in the neighbouring District Six, there was a wide range of socio-economic sectors to the suburb of Woodstock. Some were run-down and predominantly 'Coloured', others mixed or poor White while others were White and privately owned. However, of prime importance to many residents, no matter what their socio-economic position, was the proximity to the Woodstock beach. For Mr Henderson, his fondest memories were of walking down through Woodstock from District Six, across the iron bridge that spanned the railway yards, to the beach with its pavilion. He recalled the many shipwrecks on the beach. The *Hypathia*, he insisted, 'was the closest. I searched the Saturday for braid for my mother who was a dressmaker. They always thought I would go to sea because I was always by the sea and on the beach'.

Unlike the cosmopolitan character of District Six and Woodstock, the Bo-Kaap (especially the Malay Quarter) displayed more of an exotic (far-eastern) character. Part of this area (see Figure 4.4 above) had remained unchanged since the Dutch departed in 1806. The many flat-roofed semi-detached single- and double-storeyed houses (formerly the residences of newly freed slaves) interspersed with mosques, attested to the existence of a sizeable Cape 'Malay' population. Streets of granite cobblestone connected the Malay Quarter with the adjacent maritime quarter (surrounding the Old Docks) and city centre (see Figure 4.4 above). Thus, the history of this area, located above the sailortown, is inextricably enmeshed with both the development of the port and the fishing activities on the beaches of Rogge Bay. Its proximity to Rogge Bay and the Old Docks inevitably meant that fishing supplied many residents with a livelihood (or subsistence), while the products of the sea formed an integral part of life for most in this inner city area. For instance, in *Harbours of Memory*, Greene (1969 : 8) recounts a time when 'the sea almost reached Garlick's store (see Figure 4.5 below) and in the area you could smell the fresh tang of seaweed on the rocks at low tides'. He continues by saying how 'housewives walked down to Rogge Bay and bought line

fish for their luncheons'. Similarly, Harry Cottle, who had lived in Waterkant Street, recalls how he would regularly play between the boats on the Rogge Bay beach. Although young at the time, the images of the boats, smell of the fish and sounds of the sea and fishermen are vivid memories of his childhood. His younger brother, David Cottle although unable to recall the Rogge Bay fishery, remembered strolling down 'every day after school to fetch the bag of fish' which his uncle had caught for the family.



**Figure 4.5:** Cape Town's Waterfront during the early twentieth century (This picture with the central Adderley Street pier in the foreground and Lion's Head in the background, clearly depicts the proximity of the Rogge Bay fishery to the city's CBD. Bo-Kaap is also visible beyond the rubber works).

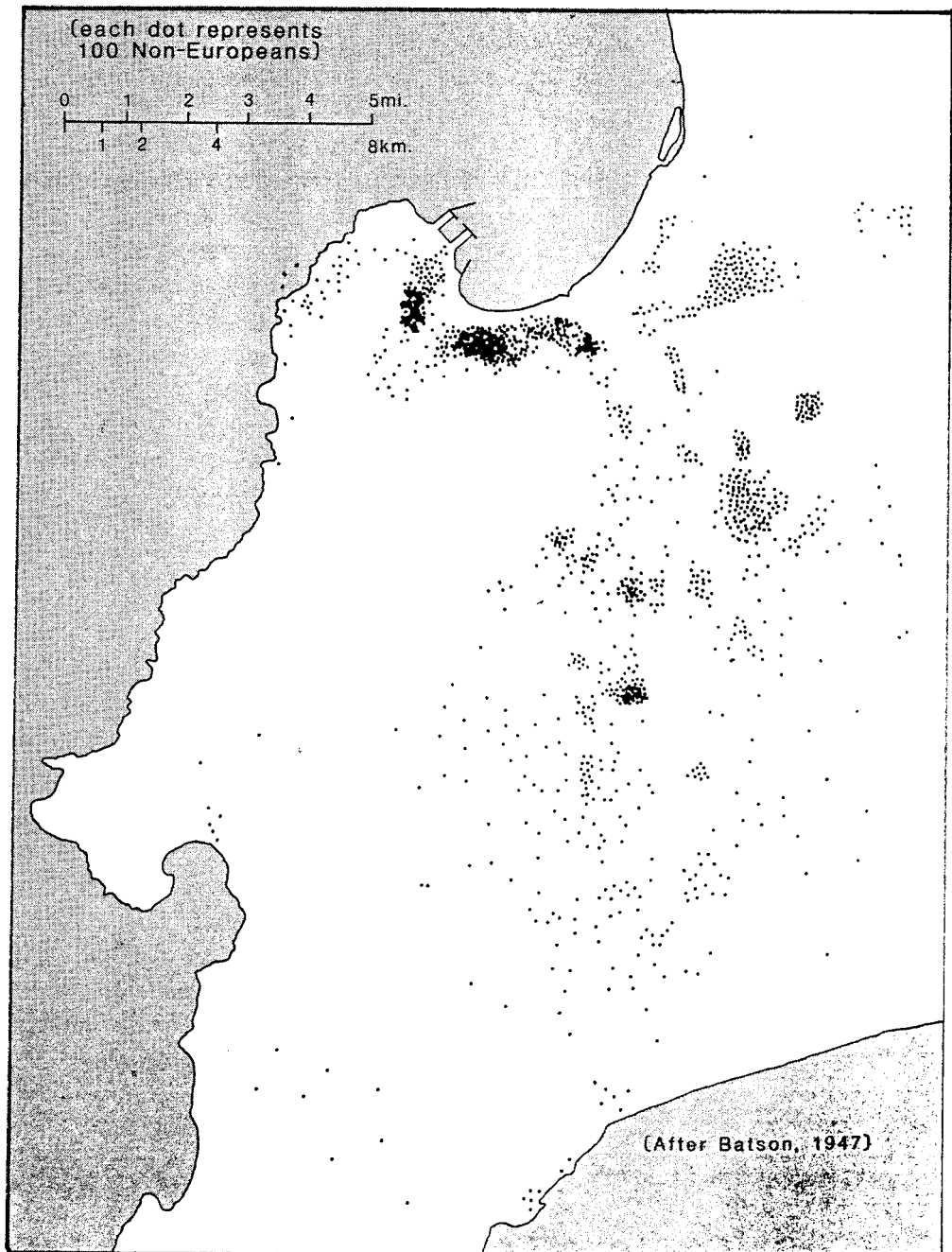
(Source: Cape Archives R1570)

For many who lived in the maritime quarter abutting the Old Docks, life was inevitably caught up in the ebb and flow of the port and its activities. Roughly located between the Bo-Kaap (bordered by Somerset Road) and the Docks (bordered by Dock Road) (see Figure 4.4 above), this area displayed a distinctive mix of 'dock cottages', boarding-houses (or hire-houses as they were known by the locals), seamen's canteens and saloons, warehouses and a host of businesses (see chapter two, section 2.2.1.4). Greene's (1969 : 7-9) detailed descriptions of the sailortown, or as he calls it 'the seafaring quarter', provides valuable insights into the (late nineteenth century/early twentieth century) character of an area where now only remnants remain:

**Dock Road was a roaring waterfront very close to Table Bay early this century when I first passed over the cobblestones bound for the harbour. ... Little factories and the shops of all sorts flourished here. ... Along the Dock Road or in the seafaring streets leading out of it there were not only brewers and wine merchants but cigar makers and pawnbrokers, fish curers, ship chandlers and consuls. ... Of course all of the bars, canteens, inns and taverns of this quarter were cosmopolitan... The atmosphere in most was Victorian. ... Curries of various sorts were favourite every day in the seafaring quarter. If you passed down Waterkant or Bree Street between certain hours there were such pungent aromas of chillies and garlic, mustard oil and onions, that you might have been in Calcutta.**

For the Cape fishermen living in inner city areas, these sights, sounds and smells of the maritime quarter would have been an everyday experience as they moved to and fro between their houses and the fishing boats.

However, by the late 1940s, the residents living in the abovementioned inner city areas had been enveloped by the development of affluent, White, residential suburban tracts brought about by the outward urban sprawl (Western, 1981). As a result, inner city areas of Bo-Kaap, District Six and Woodstock became the primary location of Cape 'Coloured' people (and thus many of the Cape fishermen) (see Figure 4.6 below). With a few exceptions, most of these 'Coloured' people could not afford the higher quality housing that surrounded them. On the other hand, Whites that still lived in these areas after the 1940s were not prepared to move out (see Figure 4.7 below). As Western (1981 : 40) points out, 'population pressure continued to rise inside the pockets, whose boundaries with surrounding White space became increasingly well defined'. Space in these areas, therefore, became far more racially defined. This is supported by Harry Cottle, a former resident of the maritime quarter, who remarked that when 'coming from Sea Point the White cottages were on the left hand side and the "Coloured" cottages were on your right hand side between Bennett Street and Liddle Street'.



**Figure 4.6:** Distribution of Non-European population in Cape Town and Environs, 1936

(Source: Adapted from Western, 1981 : 43)

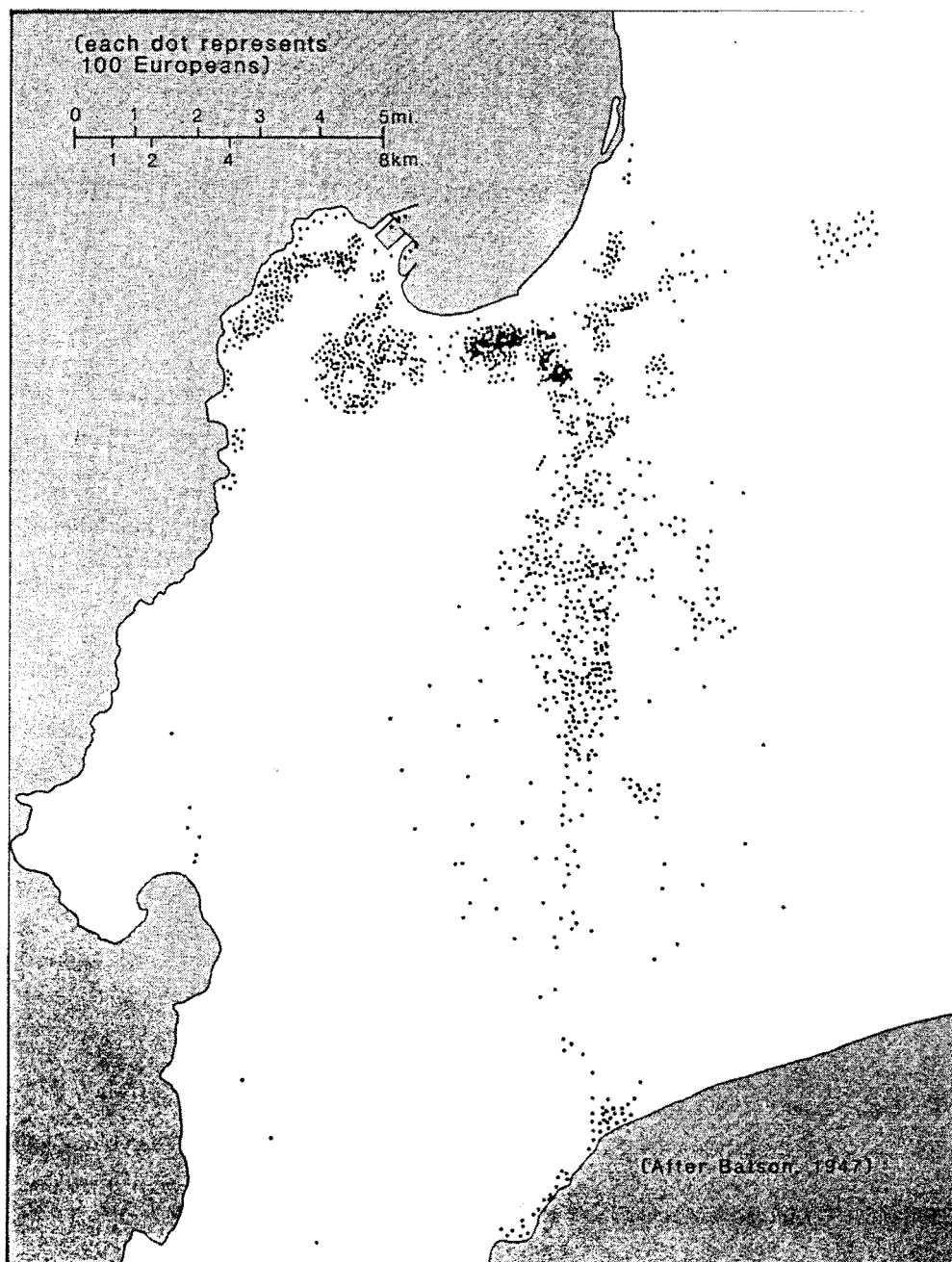


Figure 4.7: Distribution of European population in Cape Town and Environs, 1936

(Source: Adapted from Western, 1981 : 44)

Thus, although not legislated, differential financial means continued to entrench a form of pre-apartheid segregation. Whereas the richer Whites were able to buy their way into better suburbs, the poorer, predominantly 'Coloured' communities were restricted to the crowded working class housing tracts of District Six and Bo-Kaap. Similarly, the older neighbourhoods of intermediate status such as De Waterkant (overlooking the maritime quarter and Old Docks) and Woodstock remained mixed. According to Batson (1947), approximately a third of all Capetonians in 1936 lived in these mixed inner city zones (see Figures 4.6 and 4.7 above). The general impression one gets from the lifestyles of people in these inner city areas was one of mutual respect and coexistence. 'Everyone knew their place and there was no problems', said one 'Coloured' fisherman. 'But then they declared it a White area and everyone had to move', he continued. But before this, the ever-growing urban 'Coloured' population quickly filled remaining space in these working class housing tracts resulting in an initial 'voluntary' movement of a number of 'Coloured' families to areas such as Athlone and Crawford on the Cape Flats (see Figure 4.3 above). However, as mentioned above, this movement was overshadowed by the 'involuntary' movements that would follow in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

#### **4.3.3 Group Areas and the destruction of established people-place bonds**

In all of Cape Town's three and a quarter centuries of socio-geographical history, from slavery through to emancipation and beyond, legal means of territorial segregation were not necessary as Whites clearly dominated the 'Coloured' population. But, with the rapid immigration of local (mainly non-White) and foreign (mainly White) people into the city, there was the potential for 'blurred social distinctions' (Western, 1981). This potential blurring was countered through the imposition of a more formal 'territoriality' as embodied in the Group Areas Act of 1950, the cornerstone of the Apartheid legislation. Through the imposition of group areas, the National Party set about preserving urban South Africa for the White population who were increasingly being outnumbered by non-Whites. The Group Areas Act and its series of amendments focused upon the prohibition of 'all interracial sales and occupation of property'. The Group Areas Development Act (renamed the Community Development Act), on the other hand, effectively operationalised group areas decisions (ibid, 1981). Motivated by strategic interest to reinforce the 'sacredness' of Cape Town's city centre (centred about the Company Gardens), and by economic interest to uplift poorer White (predominantly Afrikaans-speaking) people, the state set about spatially segregating mixed and non-White inner city residential zones.

Cape Town, more than any other South African city, held specific symbolic significance for White South Africans given that it was here that 'White South Africa' had originated. The same can be said for the Cape 'Coloured' people who owed their origins to Cape Town. "'Coloured" space in Cape Town', writes Western (1981 : 139), 'is in a sense as old as that of the Whites; Cape Town is as much, if not more, the mother city for Cape "Coloureds" (and Cape 'Malays') as it is for South African Whites'. We have already seen that it was the Cape 'Coloureds' who, as part of the underclasses, had initially provided the fledgling settlement with a cheap source of protein (Grant, 1987). We also saw that, through their skills and love of the sea, the Cape fishermen (drawn from the Cape 'Coloured' people) established what would become a multi-million rand industry. One can add that this community provided the Cape with a unique cultural heritage. Thus it can be argued that both the 'Coloured' inner city areas and White-dominated city centre represented opposing (and interdependent) aspects of Cape Town's social and material culture. However, increased population densities in these inner city areas threatened space seen as sacred by the White South African nation. Thus, as Western (1981 : 141) points out, in order 'to uphold the sacredness of White inner Cape Town space, a distancing of the Nonwhites' was necessary. With the help of the Group Areas and Community Development Acts, more than 150 000 'non-White' Capetonians were forced from their homes over a two decade period (ibid, 1981 : 70).

In most South African cities, actual removals were being undertaken a year after the passage of the Group Areas pronouncements. Mainly due to the Cape Town City Council's boycott of the Group Areas Board, it took more than seven years before the first group areas could be proclaimed, on 5 July 1957 (Western, 1981). Within the next five years, however, most of the Cape Town metropolis was (re)proclaimed by the state. Whilst suburbs and the city centre situated within the Table Valley were zoned White, Schotsche's Kloof (otherwise referred to as the Malay Quarter) and Schoonekloof were proclaimed for 'Malays' and 'Coloureds' respectively (see Figure 4.5 above). This was surprising, considering that these areas were located on higher ground, with magnificent views of Table Bay, the slopes of Table Mountain and the adjacent 'White' city centre. Nevertheless, the area's historical value coupled with its small population (of under 2 000 persons), meant that it did not pose a real strategic threat to the security of the White dominated city centre and Table Valley suburbs.

Despite the preservation of the Malay Quarter, 'Coloured' occupants in the Loader Street area (commonly referred to as De Waterkant), above the Old Docks and adjacent

to the city centre, were expelled (Western, 1981 : 139). Upon their removal, this area was gentrified by middle- and upper-income Whites (see Figure 4.8 below, picture 1). The maritime quarter situated below Somerset Road has undergone similar changes (Figure 4.8, picture 2). Having been summarily zoned an industrial area, many of the residents were initially overlooked by the state. It was only in the 1970s, with the construction of the freeway system, that many of its residents were relocated. Railway dock cottages located in the way of the proposed scheme were demolished and their occupants (many of them fishermen) forced to move thereby resulting in the eventual demise of the formerly vibrant maritime quarter (see Figure 4.4 above). Mr Finch (pers.comm., 1992), a retired boat owner and skipper, recalls life in the maritime quarter community:

**Lots of fishermen some of whose fathers used to work for the Railways used to stay there [referring to the demolished dock cottages] but they are mostly retired now. You know where Ebenezer Road bus terminal used to be, on the right hand side there were all railway cottages and they even had a small town hall. Where that road is running now, that used to be a playpark... As far as I can remember it was like a village in a town.**

Thus, by the 1980s, all except one family had been forced out of the maritime quarter. Pam and her family still live in Preswich Street located in the heart of the quarter (see Figure 4.8, picture 3). For Pam (pers. comm., 1992) the area was unique in terms of its ethnic diversity and action:

**On the corner [of Colbern Street] was a winery place, a bottle store. And on the other side of the street where the bank now stands there were double-storey houses. This was the hippy street. And don't talk about the drugs and everything. The policemen were every year in this street. Yes there was always action in this road. ... There were mostly "Coloured" in this area. We also had some snobbish "Coloureds" and we just left them alone. The Whites, mainly Portuguese, were on the other side [above Somerset Road]. We just fit in with each other. But it all started changing about 12 years ago. The "Coloured" people up here [referring to De Waterkant] were moved out. Whites live there now. The dock cottages in Port Road were knocked down when they built the flyover. ... Now its just so quiet. Its now only bergies [the homeless] that is around here.**

Pam and her family have survived both forced removals and pressure from commercial interests by virtue of the fact that the house they stay in cannot legally be sold. Originally owned by her husband's father and his father before him, this 'estate house' as Pam refers to it, has been passed down from generation to generation for over 100 years. This may explain why their house, as one of the many semi-detached 'hire houses' constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century, appears somewhat dilapidated (see Figure 4.8, picture 3 below).



**Figure 4.8:** Picture 1 - The De Waterkant area today (This photograph (of a present-day De Waterkant street scene) depicts a gentrified 'upmarket' inner city area. The embellishment and ornamentation of these vernacular Cape 'Malay' cottages clearly reflect the (post)modern tastes of their new residents).



**Figure 4.8:** Picture 2 - The maritime quarter today (As can be seen from this photograph the maritime quarter has been dramatically altered. Not only have buildings (with new uses) been brightly painted to attract customers, but the streets of this formerly vibrant sailortown have become 'clogged' with the cars of people working in the nearby city centre).



**Figure 4.8:** Picture 3 - Remnants of the many hire-houses formerly found in the maritime quarter (This photograph depicts the last row of double-storey houses found in the maritime quarter. Pam and her family (living in the house on the far left) are the only residents in the entire quarter).



**Figure 4.8:** Picture 4 - The changing face of the maritime quarter (Warehouses formerly servicing the adjacent port now house restaurants, consultant's offices and electricians etc).



**Figure 4.9:** The maritime quarter physically separated from the Table Bay Harbour (Whereas photograph 1 (top) clearly shows how the flyover at the bottom of Loader Street has blocked access to the Old Harbour, photograph 2 (bottom) depicts the flyover as an imposing barrier between the waterfront (or Old Harbour) and the city centre and inner city areas).

Although substantially altered, many of the original buildings (see Figure 4.8, picture 4 above) of this maritime quarter still remain. Their original functions have, however, been replaced by modern-day uses. Warehouses, pubs, wineries and houses are now occupied by restaurants (catering for the 'yuppies' located in De Waterkant), consultants' offices, signwriters and electricians, to name just a few. What was once a vibrant precinct surrounding the Old Docks, is now isolated behind a concrete freeway (see Figure 4.9, pictures 1 and 2 above).

On the eastern side of the city centre, certain parts of Woodstock were proclaimed White while others were proclaimed 'Coloured' (see Appendix B). Despite the fact that people were given five years to move out of 'White Woodstock', the area remained the same as it had always been, with no clear distinction between Whites and non-Whites (Ridd, 1981 : 157). However, Woodstock changed by the mid-1960s when District Six was proclaimed White. Situated immediately east of the city centre, this area, as the historic focus of 'Coloured' sentiment, was perceived as a major threat to the symbolic and physical integrity of the city centre. During the 1970s, District Six was systematically razed to the ground and thousands of residents forcibly relocated to 'Coloured' group areas on the Cape Flats. Bulldozed waste land, solitary churches and bitter resentment is all that remained of most of District Six by the end of the 1970s. Apart from bolstering the sacred space of the city centre, the obliteration of District Six struck at the heart of Cape 'Coloured' pride and identity.

While many 'Coloured' people located on the periphery of the city centre were directly affected by the group areas proclamations prior to the 1960s, most of them could nevertheless, according to Harry Cottle and Ernest Wasserfal (pers. comm., 1992), continue their everyday activities. Cape fishermen still strolled down from their houses in the Bo-Kaap, District Six and Woodstock. However, by the end of the 1970s, most of the Cape fishermen had been relocated along with 'Coloured' people living in District Six, De Waterkant (or the Loader Street area) and parts of Woodstock. By forcing whole communities to move from areas they had occupied for generations and thus severing the bonds between people and their place (or effective space), the group areas legislation had a severely traumatising effect. Yet, despite having been geographically distanced from the city centre, Cape fishermen (unlike other 'Coloured' people) continued to work and/or live in the Old Docks; an area traditionally part of their heritage and identity. The activities of fishing (particularly inshore fishing) remained relatively unaltered, thereby providing fishermen with a very important sense of continuity in a lifeworld turned upside down.

#### 4.4 Harbourscape and fishing: constants in a changing lifeworld

Subsequent to the construction of the New Fisheries Harbour and the obliteration of the Rogge Bay fishery in the late 1930s, Cape fishermen worked in and from the Alfred and Victoria (V&A) Basins. For them, the Old Docks, like Rogge Bay before it, had been within walking distance when they lived in the surrounding inner city areas. We have already seen that from the late 1950s onwards, most of the 'Coloured' fishermen had been forced out to group areas on the Cape Flats (see Figure 4.3 above). Nevertheless, despite the social upheaval that accompanied these forced removals, fishing operations continued as before. Whereas legislated segregation had been imposed to socially separate White and non-White Capetonians, there was still integration in the work place:

**In those days we had Whites and "Coloureds" mostly as fishermen. There was no difference between fishermen because you worked on the sea. Say for example you had a crew of Whites only and I had a crew of Coloureds or non-Europeans only, and you came into difficulties. Then my crew will be too willing to assist you and vice versa. So there was no difference on the water. They worked together, ate together and on occasion even slept in the same bunk together. But, I mean that's all in a day's work. ... Once on shore everyone goes his own way (Mr Finch, pers. comm., 1992).**

Long-established patterns of interaction were consequently adapted to suit the new conditions. Instead of walking down from their houses in the surrounding inner city areas, fishermen working on the inshore fishing boats would, according to Harry Cottle, 'all gather, between 2 and 4 o' clock in the morning, at the Houte Cafe [Imperial Cafe] before they would go out to sea' (see Figure 4.10 below). Having taken 'the late trains from Mannenberg, Elsie's River and Kuilsriver', explains Harry, 'they would sit at the Cafe and have a cup of coffee waiting for the other chaps to come in before they all marched down to the harbour'. In this way then, these fishermen were able not only to maintain previously established affiliations and relations, but also to overcome some of the trauma associated with forced removals. These fishermen were, therefore, able to develop a 'sense of place' within the confines of the V&A Docks which had always been an integral part of their everyday lifeworld.

There were those such as Edward Booyesen, who grew up in dock cottages and played in the harbour. According to Edward, the 'main fish jetty acted as a playground. At that time there was no security and you could move freely around the harbour and nobody would stop you'. He and Henry, a childhood friend and fellow inshore fishermen, recalled having regularly fished off North Quay (see Figure 3.1 in

chapter three) or hearing the whistles of the old steam boats as they entered and left the harbour. Because they lived in a working harbour, time was often measured against major social happenings such as the Royal visit in 1947.

**I can remember when George was king and Queen Elizabeth was still a princess. When they came here in 1947 Duncan Dock was here. It was just after the war because they came in warships. I still remember the Midway and the Warrior which were aircraft carriers. I've been on them (Carolus, pers. comm., 1992).**

Consequently, because some fishermen still lived in the surrounding maritime quarter, the Old Docks maintained much of its original character up until the late 1970s. Dock Road, fish markets and fishing boats still formed the nucleus of fishing activities. Franck and Robb (1975 : 31) capture some of this character when referring to the 'Official Fish Market':

**...which down the years has been sited first at the fish basin, then at various locations along Dock Road, and finally back at the docks. The memory-pictures of these markets are much the same - places with concrete floors and gutters eternally running with water, marble slabs, buxom Coloured fish-wives with tongues as sharp as the knives they wielded, and the bustle of servants of the rich and the wives or children of the less well-off shopping for the evening meal.**

The Fish Market (sandwiched between the inshore fish factories and Fish Quay) was the centre of the Fish Harbour (see Figure 4.11 below). From about noon, it would be abuzz with sights and sounds of people selling, buying, and handling fish. Whether owners, agents, dealers, fishermen or workmen and women, all (either directly or indirectly) who assembled to meet the returning day-boats had something to do with fishing.

Understandably, the Fish Market, like most other physical features in the Cape Town's Victoria and Alfred harbourscape, holds special significance for all dockworkers. Mr Paulsa, a long-standing employee of the Concentra fishmeal factory, recounts for example the 'activity and excitement' of the Fish Market and comments that he would often 'walk around to the Fish Quay to see the fishing boats'. For him the harbour was not the same since the 'market disappeared'. Others like 'Joey' Carolus, an inshore fisherman, reminisced about having regularly helped his 'skipper sell their catch' to the fish dealers (or 'Langanas'). In this way, he and other fishermen were able to earn a few extra pennies which would buy them a drink on their way home. For many of the older fishermen such as Mr Latus (pers. comm., 1992), time has not blunted their memories of the Fish Market and its daily shambles.



**Figure 4.10:** Picture of the Imperial Cafe (or 'Houte' Cafe) (This Cafe is located at the entrance to the V&A Waterfront. It has reportedly been trading for well over five decades. For many fishermen the Houte Cafe symbolises better days when fishing was good and the harbour vibrant).



**Figure 4.11:** An artists impression of the Fish Market during the early 1970s (This sketch by Bruce Franck clearly depicts the old shed-covered Fish Market alongside the Fish Quay. The many people, piles of fresh fish and moored 'chug-chuggies' (left) all assist in recreating some of the activity and vibrancy of this former affective and functional centre of inshore fishing).

(Source: Franck and Robb, 1975 : 74-75)

This daily hustle and bustle, however, often disguised the fishing and after-fishing activities upon which the inshore industry was based. Every day, in the pre-dawn darkness, hundreds of fishermen would put to sea in local fishing vessels. The methods and equipment, like the boats used, had not changed in decades. In the case of the small lobster boats, for instance, ring-nets (or 'hoop-nets') and dinghies were standard equipment up until the late 1960s. Mr Finch (pers. comm., 1992) explains:

Those days there wasn't the luxury they have today [referring to the lobster trap]. We used to use "hoop-nets" which had to be hauled up by hand which required a lot of muscle power. ... If the fishing ground is close then you tow the dinghies, but if its far you usually had 4 to 6 dinghies on deck and these dinghies had a crew of two each. That time we had more crew to operate the dinghies. Once on the fishing ground you throw your dinghies off, then your nets, your bait [usually bunches of fish heads] and all that. You used to set your nets in a circle and when you come to your last line then you pick up your first one again. It all depends on how the crayfish bite. You work all day. I mean there is no break inbetween. If you start this morning you want to finish up before darkness comes. You want to get as much as possible. That time there was no quota system. There was no season.

For most fishermen, the utilisation of nets and dinghies, although physically taxing, was synonymous with a better time when both fish and work were readily available. Apart from the labour-intensive dinghy-system, fishermen also worked on the many Company-owned pilchard-seiners which preceded the large mechanised trawlers presently found in the Old Docks. Prior to large-scale mechanisation (and the relocation of pilchard-discharge points to other west and south Cape coast fishing harbours), fishermen regularly offloaded catches by basket or tar net (Henderson, pers. comm., 1992). Whereas large baskets were used to transfer pilchards from small I&J trawlers (or seiners) to waiting trucks, tar nets were used in the transshipment of larger fish such as tuna. Further, fishermen working on the small day-boats (or 'chug-chuggies' as they are often called) were almost always at sea. If they were not catching rock lobster, they were catching snoek or some other linefish. Depending on the weather, currents and sightings, inshore boats (crayfish boats included) would, according to Joey, often put to sea to catch snoek. Some skippers would go 'snoeking' up and down the west coast. Mr Wasserfal, owner of the boat *Stormy Weather*, recalls how, before the invention of nylon, snoek was caught with 'twine lines rubbed with blood'. Yet it was this very same 'line' which threatened the livelihood of the fishermen. They were, as they are now, constantly in danger of injuring their hands. Mr Finch (pers. comm., 1992) elaborates:

The one thing that mostly eat [injured] your hand was the "snoeking". The fish bones and lines could easily eat into your fingers. That's why we used to make what we called "finger lobes". You take a bicycle tube or motor car tube and we

**make "finger lobes" for the line around your finger so that it didn't cut into your finger.**

Life on the boat did, and still does, revolve around a well versed routine in which every fisherman knows what is expected of him. Depending on the type of fishing, teamwork (in the case of crayfish fishing) and individual determination and endurance (in the case of 'snoeking') are key factors when at sea. Whereas fishermen on crayfish boats had to work together to bring in the catch, fishermen out on long-lining expeditions had to catch their fish themselves. 'At sea', stressed 'Joey' Carolus, 'each man is for himself. Each man catches his own fish and what he catches is what he earns because a portion goes to the skipper'.

Thus, although most of the inshore fishermen were skilled in these key methods of inshore fishing, long-lining and especially 'snoeking' were, and continue to be, far more appealing because of their financial advantage. Unfortunately, with the changeover to the trap system and imposition of the quota system, unemployment increasingly became part of the fishermen's everyday existence. Consequently, stories of past (and present) hardship and suffering abound. The harbour, because of its labour-intensive nature, understandably attracted marginalised people (fishermen and otherwise) in search of work, shelter, victims or clients. Mr Henderson (pers. comm., 1992), factory foreman for Concentra, recalled poor social and physical conditions in the Concentra Basin.

**There was a lot of rubbish down there [referring to the people in the Concentra Basin]. I had many problems from them when they drank. They would fight amongst each other and quite a few would fall overboard and drown. Yes, we would fish them out of the basin. Some used to sleep under the upturned boats on the quayside. That can be very cold.**

As a direct result of these social hardships, coping and support mechanisms formed an integral part of the fishermen's social existence. Firstly, drink was, and still is, the easiest way for fishermen to cope with their physically demanding and dangerous jobs. With no pub in the harbour, most fishermen would visit pubs, bars and cinemas (such as the Avalon, Star, Palace and Gem) in the surrounding maritime quarter and inner city areas. 'Look the fisherman is a fisherman', insists Mr Finch. 'It's very seldom', he goes on to say, 'that you get a fisherman that doesn't drink. This doesn't make them bad people'. He added that there were 'some exceptions', a 'rough cast' or 'skollie-boys' who didn't really want to work. It is for this reason, emphasises Mr Finch, 'that you select a crew carefully because they must be men that you know you can rely on'. Secondly, mutual support systems were, and still are, very important to the fishermen (see chapter seven). Through these systems, fishermen were able to

offset both the destruction of existing social support structures (in surrounding inner city areas) and the worsening employment conditions in the fishing harbour. 'Joey' Carolus (pers. comm., 1992) elaborates:

**When I come to the Docks and I didn't went to sea and now you had been to sea... You caught some fish but you're a friend of mine and know that I didn't went to sea, but I need a "fry" to take home. So you will say "Joey clean this fish for me and okay there's a "fry" for you to take home and here's a five pound for you, give it to your family". Tomorrow he stays at home and I go to sea and I do the same back to him. We looked after each other.**

Although the occupational and affective centre of the Cape fishermen's everyday lifeworld, the harbour (most notably the Victoria and Alfred Dockland), was in essence a working facility. This harbourscape, for all of its vibrancy, humanity and familiarity, was a dangerous place (see Figure 4.12, pictures 1 and 2 below).

This was understood and accepted by the fishermen (and other dockworkers) working in the harbour. This element of danger added to the harbour's unique character, a character and reality with which all fishermen were familiar. With constantly moving machinery (be it ships, harbour vehicles, trains or cranes etc) vigilance and alertness were vitally important. Mr Henderson (pers. comm., 1992) had regularly come face-to-face with this danger both within his factory and the surrounding dockland. He recalled a particular incident when his quick thinking action saved a life:

**One morning, 10 to three, I was driving my tractor and I saw them [train drivers] do what they call a flying shunt. They give the truck a push and it runs by itself. And I saw this car coming on and there's about 3 to 4 sets of rails running across the road coming from the A-berth. This car was still approaching so I stopped by the little power station and jumped out. That car stopped where he thought he was safe and there were no shunters on the line... Because he was standing on the wrong rail he was hit. He got out but I saved his wife. I ran and I opened the back door and got her out.**

It was for this very reason (the dangers of shunting) that redevelopment initiatives, resumed in the early 1980s, did not succeed (see chapter five, section 5.2.6). It was not until the mid-1980s that redundancy had substantially reduced the level of activity in the Victoria and Alfred Docks, thereby facilitating the process of dockland redevelopment which began in 1988.

Changes in maritime technology, fishing operations (application of traps), demographics (influx of fishermen from differing ethnic groups) and increased dockland redundancy all helped to undermine the original character of the Old Docks (see chapter five).



**Figure 4.12:** Pictures depicting the working harbour (Photograph 1 (top) depicts the formerly common activity of train shunting in the V&A Dockland. Photograph 2 (bottom) shows a number of fishing vessels (both inshore fishing and deepsea) being cleaned and painted on the synchrolift; an important ship-repair element to the working harbour).

The relocation of pilchard-discharge points to Hout Bay, Saldanha Bay and St Helena Bay coupled with the commercial decline (and demise) of the Fish Market, meant that activity (fishing or otherwise) in the V&A Harbour and especially the Fish Harbour was greatly reduced.

Fishermen were, according to Edward Booysen (pers. comm., 1992), unemployed for longer periods of the year thereby forcing many to look for alternative casual employ. Others, frustrated by the lack of work and the technological and operational changes, moved off to other fishing harbours in the region. Those that remained bemoaned not only the lack of work and money, but the loss of what they perceived as the 'good old days', a time when the harbour was busier and life simpler (see chapter seven). The spatial restructuring brought about by the redevelopment project from 1990 onwards added to the insecurities of the inshore fishermen. For those Cape fishermen who had found security and a sense of belonging in the harbour at a time of social upheaval, redevelopment in the 1990s signalled the end of a colourful and dynamic era (discussed further in chapters six and seven).

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have briefly examined the history of the Fishing Industry and the Cape fishermen that made that Industry a reality. By focusing on the social and occupational aspect of their lives it has been possible to better understand the importance that it (i.e. the V&A Docks) held for them. Further, this chapter has gone to some length to describe the location, conditions and significance of the inner city areas where the fishermen and other working class people lived prior to the 1950s. In so doing, the trauma of group areas legislation upon fishing and other communities could be better understood. Following on from this, the chapter focused in on the significance of the Victoria and Alfred harbourscape in the lives of the dispossessed Cape fishermen. By highlighting some of the physical features and fishing operations, it was possible to establish some insights into the fishermen's past and present existence.

With the historical context established, the next chapter turns to an explanation of dockland redevelopment. Through an understanding of dockland redundancy and redevelopment it will be possible to establish the real and perceived impacts of spatial restructuring on the Fishing Industry and inshore community presently located in the Victoria and Alfred Docks.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### TOWARDS AN INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE VICTORIA AND ALFRED WATERFRONT REDEVELOPMENT

#### 5.1 Introduction

Too long Port authorities and City fathers neglected to realise the potential of waterfronts. ... In many waterfront redevelopments around the world, a state of total dereliction had to be reached before it was realised that waterfronts offered immense recreational value to the public at large. ... In this Cape Town is unique (Burggraaf, 1992 : 1).

In the previous chapter I focused on the past everyday lifeworlds of the Cape Town-based inshore fishing community. The intention, as mentioned earlier, was to develop an empathetic understanding of these fishermen's daily activities and practices. Through the discussion of the significance of the harbour to the Cape fishermen's lifeworld, I was able to demonstrate the extent to which the imposition of group areas legislation disrupted the fishing community.

In this chapter I propose to target the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront redevelopment, a dockland development project started in 1990. First, I will focus on the spatial, morphological and functional evolution of the Cape Town harbour complex in general, and the Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Dockland in particular. Drawing on the theory outlined in chapter two (especially the ideas espoused by David Harvey and Neil Smith) the chapter will explore the underlying forces which initiated and directed the evolution of the Table Bay port from its primitive beginnings to its present status as an industrial port complex. In particular, the chapter attempts to identify the various forces and events which precipitated the decline and eventual redevelopment of the V&A Dockland. Building on this historical context the chapter then turns to a consideration of the redevelopment itself: its origins, protagonists, policies and objectives.

By reviewing the initial phases of the V&A development in this way, the chapter attempts to show how (through processes of commodification and 'spectacle-isation')

the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Company is presently transforming the V&A Dockland into a (post)modern environment which emulates restructured docklands elsewhere in the world (see chapter two). Lastly, my discussion will touch on the significance which the working harbour holds in terms of the tension which exists between the V&AW Company's plans to reinsert value into an otherwise devalued (and largely redundant) dockland area, on the one hand, and the determination of the existing industrial tenants to maintain their present position, on the other.

## **5.2 From primitive port to harbour complex: tracing the spatial, morphological and functional development of Table Bay Harbour**

As mentioned above, in order to understand the impact of the V&A redevelopment on the working harbour, it is necessary to ascertain those events and developments which preceded dockland renewal. Such an exposition necessitates a brief elaboration of the spatial and functional evolution of the Table Bay Harbour. Here I propose to draw on the historical materialist analysis outlined in chapter two. The intention is to place over 340 years of structural and functional change within the context of the theory of capital accumulation. In so doing, it will be possible to reveal the cyclical nature of capital investment which, in an attempt to realise greater profits and offset changes in maritime technology, systematically (and often reluctantly) creates a port complex (to act as a framework for production).

### **5.2.1 Capital's reluctance to invest: understanding the implications of the primitive port**

Table Bay has been a port of call ever since the African continent was first circumnavigated by the Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz in 1488. Despite being monopolised by Portuguese mariners from 1498 to 1595, no settlement was established at *Cabo de Boa Esperance* (Cape of Good Hope). Later, when the decision to establish a settlement at the Cape was finally taken by the Dutch, it was dictated more by the abundance of fresh water than for any natural or safe anchorage it offered (see Figure 5.1, frame 1 below). This can be deduced from the Dutch East India Company's Seventeen Directors' approval on 20 March 1651 of a proposal that would allow 'the ... East India ships, to and from Batavia ... [to procure] ... herbs, flesh, water, and other needful refreshments - and by this means restore the health of their sick -... ' at the Cape of Good Hope (Theal, 1882 : 23). Consequently, on 7 April 1652 an expedition of about ninety men, under Jan van Riebeeck, went ashore at Table Bay (Wilson and Thompson, 1982) to establish a maritime replenishment base for

Company ships journeying between the Dutch markets and the Eastern sources (Sleigh, 1992 : 3). Despite the obvious importance of this settlement to DEIC (Dutch East India Company) operations, Table Bay remained a primitive port for 218 years until the completion of the Alfred Dock in 1870 (Petersen, 1978). This underdevelopment can largely be attributed to the recalcitrance of the DEIC's seventeen directors. Despite a dramatic increase in the number of ships calling at the Cape settlement (40 ships by 1655) (Rush, 1972) and subsequent re-victualling delays, the DEIC remained reluctant to increase the labour force at the Cape (Cape Archives, CA409). This recalcitrance can be interpreted as an example of Harvey's (1989) primary circuit of capital where capital is retained in the production process. In the case of the DEIC this meant capital was readily invested in machinery and labour to increase accumulation (the ships transporting the goods between the East Indies and Portugal and the men who operated those vessels) and not in the establishment of a framework for production (such as elaborate port facilities).

It was not until 1656 that the first jetty was constructed at the foot of what is now Plein Street (Wiese, 1981). This jetty, described by Rush (1972 : 71) as 'a piece of false economy', extended 500 feet out into the bay and provided no specific facility for ocean-going ships (see Figure 5.1, frame 2 below). Reports at the time spoke of its obvious inadequacy on account of the shallowness of the beach at low tide (Cape Archives, CAVC36 : 134). Despite its inadequacy, this jetty was to serve the DEIC for the next 50 years. Its construction and maintenance marked the start of attempts by the DEIC to enhance their profits by reducing delays in the re-victualling of their fleet. They remained, however, unwilling to invest Company profits and/or labour in the construction of large-scale port infrastructure. Nevertheless, the construction of a jetty did denote some form of response to the growing importance of the Table Bay settlement to their global trading operation.

Ten years after the construction of the first jetty, another jetty was built. This development was, not surprisingly, precipitated by a rise in the number of ships (see Appendix C1) and the concomitant inadequacy of existing port facilities. Great losses in ships, goods and lives caused by disastrous winter storms (e.g. 7 ships during the period 1652-1698; 5 ships and 657 people in 1722 and 6 vessels in 1728), further emphasised the need for some form of shelter for shipping. Thus, in an attempt to avoid any further loss to Company profits the DEIC sanctioned the construction of a 'mole' in the vicinity of Moulle Point (Anon, 1967) (see Figure 5.1, frame 2 below).

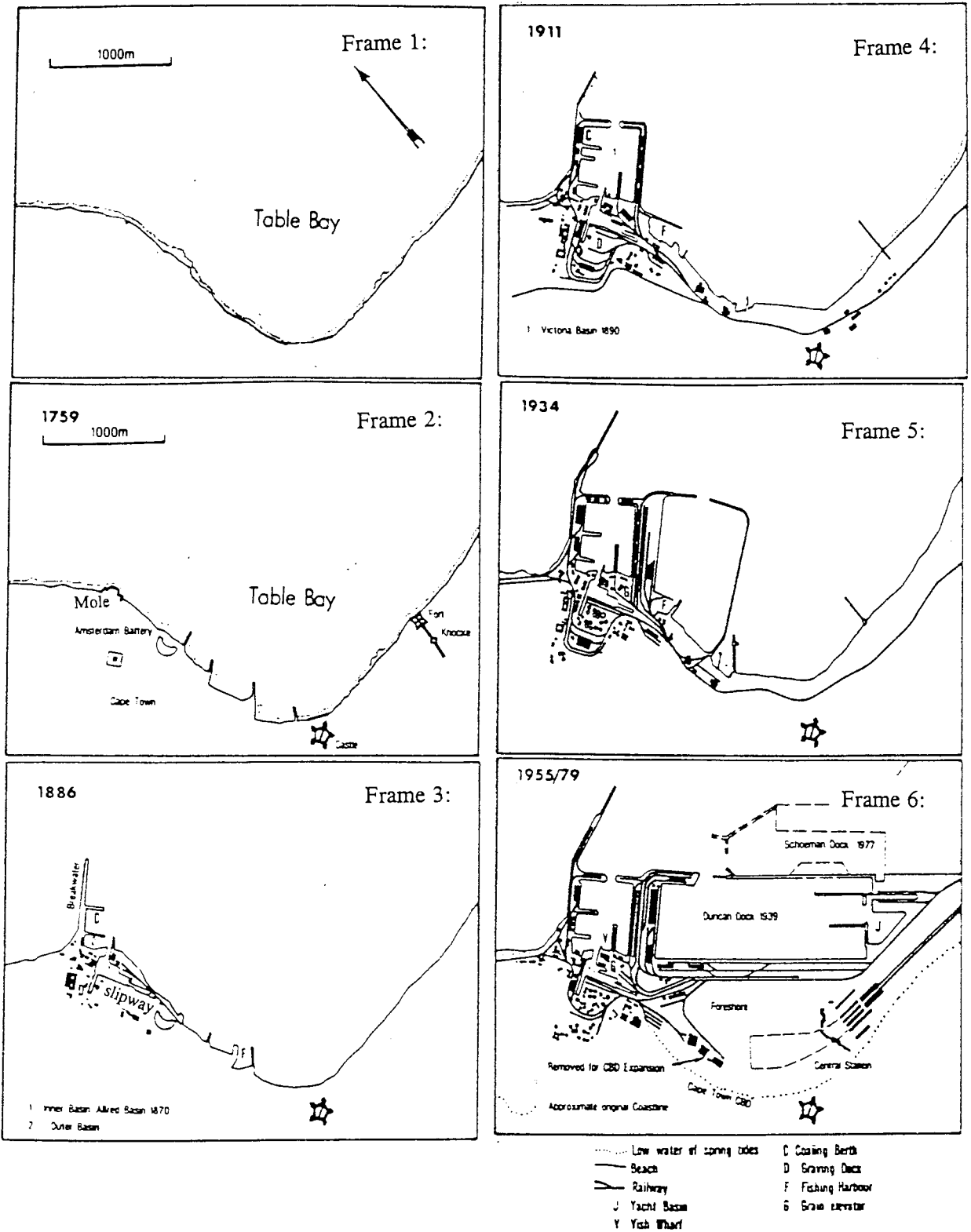


Figure 5.1: The spatial and morphological evolution of Table Bay Harbour

(Source: Wiese, 1981 : 88-89)

This project, started in 1743, took 3 years to complete. The construction of the mole signified the first tentative shift by the DEIC towards establishing a fixed, albeit primitive, port facility.

However, as a Company settlement, the Cape remained hopelessly underdeveloped during the 143 years of DEIC control. This can be attributed to the DEIC's failure to devise a definite development plan for Table Bay (Kilian, 1990). The main reason for this, according to Rush (1972), was that the principal motive for calling at the Cape, namely for re-victualling (and not trade with the hinterland) did not change. Furthermore, the DEIC did not want to invest Company profits in the establishment of a harbour which was increasingly being used by foreign ships rather than Company ships (see Appendix C1).

It was not until 1831, 25 years after the British takeover at the Cape, that further 'marginal' harbour works were constructed. This undertaking can be attributed to the sharp increase in the number of vessels calling at the Cape from 1830 onwards (from 200 in 1807 to 724 in 1860) (see Appendix C2). This necessitated the construction of further jetties in 1838, 1842 and 1850. In 1857 it was eventually decided that the construction of a 'safe, accessible and quiet harbour' was warranted (Anon, 1967 : 1). Seen within Harvey's theoretical framework, this shift can be interpreted as an attempt to avert a crisis in the primary circuit of capital (namely the threat to the accumulation of profit). Consequently, it was decided to invest in the establishment of port infrastructure (the secondary circuit of capital). As the framework for production, this 'harbour of refuge' or 'hithe' (see below) (Bird, 1971) would not only assist in ensuring the safety of ships, but would increase the turnaround time of these vessels, thereby effectively shortening their voyages (see chapter two).

### **5.2.2 The construction of the Alfred Dock: the establishment of fixed capital**

By 1860, conditions in Table Bay were still primitive: three jetties extended into an exposed sea to receive goods and passengers from lighters which plied to and from the vessels riding at anchor in the bay (Petersen, 1978). Despite this obvious lack of infrastructure, Table Bay was nevertheless extremely important when seen in the maritime global context. It was after all, situated at the crossroads of the British Empire, as India, Australia and New Zealand were reached via the Cape.

Although plans for Table Bay had been drawn up as early as 1822 (Bird's plan), it was not until 1857 that an elaborate scheme designed by Captain Vetch, Harbour Surveyor

of the Admiralty, was accepted (ibid, 1978). The delay in implementation can be attributed to the fact that plans prior to 1857 did not provide sufficient safety for ships. Delays can also be explained in financial terms. Because of the large-scale and long-lasting nature of harbour facilities and their tendency to be collectively consumed, the Cape Colony was reluctant to make such investments. The flow of capital into the construction of harbour facilities (referred to in chapter two as the secondary circuit of production) was financed and guaranteed by the British state. Van Rooyen (1991 : 7) elaborates:

**It took two centuries and the loss of more than 2000 lives to shipwrecks in Table Bay before a concerted effort was made to protect ships in the bay - even then it was due more to the economic realities of the day than to humane considerations that the decision to build a breakwater was taken. The increased sea traffic around the Cape and the introduction of a mail service between Cape Town and Britain spurred the governor, Sir George Grey, to go ahead with the plans drawn up by Sir John Coode.**

Grey was prompted to support such an undertaking only after Sir John Coode adapted Vetch's plan, thereby reducing the estimated cost of construction to 399 000 pounds from one million pounds. This was a major financial saving for the Cape in an era prior to the discovery of diamonds and gold (Petersen, 1978). Sir George Grey also contributed to ways of making the development less expensive. He, for instance, 'anticipated objections to the cost of the breakwater from Queen Victoria and ingeniously invited her second son, Prince Alfred, to inaugurate the scheme and proposed the use of convict labour to cut costs' (Van Rooyen, 1991 : 7).

The result was the tipping of the rocks for the construction of the breakwater on 17 September 1860 by Prince Alfred (V&AW, 1992a : 4), an event which marked the start of the evolution of the Table Bay port complex. The construction of a 'harbour of refuge' was accomplished by excavations on the landward side of the shoreline (Bird, 1971) (see Figure 5.1, frame 3 above). The Alfred Dock was intended to function as a tidal basin in which vessels could safely berth. In 1862 a private company, Messrs De Pass and Spence, constructed a patent slip (Petersen, 1978) which (as private company) could be hired out at a cost to repair vessels of up to 500 tons. This slipway (Figure 5.1, frame 3) represented not only the foundation of the ship repair facilities, but the first major investment by individual capitalists in the Table Bay Harbour.

On 11 July 1870, ten years after construction commenced, the Alfred Basin was ceremonially opened by HRH Prince Alfred (Van Rooyen, 1991). Although a major civil engineering feat (Petersen, 1978), the adequacy of Alfred Basin was by this time rapidly being eclipsed by the dramatic changes in shipping technology (the third circuit

of capital). The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a progressive conversion from sail to steam technology. This technological change was the result of large-scale capital investment by individual capitalists. By making transport technology (the third circuit of capital) more efficient and effective, capitalists could dramatically improve accumulation. With the conversion from sail to steam came a reduction in sailing time and the growth in economies of scale. The development of steam vessels made it increasingly economically viable to transport bulk freight by sea (Headrick, 1988). Further technological innovations (i.e. screw propellers, iron hulls, surface condensers and compound engines) preceded the increase in the number of steam vessels. By 1870, large, steel, steam-driven vessels had become more competitive than sail ships and were increasingly being used on the longer African and Asian trade routes. The Alfred Basin was, by 1880, unable to accommodate the large iron steam vessels which increasingly called at the Cape.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 further hastened the adoption of steam technology as it dramatically shortened the distance between Europe and the East. With lower transport costs, capitalists were further encouraged to invest in maritime technology. The result was the growth in world maritime trade. The concomitant increase in ship size soon resulted in the Suez Canal being unable to accommodate the largest steamers of the time (Kilian, 1990). These vessels, together with the vast majority of sailing vessels (which chose to avoid the dangerous climatic conditions in the Red Sea and prohibitive towing costs in the Canal), continued to sail around the Cape to India and the East. This in turn placed increased pressure on the Cape Colony to upgrade harbour facilities. The first response to this inadequacy was represented by the completion in 1882 of the largest dry dock in the world at the time, the Robinson Graving Dock (see Figure 5.1, frame 3 above). This graving dock was able to accommodate ships of up to 161 metres in length, 6 metres in draught (Harbour Reference Book, 1964 : 51) and up to 3000 tons.

### **5.2.3 The start of an era of dock elaboration**

As explained in chapter two, because capitalists are forever intent on increasing capital production, innovations in maritime transport (the third circuit of capital) have been focused on increasing speed and capacity of water-borne vessels. This has been effected mainly by increasing the size of ships. Yet it is herein that the contradiction lies. For as ships become larger, the harbour facilities constructed to facilitate the production process (the accommodation of water-borne vessels and transfer of goods), become unable to accommodate the new generation of shipping and cargo-handling.

Capital, therefore, attempts to spatially overcome the inertia of the existing and increasingly outdated harbour facilities. In keeping with Smith's (1984) pattern of underdevelopment, capital investment shifts from the existing inadequate harbour infrastructure (such as the Alfred Basin) to the construction of larger and deepwater facilities (see Figure 2.1, frame 3). In so doing the port is placed in a better position to accommodate shipping increases and innovations. This was, indeed, the pattern of development in the Cape Town Harbour. In this case, the state was forced to expand the Table Bay Harbour seawards of the Alfred Basin (the initial port infrastructure).

It was Sir John Coode, while on a visit to the Cape, who submitted a report in 1877 in which he remarked on the dramatic increase in the size of ships (from about 600 tons at the start of the 1860s to 3000 tons by the start of the 1870s) being used by mail companies. He suggested that this factor, together with the increasing number of ships calling at the Cape (i.e. 914 in 1880 as opposed to 559 in 1870) (see Appendix C2), required the elaboration of existing harbour facilities. Coode (1877 : 4) supported a proposal for an outer basin by insisting that it would 'provide both sufficient length of sheltered berthage and water depth to take the largest class of steamers'. Although temporarily postponed due to a slump in trade, work on the new (outer) Victoria Basin started in 1886 (Figure 5.1, frame 3 and 4 above).

In comparison to the Alfred Basin, the construction of the Victoria Basin represented a massive financial investment over a period of 19 years. Because of the capital outlay required, work progressed slowly until the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1886. As the discovery of gold had resulted in a dramatic increase in the throughput of people and supplies headed for the Transvaal, the pace of construction was increased in order to operationalise much-needed harbour facilities such as the iron jetty. This jetty was completed in 1893 (see Appendix D). The commencement of the Anglo Boer War in October 1899 had the same effect as greater strain was placed on already overburdened facilities by the increased numbers of ship transports and store-ships which began to reach Cape Town. The chronic congestion that resulted often necessitated vessels spending weeks in the roadstead before a berth in the harbour was available (Murray, 1933). The completion of the Elbow and South Arm preceded the completion of the Victoria Dock in 1905 (see Appendix D).

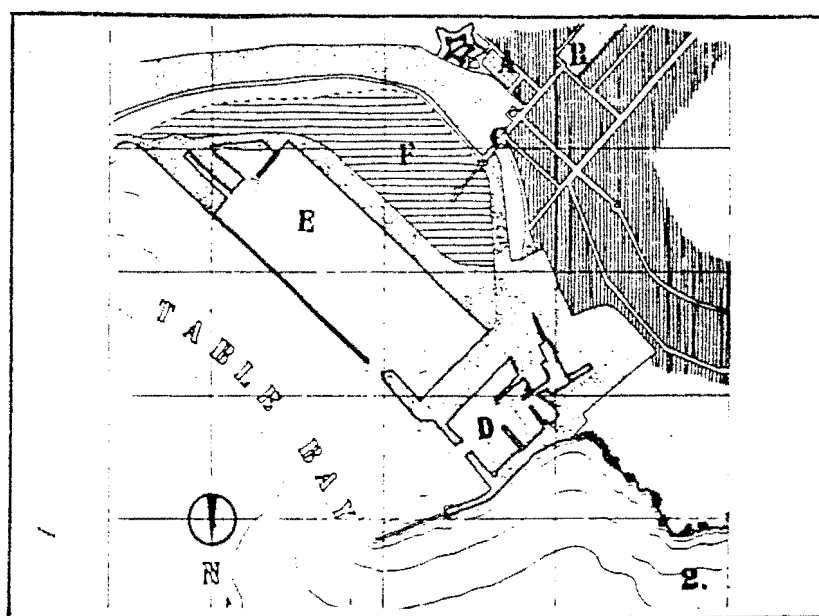
Despite the 1 525 metres of additional quayage and 27 hectares of sheltered water (Van Rooyen, 1991), the Victoria Basin was unable to meet the ever-increasing demand of the shipping at the Cape. Yet given that a great deal of capital had been invested in the creation of the Victoria Basin, the state was not able (or willing) to finance immediately

the construction of larger harbour facilities. It was not until 1926, therefore, 21 years after the completion of the Victoria basin, that work began on the Southern Modified Scheme (see Figure 5.1, frame 5 above). The implementation of this scheme coincided with a dramatic increase in the number (1 675 ships in 1925) and size (corresponding gross tonnage of 6 710 574) of ships. By widening and lengthening the South Arm, harbour authorities were able to provide extra lineal berthage (B, C and D berths) (see Appendix D) as well as 196 acres of enclosed water by 1934 (Figure 5.1, frame 5). This scheme corresponded with the demolition, in 1928, of existing single storey buildings in the Victoria Basin (Meek and Visser, 1992). These buildings were replaced with (still existing) double storey warehouses which were to serve conventional cargo requirements for the next two decades. This *in situ* upgrading was deemed necessary as all cargo being landed in Table Bay Harbour before the opening of the Duncan Dock in 1944 paid for wharfage in Victoria Basin. Furthermore, anticipating that the construction of the Duncan Dock could displace the traditional small inshore fishing craft, capital was invested in the construction of the 'New Fishery Harbour', the only section of the Victoria Basin built specifically for the purpose of fishing. Opened in 1937, this structure included a building with fish cleaning and packing facilities and a low-level wooden Fish Quay proclaimed for the landing of lobster (see Figure 5.4 below).

However, as with the Victoria Basin, the dramatic increase in the size and number of ship by the 1930s (see Appendix C3) soon necessitated the construction of a large dock with suitable modern facilities (Anon, 1967 : 2). The commencement of the Duncan Dock scheme in 1939 (Figure 5.1, frame 6) provided for a 12 metre deep basin enclosing a water area of 290 acres, 12 quays totalling 1 830 metres in length and large modern dry dock capable of accommodating the largest vessels afloat (Harbour Reference Book, 1964). To achieve these depths and dimensions, the Duncan Dock was built nearly a kilometre out to sea (V&AW, 1992a). This required a massive capital investment as it involved the reclamation of 480 acres of land between the old sea wall and new extended quay wall (see Figure 5.1, frame 6 above and 5.2 below).

Initially a 'by-product' of the scheme, the reclamation project eventually became known as the Foreshore Plan. It provided the city of Cape Town with the opportunity to alleviate some of its pressing problems centred around the shortage of land (Cape Town City Council, 1948). Moreover, it formed the foundation of a modernist, rationally austere urban development based on the hypotheses of Swiss planner Le Corbusier. For Le Corbusier, an urban planner who 'elevated hypotheses of monopoly capitalist culture', repetition and standardisation were key principles of urban design

(Pinnock, 1989 : 154). In an attempt to create Cape Town as the 'Gateway to South Africa', city planners accepted designs based on a Monumental Approach (Cape Town City Council, 1948). The idea was to place a new City Hall at the head of a double row of large glass-covered office blocks located like 'vertical filing cabinets' (Mumford, 1945) between the docks and the amphitheatre of Table Mountain. By adopting the Foreshore Plan (see Figure 5.2 below), the City Council endorsed large-scale slum clearance (Pinnock, 1989) and forced removals, thereby further establishing Cape Town's city centre as 'white' preserve (see chapter four). The impracticalities of the design, given the prevailing south easterly winds, together with growing tensions between local and state authorities over the question of slum clearance and forced removals, eventually slowed and ultimately halted the implementation of the Foreshore Plan. As a result, building sites formerly zoned for development still lie vacant today.



- |                     |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| A - Grand Parade    | B - Gardens        |
| C - Adderley Street | D - Old harbour    |
| E - Duncan Dock     | F - Reclaimed land |

**Figure 5.2:** Diagram indicating the reclamation required for the construction of the Duncan Dock

(Source: Cape Town City Council, 1948)

Opened on 18 September 1945, a year after the Duncan Dock, the Sturrock Dry Dock took over the function of the Robinson Graving Dock, namely the repair of the largest ships of the time (see Appendix D). The Duncan Dock, with wharfage far in excess of that required at the time, was able to serve the needs of shipping for the next 10 years. Thereafter, further extensions were deemed necessary due to the increase in ship numbers (4 415 ships by 1955) and size (corresponding gross tonnage of 16 201 363 in 1955) (see Appendix C3). Although the dimensions of the Duncan Dock accommodated the corresponding increased size of cargo vessels, the Victoria Basin was still used to handle smaller cargo and fishing vessels.

#### 5.2.4 Annihilating space with time: the construction of specialised harbour facilities

For the next 30 years, the Table Bay port complex continued to expand as the South African Transport Services (SATS) (formerly the South African Railways and Harbours (SAR&H)) invested ever larger amounts of capital in an attempt to offset developments in maritime technology. During the 1960s, for instance, the increased size of oil tankers prompted the SATS to construct a specialised deepwater quayage in the form of a tanker basin (see Appendix D) which was able to accommodate medium-sized oil tankers of between 30 000 and 80 000 tons (see Figure 5.3 below).

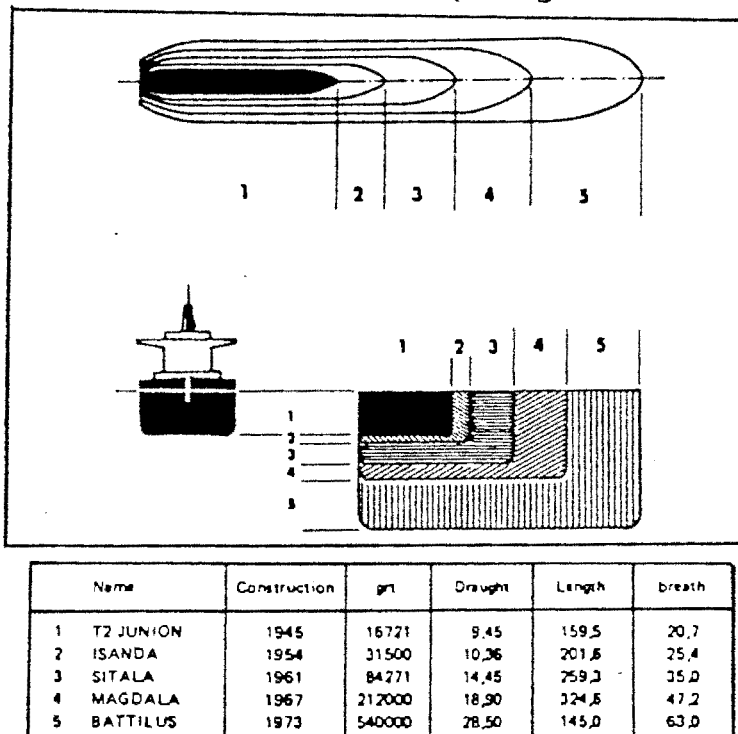


Figure 5.3: The evolution of the dimensions of tankers

(Source: Wiese, 1981 : 64)

By the time of its completion in 1965, this tanker basin had already been infrastructurally outpaced by maritime technology (see Figure 5.3 above). Capitalists, intent on increasing capital accumulation through the economies of scale, continued to invest in the construction of ever larger oil tankers. Consequently, by the 1970s, medium crude carriers (of approximately 250 000 tons) and ultra large crude carriers (500 000 tons) were a common feature on the Cape sea route (see Figure 5.3 above). Not surprisingly, the sheer size of these vessels mitigated against their accommodation in Table Bay Harbour. The inadequacy of Table Bay tanker basin was, however, offset by the establishment of a helicopter service (e.g. Court Helicopters) to ferry supplies to tankers steaming several kilometres off the Cape coast. Moreover, it was far cheaper to invest in aviation technology (identified in chapter two as the third circuit of capital) than in the construction of new tanker facilities.

With the closure of the Suez Canal in the late 1960s, the dramatic increase in shipping in Table Bay Harbour (Appendix C3) necessitated the construction of further deepwater facilities (Appendix D). Although the new basin was originally designed to accommodate normal break-bulk vessels, the advent of containerisation resulted in adaption of the new basin (which had been started in 1969) to that of deepwater container terminal in March 1974. Completed on 1 July 1977, the Ben Schoeman Basin (see Figure 5.1, frame 6 above) signified the largest and most expensive project ever undertaken in Table Bay Harbour. More significantly, however, this project represented an attempt by the port authority (SATS) to alleviate the mismatch between container technology and existing conventional port facilities located in the Alfred, Victoria and Duncan Basins. Estimated to have cost R122.16 million (Wiese, 1981), this new container terminal with its elaborate specialised infrastructure of buildings, container and roll-on-roll-off berthage, roads, rail and handling appliances (Kempthorne, 1975) represented an attempt by the SATS to maintain the competitive edge of the Table Bay Harbour.

The introduction of containerisation in Table Bay, although heralding the start of a new era in port operation, inevitably meant the concentration of port activities in the Ben Schoeman Basin (see Appendix D). When seen in the context of the Table Bay port complex (see Figure 5.1 above), the completion of the Ben Schoeman Basin represented the culmination of more than 100 years of port migration. Although capital investment in container technology had greatly increased accumulation by reducing total transport costs (and turn-around times), it had also hastened the decline of the inner harbour, namely the Alfred and Victoria Basins. As the harbour complex

evolved, these basins became increasingly peripheral to modern-day harbour operations.

### **5.2.5 Redundancy of the historic harbour core: understanding the effects of the pattern of underdevelopment**

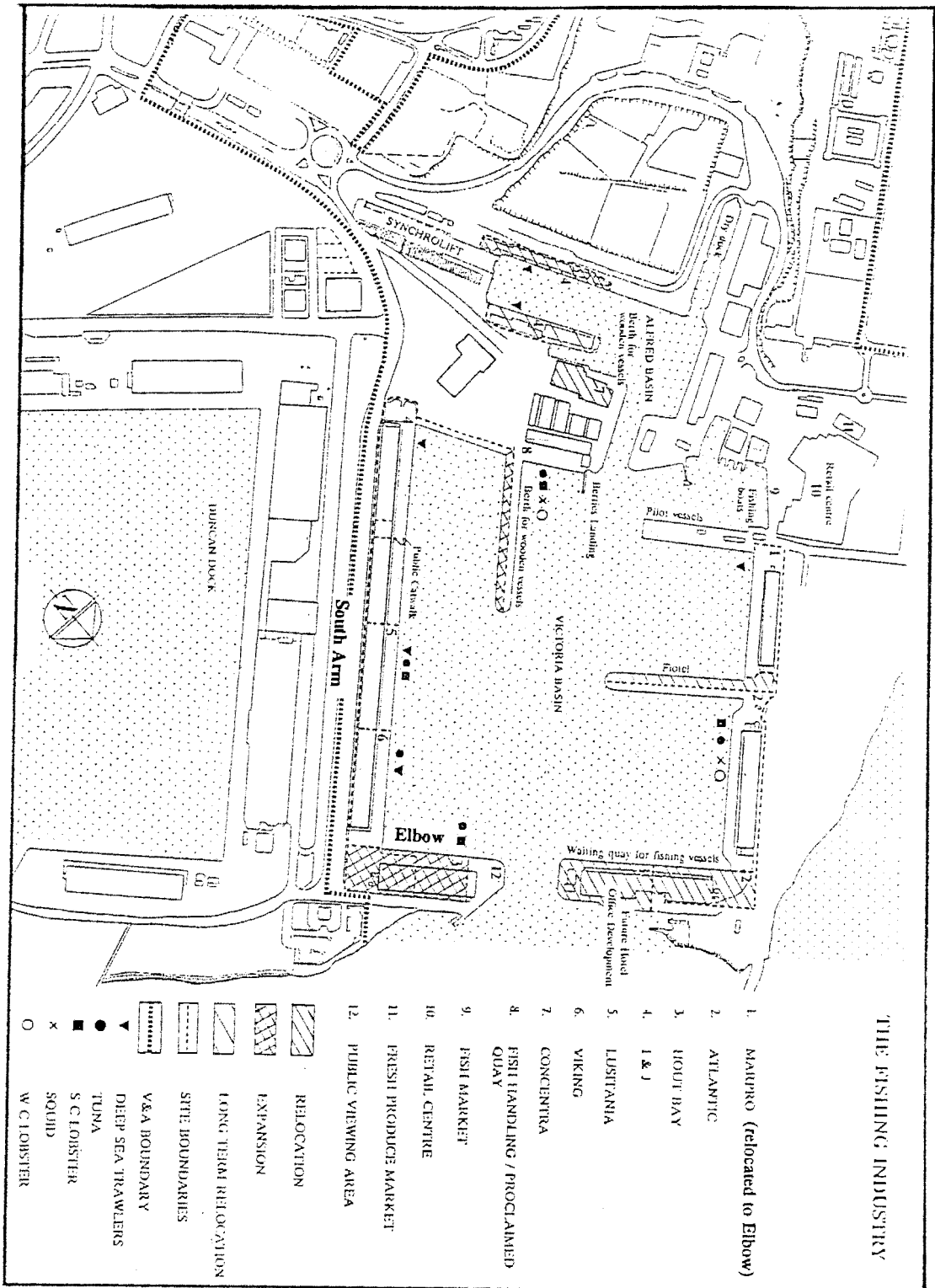
As can be seen above, the rapid technological advances in shipping industry have had a direct bearing on the spatial and morphological evolution of the Table Bay Harbour (see Figure 5.1 above). The Table Bay port authority (SATS), like most other harbour authorities throughout the world, has actively pursued a strategy of heavy investment in the provision of new port facilities. Generally preceded by an increase in ship numbers or by maritime innovation, such investments reflected an attempt by the harbour authority to overcome the inadequacies of existing port structures by improving its operational environment. Yet in so doing, the SATS initiated a process of port migration whereby the traditional port core (Alfred and Victoria Docks) was abandoned for new deepwater port facilities in the Duncan and Ben Schoeman Docks and adjacent greenfield sites (see Figure 2.2 in chapter two). Implicit within this port migration is an underlying shift in capital investment (as discussed in chapter two) away from the traditional port structures located in the Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Basins. Apart from the Duncan Dock, Foreshore Scheme and tanker basin, the construction of the Ben Schoeman Basin represented the largest and most significant commitment of capital to port construction.

Yet this geographical decentralisation of capital in the construction of the Table Bay port structures understandably accelerated the underdevelopment of the V&A Docks and adjacent maritime quarter. Unable to offer adequate facilities for the rapid throughput of cargo and accommodation of large modern vessels, the V&A port nucleus became functionally segregated from the expanding port system, a trend particularly evident since the inception of the Duncan Dock (and foreshore plan) in 1944. Moreover, the completion of the container basin and adjacent terminal heralded a process of industrial migration (see Figure 2.1 in chapter two) away from traditional sites to land-side areas adjacent to the new Ben Schoeman Basin (particularly around the Sturrock Dry Dock and in the Paarden Island Industrial area) (see Appendix D). These port-related industries included ship-building and ship-repair facilities, refrigerated warehouses, freight shipping companies and oil storage facilities. More extensive oil and bulk facilities were also relocated to greenfield sites in Woodstock and Milnerton.

This resulted in the loosening of functional ties between the historic waterfront (centred around the Alfred and Victoria Dockland) and the rest of the Table Bay port complex (Duncan and Ben Schoeman Basins). These shifts profoundly affected the traditional utilisation of space in the urban waterfront (or sailortown) surrounding the Alfred Basin (see chapter four). Structural and financial difficulties of *in situ* restructuring of outmoded infrastructure further hastened the redundancy of warehouses and sheds located in the maritime quarter as well as alongside V&A quays. As a result, a functional 'vacuum' steadily developed whereby land and water areas, warehouses and transport facilities formerly essential to the Table Bay port and its city became increasingly underutilised (see Figure 2.1 in chapter two). Nevertheless, despite growing redundancy during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the V&A Docks remained important to the Fishing Industry. The I&J deepsea trawling operation, located in the Alfred Basin since the turn of the century (see chapter four), continued its operation. Because of the redundancy of government sheds in the Victoria Basin, the Fishing Industry began, from the mid-1970s onwards, to expand into the largely vacant basin (Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990). The opening, in 1977, of the Ben Schoeman Dock resulted in a dramatic realignment of port operations. Whereas the Ben Schoeman Dock handled container cargo, the Duncan Dock (structurally unable to accommodate container and ro-ro vessels) was left servicing shallow-draught break-bulk vessels, passenger liners and foreign fishing vessels. This, in turn, allowed the allocation of Proclaimed Government Sheds in Victoria Basin (by tender) to the South African Fishing Industry (*ibid*, 1990) (see Figure 5.4 below).

The lack of suitable deepsea fishing harbour facilities elsewhere along the South African coastline, together with the SATS's move to tender out disused government sheds, made the Victoria Basin the ideal location for the Fishing Industry. Atlantic Trawling was the first of many fishing companies to relocate to the Victoria Basin (see Figure 5.4 above). It was followed by companies such as Blue Continent Fishing, Lusitania, Hout Bay Fishing and Ornelas Fishing. At the time that this process occurred (between the mid-1970s and the mid 1980s) various fishing tenants, when entering into a lease with the SATS, were 'forced' to take up more covered space than they needed (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991).

**With the advent of containerisation the Victoria and Alfred area became increasingly derelict. The South African Transport Services begged us [I&J] to take up this space. The minister [of Public Works] specifically requested the Fishing Industry to move into this area. When we did this we were forced to take these huge sheds and warehouses adjacent to the quayside. We had heaps of space, but it was part of the lease. The lease included the quay, the quay edge and the building next to it. It was all or nothing ... that's probably why we got favourable deals on it (Whitehead, 1992).**



**Figure 5.4:** Diagram representing the existing spatial arrangement of the Fishing Industry in the Victoria and Alfred Docks

(Source: Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990 : 4)

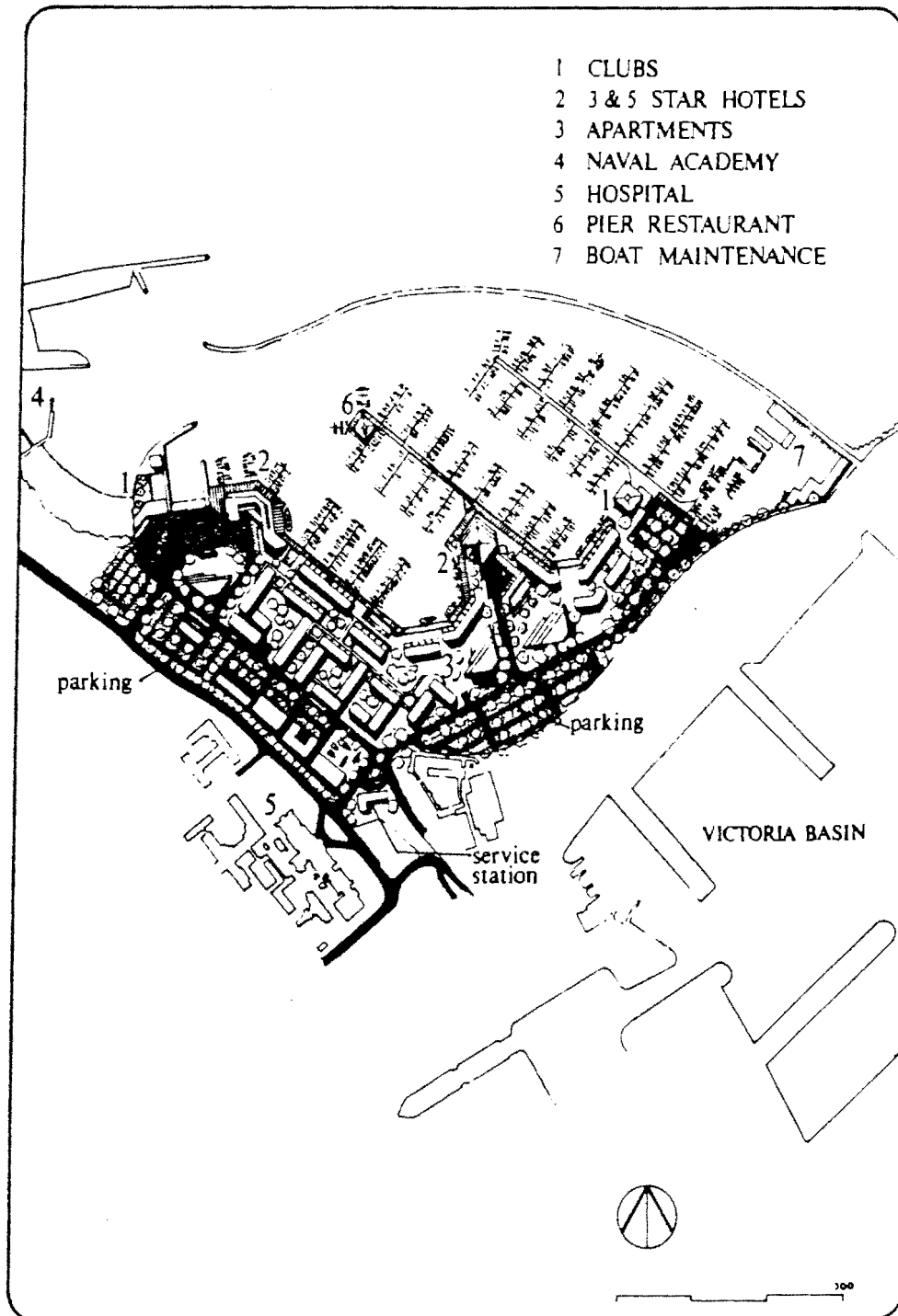
Thus, in an attempt to fully utilise an underutilised facility, the SATS made available, at very low rental, large areas of government sheds and warehouses for the Fishing Industry to optimise (see Figure 5.4 above). The leasing of South Arm 3 and 4 to Lusitania and Viking respectively in 1986 brought this process of re-utilisation to a conclusion. With the exception of Pierhead, the Elbow (allocated to fisheries research and patrol vessels), Quay 4 and 5 (occupied by official (i.e. Robben Island ferry) and private service craft and repair facilities) and various jetties, the Victoria and Alfred Basin had become fully devoted to industrial deepsea and inshore fishing (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991) (see Figure 5.4 above). Apart from accommodating I&J, Ornelas Fishing, "independent" inshore vessels and the Concentra fishmeal factory, the Alfred Basin proved essential to the Fishing Industry due to its existing ship-repair infrastructure. Although inadequate to service modern cargo vessels, the synchrolift and Robinson Graving Dock were ideally suited to accommodate the smaller fishing vessels (Sheuwell, 1992).

Despite the establishment of the Fishing Industry in the Victoria Basin, large areas of dockland nevertheless remained underutilised. Many of the cargo-handling facilities (grain elevator, cranes, railway tracks etc), formerly important to harbour operations, were seldom used. Apart from the small-scale upgrading of sections of warehouses by the various fishing concerns in the Victoria and Alfred Basins, the area continued to decline structurally and environmentally during the late 1970s and 1980s.

### **5.2.6 The transition from underutilised port to port redevelopment**

Although many Capetonians had, since the 1960s, lobbied for greater public use of the V&A Dockland (V&AW, 1992a), it was not until the late 1970s that the government sponsored an investigation of Granger Bay as a site for a new marina (see Figure 5.5 below). Precipitated by the need for a small craft basin to supplement the over-utilised Royal Cape Yacht Club (see Appendix D), Granger Bay (commonly known as Back Beach) was identified as the most suitable location for the construction of a such a harbour. The department of Sea Fisheries, in collaboration with the Cape Town City Council (CCC) and the Royal Cape Yacht Club, conducted a study which culminated in the publication of the *Granger Bay Waterfront Development Report* (Department of National Education, 1981). This was followed in 1982 by the *Granger Bay Project Assessment*, a report produced by the Cape Town City Council. These reports promoted not only the construction of a small craft harbour at Granger Bay, but regarded Granger Bay a suitable site for the development of non-port related uses given its 'open, featureless and derelict state' (CCC, 1982). At the same time prominent

architect and conservationist Gawie Fagan who was opposed to the exclusivity of the Granger Bay proposal, suggested an alternative plan which included the redevelopment of the Alfred and Victoria Basins (Fagan, 1992).



**Figure 5.5:** Proposed non-port related landuses for Granger Bay

(Source: Cape Town City Council, 1982 : 10)

Growth in public concern over environmental issues (such as noise, water and air pollution) coupled with increased media speculation concerning the possible redevelopment of Granger Bay, culminated in an increased public awareness regarding the development potential of the V&A Dockland. As depicted in Figure 2.1 of chapter two, the subsequent revival of public interest in redeveloping the V&A Dockland resulted in increased competition for land and water spaces. Whereas the CCC and property developers were interested in obtaining access to waterfront spaces (with the intention of developing commercial, recreational and residential uses), the port authority (SATS) was initially unwilling to relinquish control over underutilised dockland areas. This is evident from the government's response in the CCC's *Granger Bay Project Assessment* report (1982 : 9) which states that '...the Victoria Basin will not be made available for pleasure craft or any use unrelated to commercial fishing'. Furthermore, partly because of private-sector apathy, but also because areas of the docks were still operational (i.e shunting trains) (The Argus, 6 September 1984), plans for the development of Granger Bay were not realised,

Continued V&A port underutilisation, coupled with a decline in the number of conventional cargo vessels calling at Table Bay during the early 1980s (see Appendix C3), provided further impetus to redevelopment initiatives emanating from the CCC. 'Commercial development and privatisation', writes Worden (1992 : 2), 'was now [mid-1980s] seen as a desirable way of developing state and municipal land [as] the working areas of the Victoria and Alfred Basins were in a greater state of decline'. Municipal interest was, however, greatly encouraged by plans drawn up by two UCT (University of Cape Town) architectural students in 1984 which proposed flooding parts of the Foreshore with the intention of reconnecting the harbour and the city centre. Inspired by the mounting public interest in the commercial exploitation of the underutilised dockland, the Mayor of Cape Town, Sol Kreiner, formed a steering committee to consider a waterfront scheme stating that:

**As Johannesburg has gold we have a beautiful city as a tourist attraction and we must all work together for a better Cape Town. We have a large cross-section of people who are prepared to sit down and discuss a scheme which will bring back the old city where one can freely walk around, visit the harbour, go for tug rides and learn more about our heritage (The Argus, 13 October 1984).**

Encouraged by successful port redevelopments elsewhere in the world, and desperate to maintain the momentum of public interest, the CCC published a report in 1985 entitled *Development Potential of Cape Town's Historic Waterfront*. In this report the CCC outlined its proposal for the redevelopment of the historic V&A port nucleus. Published at a time when the government was conducting its own investigation into the

potential of the old Cape Town Waterfront, this report greatly added to the redevelopment drive. Responding to pressure from the CCC, the public and the media, the Minister of Transport Affairs established a committee under the chairmanship of Mr Arie Burggraaf, then Inspecting Engineer - Harbours, to make proposals for redevelopment (V&AW, 1992a). Completed in 1987, the Burggraaf Report made 'bold and imaginative recommendations for the development of the Waterfront' which in turn 'caused ripples of excitement throughout the Cape tourist industry when ... released a year later' (Schafer, 1992 : 3). It supported the CCC proposals for a staged process of redevelopment, to include the restoration of historic harbour buildings, the creation of restaurants, a fish market, exhibition centre, souvenir shops, office and hotel accommodation and leisure boat marina, all supported by parking facilities. The committee did, however, conclude that:

**...the Duncan Dock should be reserved for commercial activities, while the whole of the Victoria Dock, except for the Pierhead area, be utilised altogether for the fishing industry and the use of official as well as private service vehicles. ... It was anticipated that the private sector would take the lead in redevelopment and all expenses, including relocation costs... (Ministry of Transport News Release, 27 September 1988)**

Despite having recommended that the Pier Head area, Upper Tank Farm and old Harbour Services Depot be freed for multiple landuse (see Figure 5.6 below), the report stressed that the V&A Docks should remain a 'working harbour' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991). This is particularly significant considering the scale of fishing operations in the V&A Docks (approximately 40% of the South African fishery output) (Bross, 1992).

Thus, whilst intent on maintaining V&A port fishing activities, ship-repair and service facilities, the SATS (who supported the recommendations of the Burggraaf Commission) also recognised the development potential of underutilised and unprofitable sections of the Table Bay Harbour. An 82 ha site encompassing most of the V&A Dockland was identified by the commission for redevelopment (see Figure 5.6 below).

The recommendations of the Burggraaf Commission were particularly appealing to the SATS at a time when the government was initiating policies that would eventually result in privatisation. Consequently, having been furnished with the opportunity of generating greater revenue from generally unprofitable land, the SATS attempted to marry the Burggraaf proposal with its evolving privatisation philosophy (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991). Well before it was privatised by way of the provisions

introduced in the Legal Succession to South African Transport Services Act in 1989, the SATS established a number of private, wholly owned, subsidiary companies. One such company, the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd, was established on the 24 November 1988 to '...revitalise the Cape Town waterfront' (The Argus, 3 December 1989). Reportedly this would be achieved by allowing 'the project to evolve over time in response to market forces' (The Argus, 27 September 1988).

### **5.3 V&A Redevelopment: the realisation of renewed accumulation in the underdeveloped historic port**

The establishment of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Company (V&AW Co.) signified the start of a public-sector initiative (see Figure 2.2 in chapter two) to attract capital back to the underdeveloped downtown residential and industrial dockland areas of Cape Town (De Tolly, 1992). The proposed redevelopment which, out of necessity, would require a degree of spatial restructuring, also signaled the emergence of a far more flexible regime of capital accumulation (see chapter two, section 2.3.2). As will be seen below, spatial transformation of the underutilised sections of the historic waterfront afforded the cityport authorities (CCC and SATS) the opportunity of averting massive port-related redundancies, while at the same time strengthening the fiscal base of the city.

#### **5.3.1 The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Company and the formation of an overall development strategy**

In order to facilitate the effectiveness of the V&AW Company, the SATS relinquished control over an 83.2 ha area of dockland (identified earlier by the Burggraaf Report) to the V&AW Company. Located within Cape Town Harbour, this site is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the north and the Western Boulevard and City to the south. It extends from Beach Road and Portswood Road in the west to the boundary of the existing harbour in the east (see Figure 5.6 below). As shown in Figure 5.6, this site encompasses the Alfred and Victoria Basins and most of the surrounding docklands, an area functionally and spatially marginalised from the rest of the Table Bay port complex. This, together with the site's historic status, further added to its appropriateness for redevelopment. Apart from inheriting the responsibility of managing leases of existing port operations in the V&A Docks, the main purpose of the V&AW Co. was to develop (in partnership with developers and the CCC) underutilised parts of the V&A Dockland site.



## KEY TO MAP

- 1 Granger Bay, a residential precinct scheduled to start in the latter half of the decade.
- 2 Proposed New Yacht Basin
- 3 Marpro - relocated from Quay Six to the Elbow
- 4 Quay Six, which forms part of the Breakwater Precinct, where extensions to Victoria Wharf and a new hotel are planned.
- 5 Victoria Wharf.
- 6 V&A Hotel in the Pierhead Precinct.
- 7 Fortwood Square office, parking & hotel complex in the Portwood Ridge Precinct.
- 8 Graduate School of Business and the Breakwater Lodge.
- 9 Robinson Dry Dock, flanked by the SA Maritime Museum to the north, the Aquarium site to the west and the site for the studio apartments to the south.
- 10 The New Basin, which will be formed by the flooding of the Quarry.
- 11 The Upper Basin, where earthworks are underway for the first residential precinct scheduled to start in 1994.
- 12 City Lodge, on the first section of the waterway at the entrance to the Waterfront.

Figure 5.6: Map depicting the past, present and future stages of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront redevelopment

(Source: V&AW, 1994 : 38)

The greatest advantage of the contract was a 75 year lease. A number of sites were, however, excluded from this lease. These sites included the breakwater, the synchrolift, Jetty 1 and the Robinson Graving Dock (see Figure 5.6 above) which remained (and still remain) under the jurisdiction of the port authority. The quarantine station located on Granger Bay and owned by the Department of Health was also initially excluded but later relocated. Most of the site was, however, leased by the SATS to various tenants (most notably the Fishing Industry) or used for the SATS workshops or stores. These leases, which expired at different times, had to be considered in the planning process. As landlord, the V&AW Co. could, on expiry of a lease, decide which tenants to accommodate or relocate. As will be shown below, this led to a great deal of tension between the Company and existing industrial tenants. The land used by the SATS (such as the workshop located alongside the Robinson Graving Dock) was vacated in the short term in order to facilitate the first stage of the proposed redevelopment.

With a management team headed by Mr David Jack (a former Town Planner for the CCC) and a Board of Directors representing a cross-section of public interests (see Appendix E), the V&AW Co. was able to galvanise public-sector involvement in the formulation of the development strategy (see Figure 2.2 in chapter two). The establishment (on 11 August 1989) by the Minister of Transport Affairs of a Liaison Committee ensured the participation of key public and commercial institutions (see Appendix E). Once having canvassed the views of the public and development community, the V&AW Co. conducted a detailed survey of the land and buildings in the area. Based on all this information, the V&AW Co. drew up its Development Framework. The co-operation of the CCC was essential to the Company, given that approximately 40% of its 83.2 ha site fell within the Cape Town municipal area (V&AW, 1991a : 22). The fact that all buildings located within the municipal area had to pay full rates to the CCC necessitated close co-operation between the city authority and the V&AW. This co-operation is clearly evident in the acknowledgements of the Development Framework Report III (V&AW, 1989):

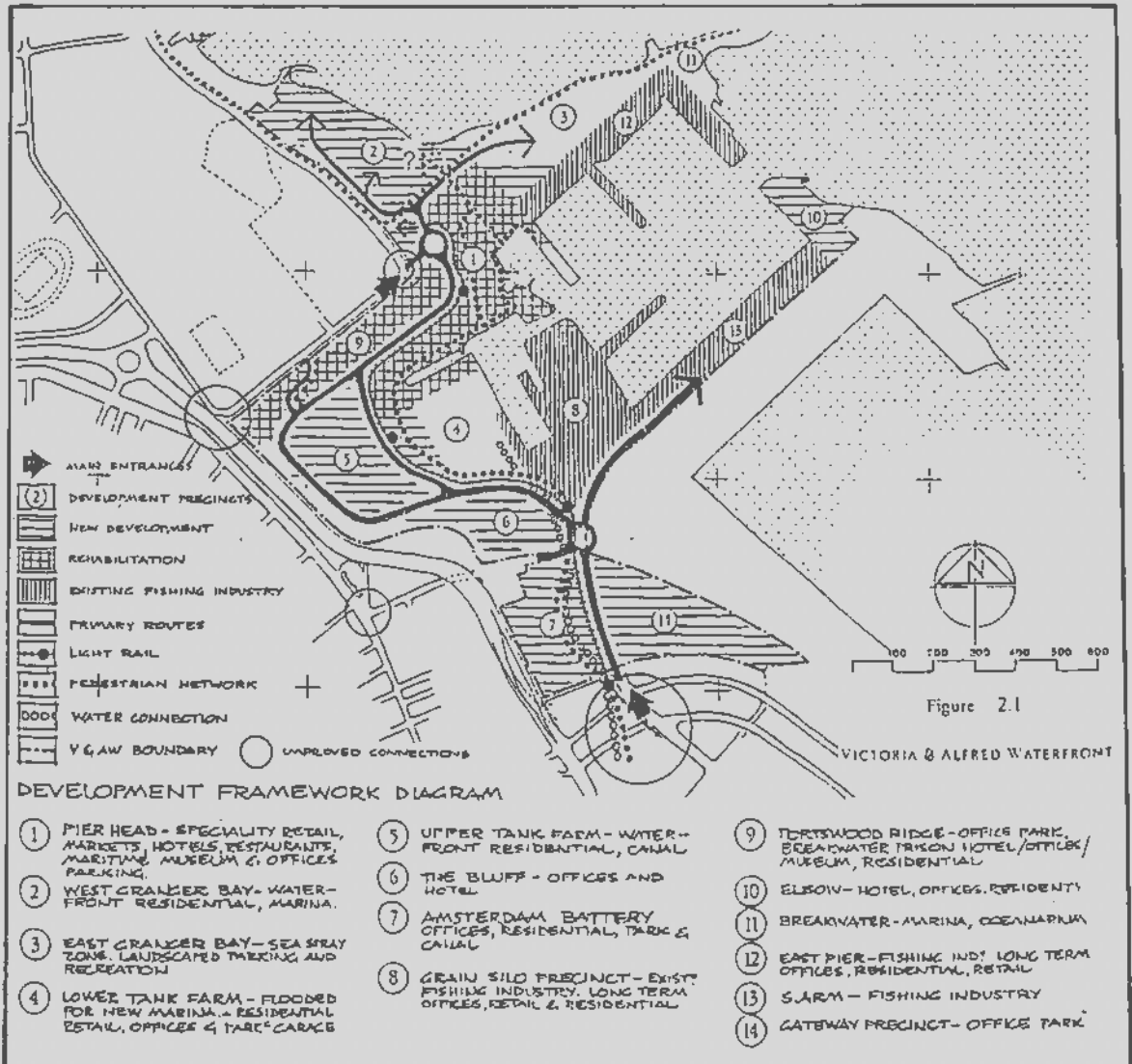
**The South African Transport Services (SATS) and the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Company (Waterfront Company) would like to thank the Cape Town City Council for its continued interest and support of the development of the historic harbour area now controlled by the Waterfront Company. Their involvement has provided a significant input to the form and content of the Development Framework, in particular; D. Riley (City Engineer), N. Riley (City Planner), D. Geyer (City Treasurer), K. Madsen (deputy City Engineer), P. de Tolly (Deputy City Planner), P. Lever (Assistant City Treasurer), J. Schoeman (Director of Building Survey), M. Marsden (Chief Engineer Services), D. Eadie (Chief Transport Engineer), L. Aberman (Principal Town Planner), & S. Enticott (Principal Transport Engineer).**

The Development Framework, devised in conjunction with the city authority (CCC), essentially outlined the Company's planning *modus operandi*. More specifically, it provided a general overview of the Company's intentions regarding the development of the Waterfront. It formed part of a hierarchy of plans, the 'Package of Plans', established to 'guide the planning, services and financial matters...[jointly] agreed to by the Waterfront Company and the CCC' (V&AW, 1989 : 3). Moreover, the 'Package of Plans' concept provided a systematic approach whereby agreements concerning the planning process could be reached (see Appendix F). Whereas the 'Package of Plans' allowed for detailed planning, the Legal Succession to South African Transport Services Act allowed for the re-zoning of landuse in the 83.2 ha development site from April 1990 onwards.

Whilst the Contextual Framework (established by the CCC) provided the V&AW with the means to assess its responsibility to the CCC at the macro scale of the city and its inhabitants (V&AW, 1989), the Development Framework enabled the identification and resolution of broad development objectives at the Precinct Plan scale (Appendix F). As shown in Figure 5.7 below, the V&AW identified a total of 14 precincts each with their individual site development and building plans. The 14 precincts were identified in terms of existing physical characteristics and proposed primary land uses (*ibid*, 1989). The aim as seen in Figure 5.7 was to break away from the existing monofunctional use of land, and to establish a mixed-use development which included retail, hotels, entertainment, museums, offices and restaurants. The Development Framework (V&AW, 1989) also outlined a short, medium and long term phasing approach. Whereas short term developments were intended to embrace major infrastructural works and the Pierhead Precinct, the medium term included 'all precincts except for those areas occupied by the fishing and grain industries, that is, Precincts 8 (silos), 12 (East Pier), and 13 (South Arm)' (*ibid*, 1989 : 4). It is interesting to note that both the medium and long term scenarios of development were to remain flexible enough to accommodate changing economic conditions (see chapter two). The above development strategy was underpinned by a planning ethic: 'To make the historic harbour a very special place for Capetonians and visitors' (V&AW, 1989 : 1). Although seemingly vague, this ethic said much about objectives of the V&AW Co. as well as the proposed nature of the redevelopment (see below).

As can be seen from chapter two, the formation of a Development Framework is characteristic of revitalisation schemes throughout the world. Having been preceded by a great number of port redevelopment schemes (Boston, San Fransisco, Sydney,

London etc), it is not surprising that the local city and port authorities decided to emulate the planning strategies applied by 'successful redevelopments such as the Liverpool Merseyside development and Vancouver's Granville Island...' (ibid, 1989 : 1). Like the V&A site, these waterfront developments also offered good connectivity to surrounding areas as well as aspects of a working harbour.



**Figure 5.7:** Diagram representing the 14 proposed development precincts (as enshrined in the Development Framework)

(Source: V&AW, 1989 : 5)

In order to enable themselves to emulate these developments, the city and port authorities sent representatives to various redevelopment schemes in North America and Europe. The most notable of these representatives was David Jack (1991 : 5), Managing Director of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd. He had the following to say at an informal talk given to ILASA (Institute of Landscape Architects of South Africa) in Cape Town:

I have been interested in waterfronts and marinas for about 20 years now, since my final project at UCLA which was on a marina. Since then, and particularly over the last four years I have visited a number of waterfronts each year. ... There are two groups that are emerging in America that have the management expertise: the Rouse Company and the Enterprise Development Company. The centres developed by these two groups are still doing very well because they have an intimate knowledge of waterfronts and an attitude to these that is quite different from other commercial developers. ... We noted the key factors that we considered to be responsible for the success of these two groups...

Emulation of successful developmental strategies underpinned the Victoria and Alfred redevelopment and directed its form and function. By implementing those 'key factors' which had led to the success of other waterfront schemes (like those developed by the Rouse and Enterprise Companies), the V&AW Co. hoped to ensure the success of its own revitalisation project. This strategy is in fact supported by David Jack (1991) when listing key revitalisation strategies. Apart from stressing the importance of a litter-free waterfront, security and public relations, he (1991 : 5-7) also points to factors such as ownership, flexible planning, structural recycling, local authority involvement and the importance of local communities:

One aspect which has, in my opinion, become particularly clear is that either overall ownership or overall control of the waterfront is important and alongside this, that those projects where the planning has been co-ordinated and the development takes place in an incremental manner, rather than on an *ad hoc* basis, have a better chance of success. ... Another fact that has clearly been established is that if you have old buildings on your waterfront, keep these, as they are real assets. Businesses want buildings that have character. ... A word we heard over and over again on this last trip was "authentic". In America the "theme parks", however well they are done, do not measure up to the existing "downtowns" or waterfronts that have been recycled. Another very important factor that emerged ... is that Rouse ... and Enterprise have come to the conclusion that unless the local authority wants the project badly enough to invite them in and go through all the red tape quickly enough, they will not become involved. I think this is a terribly important lesson that has been learnt. We have been fortunate in Cape Town, we got our approvals through in a two year period, which is really very good by international standards. [Furthermore], the waterfronts that have been successful have been planned for the local community. In Baltimore we learnt that 70% of the citizens visit their waterfront over eight times in a year. The *focus* of the project must be for the local community and that is how we see the waterfront in Cape Town.

Determined to ensure the success of the Victoria and Alfred redevelopment, the V&AW Company set about formalising all of the abovementioned strategies. As shown above, CCC co-operation was assured prior to the establishment of the V&AW Company. Like the port authority (SATS), the CCC was eager to develop the underutilised V&A Dockland. If successful, this development project could, in turn, lead to property developments on adjacent (and vacant) foreshore sites (De Tolly, 1992). The income generated by rates from such developments could, if realised, substantially add to the city's economic base. Not surprisingly, therefore, the CCC willingly offered its co-operation in strategy formulation (or Development Framework), a fact confirmed above by David Jack. The 'Package of Plans', entrenched in the Development Framework, committed the V&AW to an incremental and contained development. As will be shown below, rather than develop on an *ad hoc* basis, the V&AW (after having inserted the necessary infrastructure) commenced on the first phase of the redevelopment: the Pierhead Precinct (see Figure 5.7 above). Only once the initial site developments of this precinct had been established, did the V&AW commence with further site developments both within the Pierhead and adjacent Portswood Ridge Precincts.

### 5.3.2 Emulation of the 'postmodern' waterfront

As shown in Figure 2.2 of chapter two, most waterfront revitalisation schemes have, to a lesser or greater extent, emulated the development strategies of earlier redevelopments. Emulation of these strategies suggests a desire on the part of the developers and (city and port) authorities to ensure the success of their redevelopment scheme. Moreover, this development modelling has resulted in the physical and functional replication of waterfront redevelopment projects in port cities across the world. The Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, for example, in its recent attempts to attract all-party support for its proposals to regenerate Cardiff's ailing dockland and re-unite the city with the waterfront, also cited evidence of the success of other dockland projects such as Baltimore's Inner Harbour Project (Jones, 1992). In order to ensure their project's own success, commercial developers and local authorities have endeavoured to replicate those physical features which typify these successful dockland schemes. As a result, downtown waterfront developments have come to reflect similar postmodern architectural styles (see chapter two, section 2.3.2.1). The physical similarity of maritime port structures (warehouses, sheds, quays, cranes, bollards etc) further reinforces this sense of 'sameness'. Not surprisingly, this 'sameness' has also evolved in the Victoria and Alfred redevelopment. For instance, approximately three

years after the start of the redevelopment, Basil Davidson, ANC spokesperson on planning (pers. comm., 1992), remarked on the waterfront's postmodern character: 'To date the V&A doesn't have a Cape Town flavour. Its Victorian architecture could be anywhere'.

Like the abovementioned Rouse and Enterprise Companies, the V&AW Company set about implementing tried-and-tested revitalisation strategies. One such strategy involved the development of a 'contained mixed use area' (Jack, 1991 : 5). Centrally located within the 83.2 hectare site (see Figure 5.7 above), the Pierhead (a predominantly wind-free area) became the obvious location of the first mixed use development. Having realigned the customs fence to Duncan Dock in early 1990, the V&AW started developing the Pierhead Precinct (see Figure 5.7 above). In order to 'prime the pump', the SATS, apart from providing the initial 'working capital to cover planning and operational budgets', also 'agreed to fund Phase 1 of the project, being the redevelopment of the historic Pierhead Precinct' (which included the Victoria Wharf shopping centre) (V&AW, 1991b : 10). By putting forward these funds, the state (represented by the SATS) effectively financed the unprofitable aspects of the V&A scheme (see chapter two, section 2.3.1.4). Of the initial 63 million rand provided, 35 million rand was used on the installation of services (roads, water, stormwater and sewerage reticulation, hard and soft landscaping and street furniture and relocation of existing operations) while the balance of the money was used on various building contracts (for the provision of restaurants, retail and hotel space) (see Figure 5.7 above).

In keeping with successful international precedents, the V&AW started by recycling existing buildings. By maintaining the authenticity of the development site, the Company hoped to attract those 'businesses who wanted buildings with character' (Jack, 1991 : 5). In this respect then, the ambience evoked by the Pierhead's historic buildings (the Harbour Master's Residence (1860); Clock Tower (1887); Port Captain's Office (1903); Union-Castle House (1918) etc) (see Figure 5.8 below), was commodified by the V&AW to attract tenants. Not surprisingly, therefore, one of the Company's first site development projects involved the renovation of the 1904 North Quay warehouse (formerly utilised by Ornelas Fishing); a structure in close proximity with these symbolic sites. Completed by the end of 1990, this renovated building was leased as a hotel (the Victoria and Alfred Hotel), restaurant and speciality shopping complex (see Figure 5.8 below). This mixed use complex represented the core of the evolving Pierhead Precinct. The Victoria and Alfred Hotel (the first hotel to be sited in a South African harbour) was particularly successful in attracting tourists, given its

unique location. Hotel management and the V&AW Company have boasted an average annual occupancy rate of 86% as opposed to a regional average of below 68% (V&AW, 1992b).

RESTAURANTS		
<i>ALL LICENSED</i>		
• ALABAMA 2000	FLOATING, VICTORIA BASIN	419-3122
• ALDO'S	ITALIAN, VIC WHARF: GROUND	21-7846
• ARLINDO'S & WINE BAR	SEAFOOD/GAME, VIC WHARF: GROUND	21-6888
• BERTIE'S LANDING	SEAFOOD, FISH QUAY	419-2727
• CAFE ATLANTICO	MEXICAN, QUAY 5	419-0207
• CAFE CABRIOLET	SIDEWALK CAFE, UNION CASTLE BLDG	419-0520
• CAPTAIN BARTOLOMEU	SEAFOOD GRILL, KINGS WAREHOUSE	25-1246
• DOCK ROAD CAFE	SEAFOOD & BISTRO, DOCK RD.	419-7722
• FERRYMAN'S TAVERN	HOME COOKED FARE, DOCK RD.	419-7748
• GREEK FISHERMAN	MEDITERRANEAN, VIC. WHARF: GROUND	418-5411
• MORTON'S ON THE WHARF	CAJUN/CREOLE, VIC. WHARF: UPPER	418-3633
• NANDO'S TASCA TABERNA	PORTUGUESA, VIC. WHARF: GROUND	21-5820
• PIER EDGE	COSMOPOL./TAPAS BAR, PIERHEAD	21-2583
• QUAFFERS	WINE BAR, UNION CASTLE BLDG	419-0520
• QUAY FOUR	CONTINENTAL & TAVERN, QUAY 4	419-2008
• SANTA ANA SPUR	STEAKHOUSE, VIC. WHARF: UPPER	418-3620
• SEA PALACE	CHINESE, VIC. WHARF: UPPER	418-4040
• ST. ELMO'S	PIZZA & PASTA, VIC WHARF: GROUND	21-7005
• THE GREEN DOLPHIN	CONTINENTAL/LIVE JAZZ, PIERHEAD	21-7471
• THE MUSSELCRACKER	SEAFOOD/OYSTERS, VIC WHARF: UPPER	419-4300
• THE SPORTS CAFE	AMERICAN, VIC WHARF: UPPER	419-5558
• TRAWLER'S PAVILION	SEAFOOD BISTRO, PIERHEAD	419-0249
• WATERFRONT		
• CAFE & BAR	COSMOPOLITAN, V&A HOTEL	419-6677
• WEST END	GRILL/NIGHTCLUB, PORT ROAD	21-5355
FAST FOODS & TAKE-AWAYS		
• ADMIRAL'S CUP	ALFRED MALL	21-5902
• ARDI'S	PITA & BURGERS, VIC WHARF: GROUND	25-4606
• ARIS SOUVLAKI	GREEK, KINGS WAREHOUSE	418-5544
• BONEY MARONEY'S	KINGS WAREHOUSE	419-1987
• DODGE CITY DINER	VIC WHARF: GROUND	25-2494
• FISHERMAN'S CHOICE	SEAFOOD, VICTORIA BASIN	21-4866
• FUN FOODS	KINGS WAREHOUSE	25-3997
• HOT DOG CONSTRUCTION CO.	PIERHEAD	419-5047
• KENTUCKY	CHICKEN & SALADS,	
• FRIED CHICKEN	VIC WHARF: GROUND	418-5509
• MARCEL'S FROZ, YOGHURT	KINGS WAREHOUSE	25-2633
• STEERS	VIC WHARF: GROUND	25-1555
• ST. ELMO'S SLICEAWAY	VIC WHARF: GROUND	21-7040
• TEL AVIV	KINGS WAREHOUSE	419-1396
• YUPPIE CHEESE-O-MELT	KINGS WAREHOUSE	N/A
COFFEE SHOPS		
• CHARLY'S		
• WATERFRONT CAFE	VIC WHARF: GROUND	418-5522
• CHARTERS COFFEE SHOP	PIERHEAD	419-3103
• IMPORTER'S TEA & COFFEE	KINGS WAREHOUSE	25-1457
• LA PLAYA	VIC WHARF: UPPER	25-2867
• SAN MARCO	ITALIAN/GELATI, VIC WHARF: GROUND	418-5434
• TUGS QUAYSIDE CAFE	MEDITERRANEAN, ALFRED MALL	25-3756
• YE OLDE COFFEE SHOPPE	VICTORIAN BAKERY	25-2434
PUBS & TAVERNS		
• BERTIE'S LANDING	FISH QUAY	419-2727
• CAFE ATLANTICO	MEXICAN, QUAY 5	419-0207
• FERRYMAN'S TAVERN	MARKET PLAZA	419-7748
• PUMPHOUSE BAR	DOCK ROAD	419-7722
• QUAY FOUR	QUAY 4	419-2008

Figure 5.8: The V&AW's orientation brochure for visitors

(Source: V&AW, 1994)

In order to attract much needed rent, the V&AW Company (with the SATS's financial help) continued to invest in the aesthetic, symbolic and cultural advantages offered by the Pierhead. As in the case of the heritage industry, the V&AW (in partnership with its developers) actively sought to maintain the 'historic and cultural context of the waterfront' (V&AW, 1989 : 10). In so doing, it attempted to recreate the historic maritime ethos of a waterfront atmosphere by stressing the connection between the city and the sea. This is clearly evident in the Waterfront's award-winning audio-visual presentation at the visitor information centre which states:

**The city was the sea - the sea was the city. the city left the sea - it crept inland, it left the harbour to itself ... it left behind some of the most beautiful buildings, romantic places ... left behind the slap of water, the creak of rope, the groan of wood... Yet today a clock is being carefully turned back.**

Thus, the V&AW has actively used the process of reconstruction in its attempts to forge a heritage industry. In order to reinforce these nostalgic and historic constructs (and the overarching strategy of 'mystification'), the Company set about preserving those buildings (listed above) that stressed the area's maritime tradition. However, in keeping with the regime of flexible accumulation which requires the appropriation of symbolic and cultural capital, these buildings were 'packaged' (or recycled) for tourist, retail and recreational advantage.

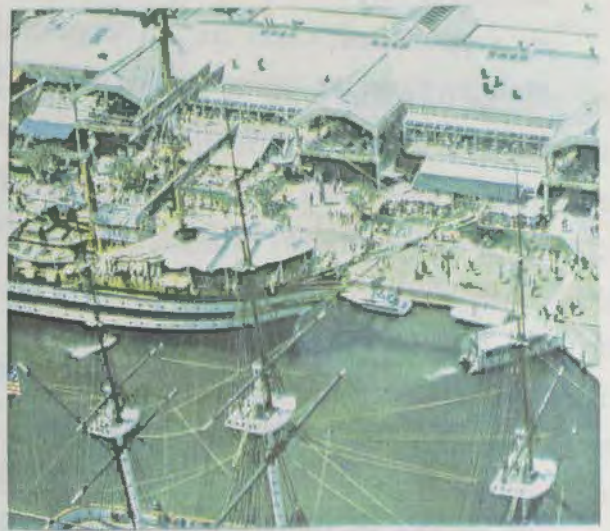
As can be seen in Figure 5.8 above, existing buildings in the Pierhead Precinct were subsequently recycled for, among other things, entertainment (the Dock Road Venue), education (the South African Maritime Museum), orientation (Waterfront Information Centre), refreshment (The Pumphouse Bar, Ferryman's Tavern, Quay 4, Bertie's Landing etc) and administration (Headquarters of the V&AW Company in the Old Port Captain's Building). In the Managing Director's Report (V&AW, 1991b : 9), for instance, David Jack refers to 1990 as 'a challenging year' which witnessed construction on '20 contracts running concurrently'. In essence, therefore, this large-scale reconstruction succeeded, through a process of commodification, in transforming existing maritime history and culture into 'material (symbolic) capital' (Corner and Harvey, 1990). More importantly, however, this 'symbolic capital' succeeded in attracting much needed entrepreneurial investment.

**Traders who opened their doors at the end of 1990 were visionaries; they identified with V&AW's goals and saw beyond the squalor and the chaos of construction. Those who adopted a wait-and-see attitude were convinced by the success which followed - seven million visitors in the first year (V&AW, 1992c: 27).**

Encouraged by the success of the initial site developments of 1990, the V&AW, having acquired a second 'tranche of funding' from TRANSNET (formerly the SATS), awarded a 112 million rand contract (its largest single contract) for the construction of the new shopping and entertainment complex, the Victoria Wharf (V&AW, 1992d). Construction of the Victoria Wharf, which began early in 1991, was completed in October 1992. Once completed, the Victoria Wharf provided an additional 26 500m<sup>2</sup> of retail and entertainment space including, among other things, 10 different restaurants, 11 cinemas, fish and produce markets (located in King's Warehouse built in 1904 as a workshop for Union Castle Co.), and just over 100 fashion and speciality shops (V&AW, 1992d).

Not surprisingly, the Victoria Wharf complex, designed to look like 'one of the great transportational terminals of the 19th century' (see Figure 5.9 below), was orientated to best exploit 'the spectacular views of the docks and (gothic style) clock tower' (Karol, 1992 : 25). Overlooking Quay 5 and the Victoria Basin (see Figure 5.8 above), this Victorian 'postmodern' structure (which closely resembles waterfront buildings in Baltimore's Harbourplace and Sydney's Waterfront) succeeded in 'spectacle-ising' the surrounding Victoria and Alfred Dockland (see Figure 5.9 below). Victoria Wharf, with its series of buildings integrated around a central arched galleria, provided tourists and locals with a shopping experience imbued with a 'festival-like' atmosphere, while its extended balconies allowed people to observe the waterfront spectacle below and beyond (to the Pierhead) (see Figure, 5.9 below). The large promenade, with its multi-purpose amphitheatre situated in front of the Victoria Wharf, provides visitors with space to enjoy and, in most instances, to become part of the surrounding spectacle or festival.

To this end then, the Victoria Wharf and its surrounds have become the Waterfront's 'centrepiece of urban spectacle and display' (Harvey, 1989). Moreover, the Victoria Wharf as spectacle has been reinforced by the provision of *free* entertainment on and around the Pierhead. The V&AW Company has, ever since the completion of the initial Pierhead development projects, regularly presented such entertainment in the form of, among other things, bands, parades, a mime, a street theatre and street dancers. 'The Waterfront', insists David Jack (V&AW, 1992e : 1), 'offers something beyond simply shopping or dining - people come for the experience of the Waterfront, its entertainment and atmospheres'. Therefore, through the principle of public spectacle, the V&AW has not only been able to ensure the commercial success of the scheme by persuading 'people to come and spend money', but has also helped to dilute criticisms of 'elitism' and 'racial exclusivity' (*South*, 1992 : 7) (see below).



**Figure 5.9:** The 'sameness' of the postmodern waterfront (Photograph 1 (above) depicts the Victoria Wharf shopping complex while photographs 2 (bottom right) and 3 (bottom left) show Baltimore's Harbourplace and Sydney's Waterfront respectively. The Victoria Wharf displays a remarkable architectural resemblance to both the Harbourplace complex and Sydney's 'galleria-like' waterfront structure).

(Sources: V&AW, 1994, section one; V&AW, 1992 : 21 and EPM, 1991 : 7)

Such criticism was nevertheless made by the African National Congress. Following calls from the ANC constituency (Davidson, 1992), a meeting was held in June 1992 between the V&AW management and the ANC's Cape regional executive at which concern was expressed about the 'all white image' of the V&A redevelopment (Worden, 1992). Soon after this first meeting, newspaper articles criticising the sanitised middle class character of the Waterfront began to appear. For instance, Justin Pearse of *South* described the Waterfront as follows:

**Walking through the Waterfront is like walking through a particularly tasteful shopping mall. It is a scheme designed for consumption and consequent profit-making - just don't expect to find anything as mundane as a loaf of bread or a tube of toothpaste in shops (South, 20-24 June 1992).**

Although written before the completion of the Victoria Wharf (which does in fact sell basic necessities), these articles raised questions about the inclusivity (or exclusivity in this instance) of the Waterfront. Although initially rejecting these allegations of racial exclusivity, the V&AW did eventually agree to establish an ad hoc Liaison Committee on affirmative action (Davidson, 1992). Furthermore, the V&AW Company, as a developer of public property, strengthened its legitimacy by promoting the Waterfront as a public attraction for all Capetonians. Apart from bussing in underprivileged children from the townships (Ozinsky, 1992), the Company hosted a wide range of free entertainment (as listed above) for the amusement of visitors. Unlike other privately owned (local and international) postmodern entertainment complexes which charged people an entrance fee, the V&AW had to rely on attracting people by its public accessibility.

Unable, therefore, to charge people visiting the publically-owned V&A Dockland, the V&AW Co. has openly endeavoured to create an environment which tourists and Capetonians alike would want to patronise (V&AW, 1991c : 2). In order to maximise its profits in the short to medium term, the V&AW also set about planning the development of the second phase of the redevelopment, the Portwood Ridge Precinct (see Figures 5.7 and 5.8 above). Although initial development on the Portwood Ridge was undertaken concurrently with the Pierhead (restoration of existing buildings and insertion of under cover parking), substantial private investment was forthcoming only after the overwhelming success of 1990/1991 financial year. Private investment was in fact vital if the proposed office park on the ridge above the V&A site were to be realised. Whereas TRANSNET (formerly the SATS) had promised its financial support in the development of the Pierhead Precinct, it had not promised financial assistance in the development of the Portwood Ridge Precinct or any other phase of

the redevelopment. As it turned out, however, state financial assistance was not required. After the initial massive investments of capital by the SATS (R202 million by the financial year ended 30 March 1992), land values in the formerly underutilised V&A Dockland started to rise, thereby inducing private speculation. The negative attitude of the private sector was replaced by an overt desire to invest in the redevelopment.

The first major private development involved the R40 million redevelopment of the old Breakwater Goal on Portsworld Ridge for the University of Cape Town's (UCT) new Graduate School of Business (GSB) campus (see Figure 5.6 above). Completed in January 1992, this new GSB campus (which included a redeveloped national monument and two new buildings flanking the prison) overlooked the V&A site. Although seemingly premature, this large-scale private development did much to encourage further private investment both within and outside the 83.2 ha site. During 1991, the V&AW Company, in partnership with private developers (Stocks & Stocks), forged ahead with the construction of Portsworld Square, a new office building on Portsworld Ridge overlooking the Pierhead (V&AW, 1992d). Located behind the historic Dock House (see Figure 5.8) and designed to complement surrounding Victorian buildings, Portsworld House signified the initial phase of the proposed Portsworld Office Park Complex (see Figure 5.6 above). With an estimated R55 million turnover for the 1991/1992 fiscal year, the V&AW was able to attract the capital (approximately R100 million) required to undertake construction of the new office park. Recently completed, the Portsworld Square Office Complex provides the V&AW with 18 200m<sup>2</sup> of additional office space above a 1000 bay parking garage (McLaughlin, 1992). Despite conveying a definite long-term commitment by the private sector, this project has dramatically boosted property values and commercial activity. This has, in turn, significantly increased the V&AW Co.'s profit earning capabilities.

With the commercial and entertainment core established and private-sector financial support assured, the development of the V&A Dockland rapidly began to gain momentum. This can be deduced from cumulative capital expenditure which increased from R98,80 million in 1991 to R269,08 million in 1992. The 1992 figure was estimated to rise to R511,73 million in 1993 with an additional capital investment of R242,65 million (V&AW, 1992b). This capital investment has in fact been realised (V&AW, 1994). Apart from proliferation of numerous small-scale private developments in and around the V&A site after 1991, the most important consideration for the V&AW (following the completion of the Victoria Wharf in 1992) became the planning and development of the Alfred Marina Precinct (see Figure 5.6 above). In

1991 the CCC readily accepted those amendments to the Development Framework which allowed for the ratification of the Precinct Plans for the New Basin and Gateway (ibid, 1992b). This is not surprising, given that much of the New Basin and Gateway development (encompassing residential and office space) would fall within the CCC municipal boundary, thereby substantially adding to the CCC's tax base.

Despite having received the 'green light' from the CCC and its investors, the V&AW Company could not proceed with its plans to start construction in mid-1993 because this deadline had not been met. It had to still finalise the relocation of the remaining oil companies out of the lower tank farm (or New Basin) (see Figure 5.6 and 5.7 above). With leases extending into the next century, the costs of relocating these remaining oil companies had to be absorbed by the V&AW and its investors. As a result, the flooding of the tank farm (signalling the start of the residential development) had to be delayed until the first quarter of 1995 (V&AW, 1994). Although cushioned by the flexibility of the Development Framework, this postponement highlighted some of the difficulties of developing in a working industrial environment. Moreover, as is discussed below, it suggested an underlying tension between existing port-related industries and property development interests headed by the V&AW Company.

Having completed the partial infilling of the tank farm, the V&AW will, in four phases, construct approximately 800 residential units (200 units per annum) (Van Rooyen, 1991). These units will overlook either the new Alfred marina (located on the landward side of the Alfred Basin) or the proposed canal which is planned to link the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront with Cape Town's central business district (Van Zyl, 1992) (see Figure, 5.6). This 900 million rand marina development will be supplemented by a further recreational and tourist complex in the Granger Bay Precinct (see Figure, 5.6). Started in March 1994, the first phase of this project will cost approximately R200 million (The Argus, 9 February 1994). Together, these developments represent over a billion rands worth of private investment in what had once been underutilised dockland property (or public space). This massive financial investment points to the increasing dominance of commercial interest in the V&A redevelopment (see Figure 2.2 in chapter two). This is evidenced by the erection of a billboard advertising the residential component (see Figure 5.10 below).

Thus, not unlike other international waterfront redevelopments, the V&AW intends to cater for the needs of the wealthy by offering them facilities within a carefully (re)created 'maritime-village type' environment, imbued with 'history' and 'culture' (see chapter two). Yet, no matter how contrived this authenticity might appear, it has

assisted the V&AW in economically transforming (through spatial restructuring) an underutilised dockland into a 'successful' postmodern waterfront. The upmarket residential developments (Alfred Marina and Granger Bay) will in turn contribute to the social transformation of the V&A site as upper classes begin to make their homes in the V&A Docklands. These changes are particularly significant considering that a large section of the V&A Harbour is still leased to industrial port-based tenants (most notably fishing and ancillary industries), who together employ approximately 17 000 people (Jack, 1991). With the re-establishing of value in the V&A Docks, the V&AW Company has increasingly been placed under greater pressure (from capital in the form of private speculators) to reorganise and rationalise the existing occupational built form. Understandably, this has resulted in tension between two seemingly incompatible interests of industrial and commercial landuse (see Figure 2.1 in chapter two).



**Figure 5.10:** Billboard advertising the V&AW's forthcoming residential component (Note how the Company visually (and semantically) alludes to the excitement of life in the 'heart of the Waterfront'. Effectively this billboard symbolises the V&AW's intention to further commodify the V&A dockland).

### 5.3.3 The deterioration of V&AW-Industrial tenant relations

As stated earlier, the question of the 'working harbour' was first raised by the Burggraaf Committee after its investigation into the rehabilitation of underutilised sections of South African commercial harbours. The Committee concluded that, with the exception of the Pier Head, the entire Victoria Dock could be 'fully used by the fishing industry and official and private service vessels' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 3). In so doing, the committee acknowledged that the future of the Victoria Dock was inextricably bound up with that of the Fishing Industry. In response, the V&AW (after its formation) repeatedly reaffirmed its commitment to the principles outlined in the Burggraaf Report concerning the maintenance of the 'working harbour'. In the Development Framework (V&AW, 1989 : 13), the V&AW, as part of its landuse policy proposed 'to promote a rich and diverse urban environment by achieving a balanced mix of activities and land uses in the context of the working harbour'. With the formalisation of the V&AW's mission statement, however, this vague commitment to the working harbour was replaced by a firm pledge to 'retain working harbour activities' (V&AW, 1991c). This support for the retention of the working harbour seemed, however, to be motivated more by its tourist appeal (the sight of boats coming and going) than by any real commitment to the Fishing Industry in particular. This sentiment is revealed, for example, by Brian Kantor's Chairman's Report:

**Another premise - and indeed a condition of the re-development - is that the activities of the working harbour, mostly fishing industry related, together with the use of the dry dock and synchrolift, and the movement of tugs and replenishment vessels, will not only be permitted but encouraged as part of the attraction of our Waterfront (V&AW, 1991d : 5).**

Clearly, therefore, the 'activities of the working harbour' were seen as an integral part of the spectacle of the Waterfront. The existence of an active working harbour effectively accentuated and reinforced the area's historic maritime heritage. Van Rooyen (1991 : 65) suggests, for example, that such activities added yet another (highly marketable) dimension to the Waterfront experience:

**The daily activities of the harbour provide the extra zest to the colourful and exciting environment of the Waterfront - observing the passing ships is as much part of the fun as sipping a beer at one of the taverns and visiting the shops and museums.**

Despite its public endorsement of, and commitment to, the retention of the working harbour, the V&AW Company did not enjoy a good working relationship with the Fishing Industry, as the largest body representing the working harbour. Whereas the

V&AW was determined to ensure the success of the redevelopment (by realising site potential in terms of land values and social status), the Fishing Industry was firmly committed to retaining its position in the V&A Docks, particularly with respect to their favourable lease agreements. Not surprisingly, therefore, the representative of the South African Deep Sea Trawling Association, Roy Bross, utilised his position as member of the Minister's Liaison Committee (see Appendix E) to remind the V&AW and CCC of the conditions under which the Industry had come to occupy large sections of the V&A Harbour. When commenting on the CCC's Draft Contextual Framework (1989) on redevelopment, he stated, for instance, that the Fishing Industry had 'assisted the SATS at a time when many of the buildings were vacant and in a state of disrepair by taking up the unused space in the Alfred and Victoria Docks'.

Tension between the Fishing Industry and its landlord, the V&AW Company, began to build with the publication of the Development Framework Report (V&AW, 1989). In this document, the V&AW was not just awarded the role of property developer, but did in fact replace the SATS as landlord of the Victoria and Alfred Dockland. For the Fishing Industry, this shift in control signified a contravention of the principles of the Burggraaf Report which had envisioned an independent Fishing Industry (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1990). Moreover, they saw the retail, residential and office 'zoning' of Fishing Industry areas within the Development Framework Report as an example of the implications of V&AW control.

**The Development Framework is over 20 pages long. Only one page is submitted as it perfectly illustrates our concerns. [page 13 of the report] Note that areas currently occupied by the Industry (No. 8 & 13) are earmarked for other uses and that the fishing industry is given no long-term standing in the Company's [V&AW] plans. The Development Framework is regarded as one of the seminal documents of the V&AW Development [and as such] contains the public overall planning blueprint of the V&AW as approved by the Cape City Council... (Appendix to the POCTFIA Memorandum, 1990 : 1).**

Hence the Development Framework reinforced the perception within the Fishing Industry that the V&AW intended to force them out, or at best, 'free up' part of their warehouse and water's edge space for redevelopment. For Roy Bross (1992), the V&AW Co. wanted to reduce the size of low-status landuses like industrial fishing, in favour of its 'superior forms of property development'. The Fishing Industry, according to Roy Bross (1992) was particularly vulnerable in this regard because as he puts it: 'The perception of the real success of such ventures is that you have to get hold of the prime property. ... We occupy the best property on the water's edge. [pause] Now they would like to free some of that water's edge. They would like to free all of that water's edge. We would like them to free none of it'.

In a letter to the V&AW Company in 1989, the Fishing Industry set out its objections to the wording of the Development Framework as it affected areas leased by members of the Industry. Despite assurances from the Deputy Minister of Transport Affairs, the Fishing Industry insisted that 'if the Company really means to accord long term tenure to Industry members in their present sites the Development Framework should be withdrawn and revised' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 2). Because the Fishing Industry had been the sole objector to the wording of the Development Framework, the V&AW did not concede to Industry demands. Consequently, the relationship between the V&AW Company (as landlord) and the Fishing Industry tenants continued to deteriorate. The Minister's Liaison Committee, appointed to act as a problem solving conduit between a broad spectrum of interests (including the Fishing Industry) and the V&AW (and its developers and planners), was also deemed increasingly inadequate by the Fishing Industry to solve its differences with the V&AW. The main reason being that the 'Liaison Committee would usually be informed of developments in retrospect leaving members rather powerless to influence the course of events' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 4). Following protracted negotiations between the V&AW, Portnet (as harbour authority) and the Fishing Industry, the Industry representative, Roy Bross:

**...informed the [fishing] constituency that in his view the Liaison Committee could not serve as a proper conduit for Industry problems, that his credentials were continually questioned by V&AW/Portnet, that the Company had not yet met its undertaking to form Tenant's Committees and that in the light of the available information events seemed to be taking a threatening turn (ibid, 1991 : 4).**

Thus, by the time the V&AW Co. had begun inserting the necessary infrastructure in early 1990, relations between the V&AW and the Fishing Industry had deteriorated almost to the point of a standoff. Determined to offset what it perceived as an attempt by the V&AW to drive it out of the V&A Docks and disillusioned by existing negotiation structures, the Fishing Industry became increasingly proactive in ensuring its legal standing within the development site. The result was a bitter and drawn-out negotiation process which eventually culminated in a tenure agreement in September 1991.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter I have attempted to trace the changing spatial, morphological and functional developments of the Table Bay port in general and the Victoria and Alfred Harbour in particular. Focusing on the nature and origin of the planning strategies

guiding the V&AW Company, it has been possible to describe some of the features that typify not just the current V&A development but postmodern places of leisure across the world.

Thus, by highlighting the non-parochial view of the V&A Docks, this chapter has provided an understanding of the influence of wider capitalist processes on the form and function of the V&A Harbour as major transportational (and, more recently, commercial and leisure) facility. But, as shown in chapter four, the Victoria and Alfred Dockland should also be seen as an important parochial setting to people's everyday lifeworlds. It is with this in mind that I turn to an examination of the implications and outcomes of spatial restructuring for (pre)existing harbour-related operations such as the Fishing Industry (see chapter six) and, more specifically, the inshore fishing community working and/or living in the V&A Harbour (see chapter seven).



## CHAPTER SIX

### THE WORKING HARBOUR AS FUNCTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE INSHORE FISHING COMMUNITY

#### 6.1 Introduction

If one reflects on the recommendations made at the time and the situation today, one can say without any shadow of a doubt that the V&AW has been very successful in incorporating the working elements into the waterfront development. Nothing is nicer (for me at least) than to be jolted out of bed at 3 o' clock in the morning when an I&J trawler enters the cut between the Victoria and Alfred Basins, and to hear the crew of the boats coming in from the deep sea exchanging greetings with those almost ready to leave for the fishing grounds. Where else do you find that in the world (Burggraaf, 1992: 2).

As stated in the preceding chapter, relations between the V&AW Company and the Fishing Industry had substantially deteriorated by the time the V&AW began breaking ground in early 1990 . Whereas the V&AW was determined to rationalise the Industry with a view of maximising profits from the redevelopment, the Industry was determined to stave off V&AW attempts to displace it from its position in the Victoria and Alfred Dockland.

In this chapter I trace the contentious (often conflictual) relations between the V&AW, Portnet and the Industry. In order to unearth the reasons for the disparate sentiments of the various parties as well as to explain the nature of tenure (and later rental) negotiations, this chapter draws heavily on the empirical data obtained during interviews with representatives of the V&AW, Portnet and the Fishing Industry. Further, this chapter will show how compromise, in the form of the Tripartite Agreement, effectively diffused some of the antagonism and mistrust between the Industry and the V&AW and Portnet. Through a review of the substance of the Tripartite Agreement I attempt to show not just how the V&AW and Portnet attempted to allay Industry fears regarding relocation, but more specifically how this Agreement adds to the insecurity of the inshore fishing companies in particular. Finally, this chapter highlights the practical difficulties associated with integrating the diverse

requirements of commercial and industrial interests and identifies (where possible) those strategies (planning or otherwise) adopted to ameliorate these problems.

By reviewing the impact of the V&A redevelopment on existing port-related industries such as the Fishing Industry, this chapter essentially establishes the functional context (or basis) to understanding the inshore fishing community and their perceptions and attitudes regarding current restructurings.

## **6.2 Fishing companies shift from the defensive to the offensive**

Continued intransigence on the part of both the V&AW and the Fishing Industry meant that initial negotiations regarding rent and tenure did not deliver any results. Rather, the Fishing Industry was alarmed by the 'tone of negotiations' between Industry members and the V&AW Co.'s property agents, Brouwer and Associates (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991). Of particular concern to the Fishing Industry, in this regard, was that the V&AW (and its agents), by negotiating with individual fishing companies, was attempting to undermine the resolve (and opposition) of the Industry as a whole. These 'divide and rule' tactics (Whitehead, pers. comm.), however, dramatically changed the Industry's response to the perceived V&AW 'intrusiveness' (Bross, pers. comm.). Whereas the Fishing Industry had, up until early 1990, simply defended its position within the V&A Docks, by late 1990 it went on the offensive by forming the Port of Cape Town Fishing Industry Association (POCTFIA). Unlike the South African Deepsea Fishing Association (which represented only deepsea trawling interests), POCTFIA represented all of the Fishing Industry tenants (both deepsea and inshore companies) located within the V&A Docks. Consequently, for the first time since the formation of the V&AW Company in 1988, the Fishing Industry was united in tenure and rental negotiations.

### **6.2.1 Precursors to the formation of the Port of Cape Town Fishing Industry Association (POCTFIA)**

The formation of the POCTFIA was triggered by two key events. The first of these was the failure to renew the lease of Marine Republic Construction, 'a company involved in the supplying of supportive services' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 4) to inshore fishing interests. Located on Quay 4 (see Figure 5.8), this company undertook most of the repairs on Cape Town-based and outside inshore fishing boats. Apart from being equipped to repair wood and steel damage, Marine Republic could undertake these repairs at a far lower cost than the synchrolift (Misplon, pers. comm.).

Marine Republic was able to offer a cheaper rate because it had access to quayside space and an inhouse slipway. According to Rodney Misplon (pers. comm., 1992), owner of Marine Republic, his operation was 'not seen as very important' by the V&AW. Soon after its formation, the V&AW 'brought in ... a property consultant [who] wanted to put up [rent] as much as 6 times [from] about R2/m<sup>2</sup>.' The rationale for this was that the property leased by Rodney Misplon represented 'prime real estate' which could 'bring in more money' if it were to be redeveloped. Recounting the events which eventually led to his eviction, Rodney Misplon (pers. comm., 1992) had the following to say:

**We [referring to Ornelas Fishing and Marine Republic], like everyone else, made a big mistake in thinking we could work together with the developers. These guys were very clever. They went around to all the people leasing in the place telling them that once leases expired they would not be renewed. We were forewarned. But afterwards, with negotiations, we were told 'don't worry we want you to stay here' although they wanted us to move out before.**

However, soon after the start of negotiations, Marine Republic was (for no apparent reason) given notice by the V&AW. Despite his attempts to contact the V&AW, he received 'no reply' from the Company. As a result, Marine Republic was forced to relocate to a site in the vicinity of the Sturrock Dry Dock (see Appendix D). With no quayside space or slipway, independent and company-based inshore fishing interests were forced to utilise the expensive synchrolift facility (costing approximately R1500/day). Given the specialised nature of inshore boat repair, Nautilus Marine (the largest company involved in ship cleaning in the V&A area) eventually sub-let one of its buildings to Marine Republic. Situated alongside the synchrolift (see Appendix D), Marine Republic, although being able to repair inshore boats, can do so only at greatly increased cost because companies and independents are invariably required to pay for the use of the synchrolift (Misplon, pers. comm.).—

After having relocated, Rodney Misplon was again contacted by an agent of the V&AW with an offer to lease the Quay 4 slipway for boat repair. However, flanked on either side by tourist facilities (Quay 4 and Fisherman's Choice) (see Figure 5.8), this slipway was 'restricted' to certain uses. For instance, the company would not be allowed to undertake any welding on the premises. This restriction was unacceptable to Rodney Misplon given that his company's main function involved steel repairs. According to Rodney Misplon (pers. comm., 1992), Marine Republic:

**...could repair a boat on the slipway, but then it would be difficult to move the boat in and out. It just wasn't a proposition to go back there. And if you really look at the area now, you can see that you really can't run our type of operation. Maybe a nice clean boat building yard might be more appropriate.**

Therefore, with the loss of Marine Republic's facilities, inshore fishing interests were seriously constrained in terms of boat repair. Apart from dramatically increasing repair costs, the V&AW Company's failure to renew Marine Republic's lease (thereby forcing it to relocate) further added to Industry perceptions that the V&AW was attempting to undermine its position in the V&A Docks.

The second, and more unsettling event, was the displacement of an established fishing tenant, Ornelas Marine Enterprises (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991). Located alongside North Quay since 1979, this company represented the only fishing interests on the Pierhead peninsula by the time the V&AW Co. began inserting infrastructure. Situated within the heart of the initial phase of the Pierhead Precinct, Ornelas's lease on the warehouse it occupied (which had been ear-marked for the V&A hotel and speciality shopping complex), was not renewed. Required to vacate the warehouse by mid-1990, the company was offered an alternative site on cross berth in the tanker basin at the opening to the Sturrock Dry Dock (see Appendix D).

Apart from having to operate out of a prefabricated structure, the Company was provided with insufficient quayside space to moor all four of its steel trawlers. As a result, the company was forced to moor its vessels alongside each other. Furthermore, Ornelas Marine Enterprises was forced to pay Portnet over R6 000 per month for facilities which it viewed as unsatisfactory. Dissatisfied with these facilities, and unable to obtain any co-operation from the V&AW or Portnet, the owner of Ornelas Marine Enterprises, Mr Ornelas (pers. comm., 1992), directed his complaints to the Minister of Transport. Despite having been successful in convincing the minister to visit his present site, he was not reinstated in the V&A Docks or offered any compensation. Understandably, angered by the V&AW's intractability, Mr Ornelas (pers. comm., 1992) questioned the V&AW Company's commitment to the maintenance of the working harbour as laid out in the Burggraaf Report. He thought it short-sighted of the V&AW to displace his company, which employs 100 people, to construct a facility for foreigners. Despite these and other recriminations, the V&AW Management maintained that 'his operation had not been ensured by the Burggraaf Report' (Van der Merwe, pers. comm.). Instead the report had identified the Pierhead area for redevelopment. According to Mr Van Der Merwe (pers. comm., 1992), despite the company's proximity to the Pierhead (located in a warehouse on North Quay), Ornelas Marine Enterprises raised no objections prior to having been informed by the V&AW Co. that its lease would not be renewed.

In spite of these and other justifications on the part of the V&AW (as to why it had not renewed Ornelas's lease), the Fishing Industry remained highly indignant. For the Industry, the (forced) displacement of Ornelas Marine Enterprises from North Quay (for purposes of redevelopment) set a dangerous precedent for further displacements. Fishing companies' complaints in this regard soon appeared in the press. For instance, in a newspaper article titled **'Fishermen, yachtsmen square up on Waterfront'** (The Argus, 10 November 1990), various companies (motivated by the displacement of Ornelas and Marine Republic) accused the V&AW of forcing them out of the Waterfront by development plans to relocate the Royal Cape Yacht Club. These accusations together with 'widely circulated reports of discussions between V&AW Management and outside property interests about quay and related property usage added to the [Industry's] disquiet' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 4). As a result, all of the major fishing tenants in the V&A area (both past and present), decided to establish a representative organisation in late 1990. The Port of Cape Town Fishing Industry Association, therefore, represented all vessel-owning lessees (14 companies). Because only lessees of property could belong to POCTFIA, independent inshore fishing interests remained outside the association; a fact that would seriously impact on the inshore fishing community (see below). Although supposedly constituted to 'involve itself in any Fishing Industry matters as they impact on the situation of working in the waterfront area', POCTFIA, found itself mainly engaged in tenure and rental negotiations with the V&AW and Portnet (a division of TRANSNET) (Bross, pers. comm.).

### **6.2.2 Attempts by the Industry to improve its public image**

Following the establishment of POCTFIA, the Fishing Industry, as part of its (offensive) tactics in its struggle with the V&AW, decided to set about improving its somewhat tarnished public image. This strategy was motivated by growing public support for, and interest in, the harbour following the start of the redevelopment. Of particular importance, in this regard, were the millions of people visiting the Waterfront from late 1990 onwards. Consequently, the South African Fisheries Museum (SAFM) was proclaimed in August 1991 (SAFM Newsletter, 1992). Formerly known as the South African Fisheries Centre (which had been housed in the old Port Captain's Building on the Pierhead), this museum was offered a location (until 2003 when the lease expires) in an I&J premises on west quay (see Figure 3.1 above). 'The main thrust' of the SAFM according to Dr Nachenius (pers. comm., 1992), the SAFM's curator, was 'to improve the Industry's public image by increasing the dissemination of information and establishment of communication' between the public

and the Industry. Moreover, as enshrined in its constitution (SAFM, 1991 : 2), one of the four key SAFM objectives proposed 'to generate public awareness of fish, fishing and the Fishing Industry'.

With the financial support of a large number of Industry associations (including POCTFIA), the museum was able to establish itself successfully in 1991. This is clearly evident from the dramatic increase in people visiting the museum in 1991 (approximately 65 000 visitors as opposed to 20 000 in 1990). This positive response from the public preceded a letter from Mr Stoops (1992), the Chairman of the SAFM, to the various companies in (and outside) the V&A area in which he states: 'Whilst it [SAFM] continues to function as a source of information on all matters pertaining to the sea, the Museum is now viewed as the show-case of the Fishing Industry'. This positive exposure was viewed as important considering that the Industry, as Mr Stoops (1992) puts it, had 'at times come under public criticism... '.

The SAFM was particularly significant and useful to the V&A-based Fishing Industry at a time when it was involved in tenure and rental negotiations with the V&AW Company. The establishment of the SAFM and its growing popularity provided the Industry with much needed legitimacy. Moreover, the support of the SAFM by the Fishing Industry displayed a willingness on the part of the Industry to open up its activities to the general public. POCTFIA secretary, Roy Bross (pers. comm., 1992) was, however, less optimistic about SAFM's ability to redress the Fishing Industry's poor public image:

**Obviously, it can't do any harm. It would appear that the Fishing Industry has a shocking public image and press. This image is based on mistaken images on the part of "common" man that somehow or other the fishermen and fishing community has robbed him of a right that he should have had. ... It's very easy for this background idea to be played on. ... Part of our thinking in posturing the South African Fisheries Museum, therefore, has been to work on this bad image. We have no delusions, however, matters are far too fundamental to be put right by a little room with a few projectors and so on.**

Therefore, although sceptical about the ability of the SAFM to offset criticisms, Roy Bross did view the museum as 'one of the ways' to promote the Industry. Much of this criticism emanated from the ANC. For instance, Basil Davidson (pers. comm., 1992) voiced the ANC's opposition to the deepsea fishing industry's monopoly of South African resources. He stated that an ANC investigation into fishing monopolies was being spearheaded by Johnny Issel. Understandably, therefore, the Fishing Industry's problems were 'too fundamental' to be rectified through public relations.

In order to counter Portnet and V&AW charges of non co-operation, POCTFIA (on behalf of its members) agreed to assist the V&AW's consultants 'in revealing details of fishing company operations' which would supposedly help the V&AW to 'better satisfy Industry requirements and supply higher level services' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 5). Despite serious reservations, the members of the Fishing Industry co-operated with MLH (the V&AW's core consultants) and its nominee, Sarah Ward. Eager to prove their good faith, 'a great deal of valuable data was generated for the benefit of Ms Ward and the consultants' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 10). With much at stake, MLH, as the V&AW's core consultant, understandably conformed with V&AW interests in its investigation of the Fishing Industry. Consequently, data collected by Sarah Ward was used to support proposed V&AW aims to 'release areas appropriate for future Waterfront development' and 'maximise the use of existing buildings and available space' within the V&A area (Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990 : 2). Based on its findings that the Industry's 'accommodation was in excess of [its] needs'(ibid, 1991 : 3), the report presented two proposal options whereby this 'excess' space could be freed for redevelopment.

In spite of its decision to co-operate with MLH and Sarah Ward, the Industry was aware of the V&AW Co.'s hidden agenda. This is clearly evident from the POCTFIA's Memorandum (1991 : 5) which states that:

**It was immediately and unanimously apparent to the Industry that the principal item on the Company's agenda was to "rationalise" Fishing Industry activities in the area in such a way that it would "free" space for other, presumably more "profitable", uses. The Industry also understood that to this end the V&AW planned to intrude directly into the Fishing Industry operations. It believed that each fishing company's business could be standardised and minimalised. This has in fact ignored the very nature of the different fishing businesses housed in the Victoria [and Alfred] Dock.**

These perceptions were reinforced not only by the lack of access to the final report (as the Industry did not see the report prior to the Tripartite Agreement), but by statements expressed at meetings between POCTFIA and the V&AW (ibid, 1991). In addition, the V&AW's reliance on consultants with seemingly incompatible interests and ideologies further angered the Industry. For instance, Roy Bross (pers. comm., 1992) referred to a particular consultant involved in the V&AW sponsored investigation of the Fishing Industry. He stated that she:

**...had the incredible ability to annoy people. If she was much more experienced at the sort of thing she was doing, and a lot more curative, she would have handled things better. ... That age has now passed us and I don't believe that we would have [the consultant] and others of her ilk coming around our offices trying to understand in a short space of time what it's taken other people a lifetime to get a**

**grip on, and then to tell us that it would be very easy for us to rearrange our lives so that the V&AW easily get some more of these valuable and prime properties. We were not prepared to listen.**

Thus, rather than help improve relations between the V&AW/Portnet and the Fishing Industry, this V&AW sponsored investigation further entrenched antagonisms between the two parties. Interestingly, Sarah Ward (pers. comm., 1992), who had left MLH for the Development Action Group (DAG), agreed with MLH consultant, Neil Swartz (pers. comm., 1992), that the V&AW and its planners had underestimated the Industry's resolve by attempting to treat them 'like just any other tenant with a lease'. However, in its haste to fully optimise those facilities (warehouses and quaysides) utilised by the Fishing Industry, the V&AW Company unwittingly strengthened the Industry's determination to secure its existing activities and premises. It also reinforced Industry opposition to the V&AW as landlord.

**In the light of our experience up to this stage we believe that the V&AW and ourselves are unlikely to live happily together. Given the bias it has already revealed, even if the tenure and rental questions are satisfactorily resolved the Company is unlikely to be a good landlord for the Fishing Industry (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 7).**

### **6.3 Tripartite Agreement: the culmination of months of rigorous negotiations**

Understandably, in light of the above, the relationship between the V&AW and the Fishing Industry tenants (as represented by POCTFIA) continued to deteriorate. In an attempt to overcome what the Industry perceived as V&AW intransigence, the Industry approached the Minister of Environment Affairs with its concerns, who, in turn, directed them to the Minister of Public Enterprises (ibid, 1991). After an Industry consultation with the Deputy Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Transport and Public Enterprises and the submission of a memorandum (setting out the issues as seen by the Industry), Deputy Minister Welgemoed visited Cape Town 'to further acquaint himself with the issues' (ibid, 1991 : 5). In an attempt to resolve the problems the Deputy Minister appointed a committee representing Portnet, V&AW and POCTFIA.

The Tripartite Committee met on six occasions but the parties seemed to be unable, or unwilling, to come to any agreement (ibid, 1991). The main point of conflict revolved around the acceptance of the Burggraaf Report. Whereas the Industry wanted the Burggraaf Report to be used as a 'blueprint' for settling Industry concerns (ibid, 1991), the V&AW/Portnet felt that they had accepted the principles of the Report whereby the Fishing Industry would be maintained (Jack, pers. comm.). This vagueness on the part of the V&AW/Portnet further endorsed Industry perceptions of the Company's lack of

commitment to the Fishing Industry. For the Industry this was blatantly obvious from the way the V&AW Company had:

**...again and again declared how much it values the Fishing Industry ... not for the economic activity it generates and related benefits that flow therefrom, but because it is such a picturesque adjunct to the core businesses of the Company. ... Our right to existence should have nothing to do with the "ambience" that we help to create or views and vistas we provide visitors. The Company's attitude towards its most important group of current tenants shows a real lack of understanding about who we are and what we achieve (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 7).**

The V&AW and Portnet, however, viewed the problems differently. The question according to David Jack (pers. comm., 1992) was how to 'accommodate the fishing fleet in the port with the increased demand for recreational craft'. Although determined to retain the Fishing Industry, Derrick van der Merwe (pers. comm., 1992), the V&AW's Financial Executive, stressed that the 'expensive infrastructure' occupied by the Fishing Industry had 'no financial backup'. He stated, that where it had cost SATS R4 million/pa to run the V&A area, it had only accrued R2 million/pa in revenue. In effect then, by consolidating Industry activities and freeing up some of the 'valuable asset of quayside' for redevelopment, the V&AW Co. could, according to David Jack (pers. comm., 1992), ensure that the Industry 'pay its way'.

Thus the two parties were diametrically opposed to each other's point of view. Each was, however, determined to realise its own aims and objectives. Port Captain Bill Sheuwell (pers. comm., 1992) offered his assessment of the situation as it presented itself prior to a Tripartite Agreement being reached. He said that apart from 'co-existing':

**...what had happened was that the clear rules of the game hadn't been laid down and a lot of misinformation had been spread within the Fishing Industry. Everything is negative in South Africa. ... There's no optimism. So every single person in South Africa has this same problem. They look at the worst and then don't congratulate the winner when it's the opposite. And the Fishing Industry were exactly the same. They saw huge plans and all sorts of alarms sounded and they weren't prepared to trust ourselves [referring to V&AW and Portnet]. But, on the other side of the coin, while I can defend them [Fishing Industry] to say that they had a right to know what the future lay in store, they've also got to accept that they were in a situation where their [leasing] agreement of 1975 was out of date in 1990.**

However, like any business operation which strives to increase profits by reducing overhead costs, the Fishing Industry was strongly opposed to any adjustments to leasing and rental agreements. For instance the Industry fervently contested the V&AW's 'line that all rents be based on opportunity cost in the broader economy' which meant 'that if

the Fishing Industry could not outbid Old Mutual or Sanlam it would have to move aside' (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991 : 11). The Industry was unconvinced by this argument and felt that the 'rent question' was being used by the V&AW Co. to undermine the credibility of the POCTFIA representatives (ibid, 1991). This is particularly significant with respect to non-fishing tenant attempts to get the POCTFIA to represent them in the Tripartite Committee. Despite attempts to effect such a representation, nothing materialised due to the V&AW Co.'s strong opposition to such an arrangement.

Following the deadlock of the Tripartite Committee, each party invariably blamed the other for the state of affairs. According to the Industry, the V&AW and Portnet used the failure of the Committee as proof of the Industry 'unwillingness to cooperate' and inability to 'bind their constituent Members' (ibid, 1991 : 11). In so doing, stressed Derrick Van Der Merwe (pers. comm., 1992), the V&AW Company attempted to demonstrate the need for individual actions by pin-pointing the breakdown of joint negotiations (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991). Despite the deadlock, there was growing realisation on the part of both parties that concessions would have to be made. Thus, after many months of negotiations, the V&AW, Portnet and POCTFIA eventually came to an accord on the issue of tenure and quayside facility usage (see 2.1 of Appendix G). The Tripartite Agreement was first intimated to in public by the V&AW Co.'s Chairman of the board, Brian Cantor, in his review of 1991 (V&AW, 1991d : 6):

**One is happy to report that our established tenants, especially the fishing industry, now fully appreciate our commitment to them and we look forward to a long and mutually beneficial relationship with them as with all our other tenants.**

Brian Cantor's comments were echoed by Port Manager and board member, Rudie Basson, during an interview with Jean Le May (1992) of *On the Waterfront*. However, unlike Brian Cantor, he acknowledges the fears of the fishing companies when he says:

**There was some unease that a flood of outsiders pouring into the docks area would interfere with the working of the harbour. The fishing companies were particularly worried, but the way things have turned out has been satisfactory to all people concerned. None of the private companies had to move, they're still where they were before the Waterfront development was started. ... They know their position is secure. And from our point of view, the fishing companies are important because they give the ambience of a working harbour. There's something very colourful about a fishing harbour.**

Despite having recognised the concerns of the Fishing Industry, he (like the V&AW Company) justifies the maintenance of a working harbour in aesthetic terms; a notion which had greatly annoyed the Industry in the past (see above). However, this statement effectively masks the ongoing rental negotiations between the V&AW and POCTFIA as well as the terms of the Tripartite Agreement itself.

### **6.3.1 The Tripartite Agreement in focus: understanding its implications and interpretations**

Signed on the 9 September 1991, the Tripartite Agreement afforded the Fishing Industry security of tenure. It plainly stated in the Agreement's preamble (1991 : 2) (see Appendix G) that the parties (TRANSNET, V&AW and POCTFIA):

*...acknowledged that fishing companies directly involved in the industry should enjoy security of tenure in regard to properties currently leased but, within the environs of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development, the landlord will have no duty nor will he be obliged in any way to provide additional areas for the use of existing fishing industry tenants in the future irrespective of any demands for growth that may or may not occur as a result of increases in the natural abundance of fish stocks or the development of fisheries.*

Thus, as can be seen from the above, having conceded to Industry demands to recognise and secure its existence in the V&A area, the V&AW wanted it made clear that it had no intention of conceding 'additional areas' to fishing companies. In a practical sense, however, as seen in Appendix G, this tenure Agreement (Tripartite Agreement, 1991 : 3) effectively ensured existing fishing tenants of 'new leases of 25 years with the option to renew for a further period of 10 years'. Further, the Agreement also recognised the importance of the Robinson Graving Dock and synchrolift to fishing operations. Consequently, the V&AW and Portnet consented to allow these facilities 'to operate without unreasonable constraint' (ibid, 1991 : 2).

As stated earlier, this Agreement necessitated concessions on both sides. Whereas the V&AW Co. and Portnet had to 'shelve' (for the moment) its ideas of consolidating and rationalising the Fishing Industry in the V&A Docks, the Industry had, out of necessity, to sacrifice some of its facilities and activities. Paramount among these was the Concentra (Pty) Ltd; an I&J-owned fishmeal factory situated on the peninsula between the Alfred and Victoria Basins (see Figure 5.4). According to section 2.5 of the agreement 'the Concentra lease' (which expires in 2003) would 'not be extended in the Silo Precinct' and 'fish meal production ... in leased areas' would be subject to V&AW sanction. Despite having agreed to this, the Managing Director of the I&J Trawling Division spoke about I&J and POCTFIA's attempts to

convince V&AW Co. to renew Concentra's lease if the company were to 'redevelop the 50 odd year old plant with modern technology'.

**With modern technology we could produce a fishmeal facility that does not smell [because] its totally encased. Everything is treated, the exhausts and water is treated. It is possible to produce a completely environmentally friendly fishmeal factory. ... We'd redevelop office space all around it, perhaps move our offices there. There was even a plan to move our head office there. [By] completely redeveloping it, [they could] make it compatible with the tone of the development. Even under those conditions they were not prepared to accept.**

In spite of his opposition to the way the V&AW Company was changing the V&A Harbour, Stephen Mendel (pers. comm, 1992), General Manager and former owner of Concentra, did point out that it was 'quite unusual to have a fishmeal factory operating in the middle of the city '. He pointed out that 'back in 1937 [when his father founded the business] nobody worried about this factory right next to the mother city'. Nevertheless, despite these and other statements regarding Concentra, as will be shown below (see section 6.4), the V&AW's decision not to renew the company's lease had an immense psychological impact on inshore fishing companies and fishermen operating out of the area.

Furthermore, apart from agreeing to fixed property (quayside, wharf, building and land area) usage as laid out in Annexure A of the Agreement (see Appendix G), the Industry also agreed to approve, 'in advance', any 'alterations to buildings and the building of new structures' with the V&AW (Tripartite Agreement, 1991 : 3-4). Urban design guidelines released by the V&AW dictated the shape, colour and design of both existing buildings utilised by fishing companies and any future modifications to these buildings (Meek and Visser, 1992). Although determined not to 'spend money unnecessarily on beautifying the place' (Whitehead, pers. comm.) I&J has invested a great deal in renovating and painting all of its premises (see Figure 5.4).

**We actually did ... spent a lot of money upgrading our South Arm building. We had the roof repaired, iron cast, and painted the whole place and repaired all the plaster work. We probably would not have done it if it wasn't for the V&AW. We're aware of the need to create a good impression in the area. We don't want to stand out and seem to be not entering the spirit of things (Whitehead, pers. comm., 1992).**

With few exceptions, most of the warehouses occupied by the Fishing Industry remained fairly dilapidated (particularly those buildings leased by the Lusitania Fishing Group). Although having inherited dilapidated government sheds in the 1970s, most companies had, apart from inserting the necessary infrastructure, done little, if anything, to improve the structural condition of these buildings. Thus the V&AW's

rationale for including section 1.2 of the Tripartite Agreement was to encourage fishing companies to improve the appearance of the buildings they occupied. Thus, whereas the POCTFIA had effectively won the battle for tenure, the V&AW had secured major concessions from the Industry.

Apart from agreeing to upgrade their premises, the Industry had also committed itself to 'allow visitors access to as much of their activities as possible' (Tripartite Agreement, 1991 : 4). By agreeing to this clause, the Industry not only acknowledged that it was part of the V&A tourist experience, but effectively sacrificed its long held attitude that it was 'off limits' to the public. As can be seen from the table of interviews in Appendix H, most companies did in fact allow, or encourage, tourists to visit their premises. For instance, I&J had an established educational programme and routinely allowed groups of school children to tour through its facilities (Whitehead, pers. comm.). There were the exceptions, however. There were those companies (Hout Bay, Lusitania and Atlantic etc ) who felt that the dangerous nature of their operation precluded them from accommodating tourists. Mr Van Schalkwyk (pers. comm., 1992), shore skipper of Hout Bay Fishing, had the following to say in this regard:

**You know the peak tourist season and the peak fishing season correspond. You've got hysers running up and down like go-carts. You've got cranes working all the time. Then you have your drunk fishermen element, the "skollie-type". ... That's why I would never think of letting tourists come here... I don't say that we can't be part of the tourist attraction. Long distance maybe yes, but close up, no ways.**

Others such as the Managing Director of Atlantic Trawling, Mr Flanagan (pers. comm., 1992), dismissed the idea immediately by saying that the 'docks were built for the Fishing Industry and not for a "yuppie" paradise'. Roy Bross (pers. comm., 1992), described the V&AW Company as 'naive' to think that the public could go through 'the fishing companies looking around'. He said that the Industry had 'a very different view of how the public can be integrated into the Fishing Industry'. Thus, despite having secured Industry tenure, the Tripartite Agreement also epitomised the practical difficulties associated with the integration of commercial and industrial interests (see below) in the V&A development site.

Most significant within the context of the present study, was the inclusion of an adjunct (note 4) to the utilisation of the proclaimed Fish Market Quay (see Figure 5.4). By implication the inclusion of note 4 in the Agreement (1991) did not provide the inshore fishing companies with any real security. Rather it assured the V&AW of legal leverage should it eventually 'wish to redevelop the New Fishery Harbour (Fish

Market) in the Silo Precinct' (Tripartite Agreement, 1991 :4); a development which seemed inevitable given the location of Bertie's Landing (see Figure 5.8). Despite the V&AW Company's tentative commitment to offer affected tenants 'comparable quay and building accommodation' (ibid, 1991 : 4), these inshore companies remained generally pessimistic about their future (see Appendix H). This is evident in the concerns raised by Miguel De Jesus (pers. comm., 1992), owner of Wavecrest (Pty) Ltd:

**It will be a struggle to get premises at comparative rentals. We need to be close to our boats due to repairs. As a company, we do our own repairs next to the quay unless there are major repairs to be done. Pomet and the V&AW want all repairs done in one area on our side [i.e. the Concentra Quay]. This would mean that repairs would be isolated from the command centre and one can't keep an eye over proceedings. ... Thus separate repair facilities extends turn-around time.**

Thus V&AW intentions to eventually relocate these inshore fishing companies to bounded land sites on the South Arm, (see Figure 5.4) effectively added to the feelings of insecurity (and uprootedness). Not surprisingly, these feelings of insecurity were also mirrored in the opinions of the inshore fishermen and workers that lived and worked in the area. As will be discussed below, the lack of tenure security (as well as rumours about Concentra) seriously undermined the inshore community's 'sense of place'.

As can be seen from the table in Appendix H, feelings of insecurity were reinforced by the fact that these companies, unlike the larger deepsea and inshore companies, had (as yet) not been guaranteed long-term tenure. Instead, they were subject to monthly leases which further added to their unease (see below). This unease was clearly voiced by Miguel De Jesus (pers. comm., 1992), owner of Wavecrest when he said: 'At the moment we exist from month to month and on that basis we can be evicted in a month'. Understandably, therefore, these inshore companies were, according to Mr De Jesus, apprehensive about whether the POCTFIA would 'dissolve' once the 'big companies' were ensured of their tenure.

In spite of the many concessions, the POCTFIA was generally pleased with the content of the Tripartite Agreement. According to Roy Bross (pers. comm., 1992), the Agreement represented the 'basis of a barebones accord' which contained 'elements of the Burggraaf Report'; one of the primary demands of the Industry. By zoning areas for the use of the Fishing Industry, the Agreement successfully appeased the Industry's (particularly the big companies) fears of relocation. Nevertheless, although having established fishing companies' rights to tenure, certain issues remained unresolved,

particularly the question of rentals. Negotiations between the POCTFIA and V&AW were, therefore, resumed.

### **6.3.2 Rental negotiations between the V&AW, Portnet and POCTFIA**

Having effectively settled the question of tenure, the parties set about negotiating rentals. Encouraged with the success of the POCTFIA, the Industry supported Association representation in rental negotiations (see Appendix H). POCTFIA's attempts to negotiate rentals on a broad basis, were, however, opposed by the V&AW. According to the V&AW's Financial Executive, Derrick van der Merwe (pers. comm., 1992), it was impossible to negotiate on a broad basis because of the competition within the Industry itself. Although the Industry wanted a single rental rate for all, pointed out Mr Van Der Merwe, individual companies were 'not keen for their competitors to get the upper hand'. Consequently, the V&AW Management held the view that rentals could only be negotiated on a one-to-one basis. To this end, the V&AW sent letters to all the fishing companies in which it stipulated the rentals it viewed as 'appropriate'. MD of the I&J Trawling Division, Graham Whitehead (pers. comm., 1992), had the following to say in this regard:

**What happened was we ... have certain leases that expired; the new fisheries harbour and crossberth. We were faced with demands for increased rentals from the V&AW, from their consultants, which we disputed. Initially we suddenly received letters stating the new rental which was totally contrary to the agreement we had entered into. We were required to negotiate rentals. They try this all the time. They just push it to see how far they can go. And everytime we say no, look at the Agreement.**

Understandably, the POCTFIA strongly opposed this V&AW tactic and directed its constituents to pay old rentals plus VAT (Value Added Tax) until such time that an overall agreement on rentals had been negotiated. Despite this POCTFIA directive, one inshore company fell victim to the V&AW's 'strongarm' tactics. Silvermar (Pty) Ltd, located in the New Fisheries Harbour (see Figure 3.1), was forced to independently renegotiate its rental when Dasen Lobster, a conglomerate of approximately 40 independent boat owners from which Silvermar rented space, decided to give up its SATS lease prior to its expiry date (because of V&AW demands for higher rentals). Because this occurred before the signing of the Tripartite Agreement, Silvermar was not represented by the POCTFIA or the Agreement (see Appendix G). As a result, Silvermar owner, Mr Dos Silva (pers. comm., 1992), had to accept a rental of R10/m<sup>2</sup>/month on his 530m<sup>2</sup> premises. Although not a member of POCTFIA, Mr Dos Silva was hopeful that negotiations would also eventually benefit

him. Therefore, despite V&AW Co.'s property consultant (Brouwer and Associates) demands to accept a 3 year contract, Mr Dos Silva agreed to a year's contract.

Following an initial impasse between the V&AW and POCTFIA, both parties settled down to a period of demanding negotiations. The major point of dispute in these negotiations revolved around the issue of 'appropriate' rentals. Not surprisingly, each party had a different view of what it regarded as 'appropriate'. The V&AW Management (still determined to maximise returns on 'valuable infrastructure') wanted to increase existing industrial rentals by more than tenfold. The objective of this agenda was, according to Mr Van Der Merwe (pers. comm., 1992), to stop TRANSNET subsidisation of fishing company profits. The POCTFIA, on the other hand, was opposed to paying market-related rentals (POCTFIA Memorandum, 1991). 'We don't believe', contended Graham Whitehead (pers. comm., 1992), 'that because you build a hotel adjacent to our land, that our land value must equate to land which has a hotel, office block or restaurant on it'. Consequently, V&AW attempts to acquire rents of between R6/m<sup>2</sup> and R8/m<sup>2</sup> were strongly opposed by the Association.

The turning point in negotiations, however, occurred when Marpro Trawling Company's rent (see Figure 5.4) (as stipulated in its rental agreement with SATS) came under review from the V&AW. This rent review was done on the basis of a price per square metre. According to Mr Vreulink (pers. comm., 1992), Managing Director of Marpro, the V&AW's initial demands for rentals of R8/m<sup>2</sup> were arrived at by the Company:

**...when they revalued the property. They were looking at what they could get out of the property. For example they would say that the property was valued at an astronomical amount because they could put up a hotel. But we have been occupying this property as a fishing company and thus we felt they were unrealistic. We felt they should value it on what the function is at present.**

Determined not to capitulate to V&AW demands, Marpro decided to opt for arbitration as stipulated in its agreement. However, the V&AW, determined to avoid drawn-out negotiations, decided to settle on a lower rental of R2,90/m<sup>2</sup> plus 12% VAT (R3,25/m<sup>2</sup> in total) (Vreulink, pers. comm.).

The outcome of rental negotiations with Marpro set a precedent for the rest of the Industry. It became almost impossible (except in the case of Silvermar) for the V&AW and its property consultants to enforce higher rents on other fishing companies once it had settled on R2,90/m<sup>2</sup> with Marpro. Moreover, given the competitive nature of the Fishing Industry, other fishing companies in the V&A Docks were determined not to

pay higher rents than their competitors. The V&AW were, therefore, according to Mr De Jesus (pers. comm., 1992), forced to concede (as far as possible) to the POCTFIA's demands for standardised rentals. Consequently, as Graham Whitehead (pers. comm., 1992) points out, the Industry set its sights on a rental rate in the vicinity of R3,00/m<sup>2</sup>. 'We have no qualms', insisted Graham Whitehead of I&J (pers. comm., 1992), 'for paying a fair rental or charge for whatever we do, but we do not need cobbled streets and nice streetlamps. ... We compliment the V&AW all the time on the work they have done, but we are not prepared to fund it...'. These sentiments were shared by other fishing companies in the V&A Docks (see Appendix H).

Apart from setting a precedent for rental negotiations, Marpro has also been the first major fishing company to begin negotiations (as stipulated in clause 2.3 of the Tripartite Agreement) with the V&AW on the issue of relocation (Vreulink, pers. comm.). As initially proposed in MLH's report (Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990), the V&AW still aimed to, where possible, consolidate the Fishing Industry. To this end then, the V&AW Company began negotiations which culminated in the relocation of Marpro from its position alongside Quay 6 to the Elbow (see Figure, 5.4); a cost absorbed by the V&AW Company (Vreulink, pers. comm.).

However, unlike big companies such as Marpro, the small inshore fishing companies located in the New Fisheries Harbour (see Figure 3.1) do not have the financial leverage to refuse relocation (see note 4 of agreement above). It would be far easier for the V&AW to find 'comparable quay and building accommodation' (Tripartite Agreement, 1991 : 4) for a number of small inshore companies, than it was to duplicate a multi-million rand storage facility for Marpro. The eventual relocation of the New Fisheries Harbour by the V&AW Company was confirmed by Mr Dos Silva (pers. comm., 1992) of Silvermar. Upon signing his new lease, he was told by the V&AW's property consultants, Brouwer and Associates, that the V&AW intended building facilities for the inshore companies on the South Arm behind Viking Fishing (see Figure 5.4). Thus, whereas the large fishing companies in the V&A Docks had been assured of tenure at reasonable rentals, the inshore fishing companies (such as Wavecrest, Redaco, Silvermar, Good Hope and Oceana Fishing) were not truly assured of either (see Appendix H). If anything, the Tripartite Agreement afforded the inshore companies and independents a greatly reduced 'level of protection' (Bross, pers. comm.). For instance, the independent boat owners (who had not been represented by POCTFIA) were protected mainly through their (business) affiliation to the larger inshore companies such as Hout Bay and Lusitania Fishing. The shore skipper of Hout Bay, Mr Van Schalkwyk (pers. comm., 1992), was, however, optimistic that the small

wooden 'chug-chuggies' moored at the Concentra Quay (see Figure 3.1) would be allowed to remain chiefly because of the fact that 80% of these boats were owned by Hout Bay Fishing (whose activities had been guaranteed by the Tripartite Agreement). Furthermore, he did not envision 'them being weeded out as they make about 90% of west coast crayfish catches'; a multi-million rand industry.

This assessment of the situation was supported by V&AW's approval of the establishment of an ice making machine at the end of the Collier Jetty in late 1992 (see Figure 3.1). In so doing the V&AW wanted 'to ensure optimum use and activity' in the V&A area. To this end then, the V&AW attempted to prevent the 'small boats from being ransomed by big companies as in the case of ice...' (Van Der Merwe, pers. comm.) where wooden 'chug-chuggie' boats had to wait for up to five days before getting a chance to 'load ice' (Meek, pers. comm.). More importantly, however, the V&AW's commitment to the smaller boat operators in the V&A area was also dictated by the Company's attempts to retain the essence of the working harbour (see above). 'We will make sure', insisted Rob Meek (pers. comm., 1992) of Gallagher, Gallagher and Associates (an Urban Design Consultancy), 'that they [small blue boats] stay because they are a key component of the working harbour, albeit at the bottom end of the chain. We don't want them moved out of the V&A'. Thus by retaining these and other elements of the working harbour (harbour service vessels at Jetty No. 1, Sealink auxiliary vessels at Quay 5, synchrolift and Robinson Graving Dock) the V&AW could greatly enhance the processes of commodification and 'spectacle-isation' (referred to above). Essentially, this 'working harbour element', although larger than originally envisioned, effectively boosted the success of the commercial aspects of the redevelopment. Neil Swartz of MLH (pers. comm., 1992), had the following to say while commenting on the future of the V&A redevelopment:

**The success of the V&A is ultimately going to rest on return visits. People just coming for a few hours and spending R10. And they will come back if there's always boats and activities and a changing synchrolift and dry dock. Because the world is getting smaller and internationally we are competing with other tourist attractions, we need to retain the uniqueness of the working harbour in the redevelopment.**

Thus, partly out of V&AW approval (as in its mission statement), legal enforcement by TRANSNET (who controlled the synchrolift, Jetty 1 and Robinson Graving Dock) and concessions in the Tripartite Agreement, the working harbour element in the V&A development site was assured. Despite having (through negotiation) generally resolved V&AW-Industry differences with respect to the question of tenure and rental, there still

remained a number of practical difficulties. Essentially functional in nature, these practical problems have arisen out of attempts to reconcile two opposing interests.

#### **6.4 The juxtaposition of commercial and industrial activities in the V&A Harbour**

Despite the stabilisation of V&AW-Industry relations, there remain practical difficulties associated with commercially redeveloping a partially operational dockland site. Whereas commercial interests, spearheaded by the V&AW, are intent on expanding their activities in the V&A Docks, established industrial activities attempt to continue with their operations. Understandably, there has been conflict between these two mutually exclusive activities. In order to ameliorate possible conflict between the Fishing Industry and the V&AW over the utilisation of water spaces (under the control of the Port Captain), a Harbour Liaison Committee was established. This Committee acts as a forum whereby the Fishing Industry in cooperation with the Port Captain and Port Manager 'can deal with problems of harbour management and movement of vessels' (Vreulink, pers. comm.). In spite of regular meetings (held every three months) between Industry members and Portnet, fundamental difficulties still remain. Most of these problems relate to the increase in tourist activity in the Victoria and Alfred Docks.

##### **6.4.1 The concerns of bigger fishing interests**

Although having expressed optimism regarding their future in the V&A area (Appendix H), a number of the bigger fishing interests did register their concerns about the escalation of leisure craft in the harbour. Roy Bross (pers. comm., 1992), secretary of the Deepsea Trawling Association and the POCTFIA, described this escalation as 'unavoidable' saying that 'the movement of [Industry] traffic, comings and goings of [fishing] boats will be greatly complicated by a large number of undisciplined small craft whizzing around the water. Now if leisure craft are undisciplined [he went on to say], it will be a direct result of the V&AW and an indirect result of Portnet's policy towards controlling them'.

By implication then, the Fishing Industry vessels were perceived as being disciplined while leisure craft (such as yachts, cruisers, ski-boats and sightseeing vessels) run by the V&AW, were viewed as 'undisciplined'. Whereas the large fishing vessels were required to obtain clearance from the Port Captain, smaller craft were less constrained in terms of movement. For instance, Marpro's MD, Mr Vreulink (pers. comm.,

1992), pointed to the possibility of future problems were the control of water spaces in the V&A Docks ever to be handed over to the V&AW Company. He also spoke of problems which have arisen due to Portnet's preferential treatment of small craft.

**Now if we get clearance from the port authority to leave the harbour and you go around that corner [referring to end of Jetty No. 2] you can't see what's coming around that corner, be it a small pleasure craft with people aboard on a sightseeing trip through the harbour. ... There were a few occasions when a sailing boat was coming in under full sail at a hell of a speed and we were leaving the harbour on the port authority's okay. ... When they [V&AW] flood the lower tank farm we are going to have more traffic...**

In an attempt to avoid collisions between large fishing vessels and smaller leisure craft, Portnet proposes to re-establish port control on the Elbow (see Figure 5.4) thereby 'trying to control smaller craft in conjunction with bigger craft' (Vreulink, pers. comm.). Further, Portnet has, subsequent to having spoken to Mr Vreulink, endeavoured to reduce the possibility of sightseeing craft accidents by insisting that these vessels sound their horns before rounding a Jetty or moving through the cutting between the Victoria and Alfred Basins (see Figure 5.4). In addition, the V&AW intends to align the Alfred Marina cutting with the other cuttings in the V&A Docks. In this way, insists Neil Swartz (pers. comm., 1992), a V&AW core-consultant, 'vessels can see through all the cuttings' and in so doing 'avoid any conflict'.

Yet another problem associated with the movement of large fish trawlers within the V&A Docks relates to the location of V&AW-controlled floating exhibits and restaurant in the Alfred Dock (see Figure 5.8). Apart from the SAS Somerset (a World War II boom defence vessel) and the Alwyn Vincent (steam tug) moored alongside North Quay, the V&AW (without prior consultation with the companies concerned) moored the HMS Victoria (a wooden 'treasure ship') and the Alabama (a floating restaurant) at west quay. According to Graham Whitehead (pers. comm., 1992), the location of these vessels 'caused considerable difficulties' for I&J trawlers.

**Our ships come in here [Alfred Dock] regularly. Because it is a wet fish area they come and go far more regularly than the rest of the fleet - 7 to 10 day voyages [as opposed to 30 day voyages]. They are big trawlers. They come through the cut which is a difficult space to navigate through. You have to come through with a bit of speed especially with a southeaster blowing otherwise you fall off as you come through and they've got to do a very tight turn in the dock. They [I&J captains] are scared of one day having steering failure or pitch system failure. It's inevitable that something will happen. There's 10 000 moving parts in the ship and one of them can go at anytime. If anything fails you're going to plough into those ships [Victoria and Alabama]. So the result is that our skippers are very cautious [and] insist on taking a launch which of course they charge us for... Our costs go up just because of those two boats.**

Despite the existence of the Minister's Liaison Committee, set up to act as a problem-solving forum between the V&AW and interested parties, items such as the location of the vessels in the Alfred Dock were, according to Graham Whitehead, generally 'raised in the committee as a "fait accompli"'. As a result, he first became aware of the vessels concerned when he 'one day ... looked out of the window and saw them moored at the west quay'. For Graham Whitehead (pers. comm., 1992), this issue represented an inherent failure of V&AW-Industry liaison structures to address practical problems. On a recent visit to the Waterfront I observed that these two vessels had in fact been relocated. The HMS Victoria is now moored alongside the Pierhead Promenade in the Victoria Basin while the Alabama is moored alongside the floating jetty situated in front of Bertie's Landing (see Figure 5.4 or 5.8). West quay is presently being used as moorage for I&J trawlers.

Apart from (these and other) problems related to the movement on water spaces in the V&A area, there were also widespread reports of vehicular congestion on quaysides and land spaces utilised by the Fishing Industry (see Appendix H). For example, companies operating in the vicinity of Bertie's Landing have complained about the parking problem. According to Stephen Mendel (pers. comm., 1992), GM of Concentra, it becomes 'so bad...[during] the holidays' that the company finds it difficult to get its trucks through into the factory. Despite V&AW Co. attempts to 'cordon off' some parking bays (situated between Concentra and the New Fisheries Harbour Building) (see Figure 5.4) to facilitate company activities, visitors proceeded to park in the cordoned off area (Mendel, pers. comm.). As will be shown below, a similar problem existed on the Fish Quay, obstructing inshore fishing operations.

Complaints were also received from Marpro's MD, Mr Vreulink (pers. comm., 1992), who expressed frustration over the (former) disruption of company operations particularly following the completion of the Victoria Wharf retail centre (see Figure 5.4). Prior to being relocated to the Elbow, he described how the proximity of the Victoria Wharf shopping centre impacted on Marpro's operations:

...because their service bays are located next to our coldstores. Unfortunately the way it is structured our loading and offloading is in a public road [East Pier Road]. Now that road is to be used by companies doing deliveries to the shopping complex. ... Now, when we're doing exports two or three times a month, depending when the cargo vessels dock, we are loading 13 containers at a time ... where are they going to be parked in the road? So there will be traffic congestion in a public area. ... And that's one of the reasons why I would rather move [to the Elbow] than stay.

Whereas Marpro's problems have, through great financial cost to the V&AW, been solved, problems of transportation access persist for other companies such as Atlantic and Hout Bay Fishing (see Figure 5.4). Like Marpro Fishing, these companies found themselves constrained in terms of access to and from their facilities. East Pier Road, the only access route available to these companies, passes through the Victoria Wharf's parking area (see Figure 5.4 in chapter five). Not surprisingly, transport difficulties have been experienced. Hout Bay's shore skipper, Mr Van Schalkwyk (pers. comm., 1992), had the following to say in this regard:

**Traffic wise it's become a tremendous hassle transporting our frozen products through the docks especially during peak season. We transport our frozen tuna in trucks. Whereas before it used to take us in the vicinity of 10 minutes to get from here [East Pier] to the ship [in Duncan Dock], it takes us up to 40 minutes because of the traffic jams in the harbour area. As a result, by the time the fish gets to the ship its lost temperature and we've got to cart it back again to refreeze it and send it again.**

In an attempt to avoid the congestion of the Waterfront, these companies have agreed to use the Somerset Hospital entrance rather than transport their fish through the redeveloped V&A site (Vreulink, pers. comm.). However, in so doing, they have had to restructure their activities to compensate for the longer cartage times. In addition, the V&AW Co. has, out of necessity, been forced to restrict the access of fuel tankers (for purposes of refueling fishing vessels) to evening hours. Despite a V&AW commitment to ensure Fishing Industry access to facilities (see Appendix G), the nature and scale of the redevelopment has effectively undermined the Company's ability to deliver on its assurance.

#### **6.4.2 The concerns of Inshore Fishing interests**

Unlike the big fishing companies, the small inshore fishing companies and independents located in and around the New Fisheries Harbour generally felt less optimistic about their future (see Appendix H). As mentioned above, these sentiments have evolved out of uncertainties relating to tenure and rentals. Notwithstanding these uncertainties, inshore fishing interests have also experienced disruption of their activities. One of the major problems raised by companies and independents pertains to the issue of vehicular congestion on the Fish Quay (see Figure 5.4). For instance, Michael De Jesus (pers. comm., 1992), owner of Wavecrest (Pty) Ltd, had found it increasingly difficult to conduct normal fishing operations on the Fish Quay in front of his factory. What had once been a vibrant Fish Market (see chapter four), has become a parking lot for local and foreign tourists visiting Bertie's Landing. As a result, inshore companies and independents found it increasingly difficult to offload their fish onto the quay let alone

transport the catches through to the factories. The congestion was aggravated by the fact that, as depicted in Table 6.1 below, the peak tourist season (November to February) coincides with the lobster and tuna season.

What was particularly frustrating for inshore fishing interests (fishermen and company owners and managers), was that they were constrained in terms of adequate facilities. Unlike deepsea fishing interests, inshore companies and independents had to use the Proclaimed Fish Quay to offload their catches, the only low level quay in the entire port complex designed to accommodate the small wooden 'chug-chuggie' fishing vessels. Yet, apart from erecting a 'No-parking' sign on the edge of the Fish Quay (thereby attempting to prevent tourists obstructing inshore operations), the V&AW has allowed visitors to park on the tarred surface between the quay and the inshore factories (see Figure 6.1, pictures 1 and 2 below).

**Table 6.1:** Table representing the various fishing seasons

	JULY	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN
DEEP SEA TRAWL	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON
SC LOBSTER					MOST ACTIVE PERIOD	MOST ACTIVE PERIOD	MOST ACTIVE PERIOD	MOST ACTIVE PERIOD	MOST ACTIVE PERIOD			
TUNA					SEASON	SEASON	SEASON	SEASON				
WC LOBSTER												
SQUID												
SNOEK												

MOST ACTIVE PERIOD  
 SEASON  
 CLOSED SEASON

(Source: Sturgeon, Ward and Swartz, 1990 : 21)

Understandably, noted Port Captain Sheuwell (pers. comm., 1992), there has been growing discontent among inshore fishermen regarding this issue. The inshore fishermen, having complained to the Port Captain and been encouraged to 'use their wits' with respect to parking transgressions, displayed their frustration at the disruption of their activities by, for instance, surrounding cars with heavy lobster traps. This was referred by the Port Captain (pers. comm., 1992) while commenting on the parking issue:

**It's quite amusing. We had a 835i BMW whose owner was eating at Bertie's Landing and the owner thought that qualified him not to move. So the fishermen just stacked all their fish baskets around him and they went home. They came around the next morning and the vehicle was still there as the owner could not move it. So I said that it wasn't meant to be there and they had the right to put their fishing traps around it. We're not policemen, but if people want to take the risk of parking their cars where they are not meant to be parked, they must take the consequences.**

However, despite port authority and V&AW acknowledgment of the rights of inshore companies and independents to use the 'Proclaimed Lobster Landing Quay' (Tripartite

Agreement, 1991 : 4), the parking problem continued. During peak fishing periods, the congestion would increase to a point where (as in the case of Concentra) the inshore companies would not be able to get their vehicles in or out of their premises (Skeepers, pers. comm.). Thus, in spite of V&AW/Portnet recognition of the 'functional requirements' of fishing tenants (see principle 2.6 of Appendix G), the Company and port authority were initially hard pressed to ameliorate the effects of large numbers of tourists visiting the Waterfront. Subsequent to having interviewed the affected inshore fishing community (company and boat owners, managers, skippers and crew), the problem was in fact partially addressed by the V&AW. By realigning and upgrading access routes within the V&A site, the V&AW has been able to better direct tourists to designated parking areas. Tourists wanting to visit Bertie's Landing are directed to a parking area between Cross Quay and the grain silo (see Figure 3.1 in chapter three) thereby effectively reducing the pressure on the Fish Quay.

Yet another major concern among inshore fishing interests relates to the question of mooring, or lack thereof. Prior to the formation of the V&AW, inshore companies and independents had relatively unrestricted access to quayside and jetty moorage. Whereas the smaller crayfish boats moored alongside the Concentra Quay, the larger tuna boats would moor on either side of the Collier Jetty and alongside the Fish Quay (see Figure 5.4). Further, during off-season (winter) periods (see Table 6.1 above) both wooden crayfish and tuna boats would moor in the Elliot (lay-up) Basin near Woodstock (see Appendix D). However, inshore boat owners have increasingly been forced to compete for access to these mooring facilities particularly with respect to the Elliot Basin.

In an attempt to ease the demand from yachting interests for serviced moorage facilities, the port authority conceded approximately 50% of the Elliot Basin to yacht berthage in 1988. As a result, inshore fishing interests effectively lost half of a very important facility. Apart from its importance as moorage facility, there had also been sufficient space to undertake much needed boat repairs during the winter months.

**There's not enough space. Woodstock [Elliot Basin] is full basically and half of it has been taken over by yachts... Before we used to fit quite a lot of fishing boats in there but they've cut it down by 50% ... so space has become a problem. Now during our maintenance season ... I don't have any space [at Hout Bay Fishing] so they have to lay-up by Bertie's Landing and the Concentra (lay-up) Basin. They also have to lay-up for several months on end (Van Schalkwyk, pers. comm., 1992).**

Consequently, this spillover of boats to the V&A Harbour has placed existing moorage facilities under pressure (see Figure 6.2, pictures 1 and 2 below).



**Figure 6.1:** Picture 1 - The parking problem on the Fish Quay (This picture clearly shows the cars parked on the Fish Quay. These vehicles effectively disrupt the offloading and transportation of fish from the inshore boats moored alongside the quay).



**Figure 6.1:** Picture 2 - Attempts to facilitate the offloading of fish (This picture depicts the 'No-parking' sign erected at the edge of the Fish Quay. In spite of this warning sign, parking infringements still occur thereby disrupting the activities of the inshore fishing industry. Notice (in the background) the inshore boats moored alongside the redundant Collier Jetty).



**Figure 6.2:** Picture 1 - Congestion in the Concentra (lay-up) Basin (This picture was taken when negotiations over moorage facilities were still underway. The Concentra Basin thus became the only secure moorage in the port complex).



**Figure 6.2:** Picture 2 - Inshore boats 'spill out' of the Concentra (lay-up) Basin (The bows of the larger tuna boats protrude out from the safety of the Concentra Basin. Boat owners moored their boats in this fashion despite the threat of being sunk by I&J trawlers passing through the cutting between the Alfred and Victoria Docks).

For instance, a greater number of vessels now compete for moorage and berthage in the Concentra (lay-up) Basin (see Figure 6.2, pictures 1 and 2 above), a facility secured in terms of the Tripartite Agreement (see Appendix G). Whereas traditionally this moorage facility (given the shelter it offers small vessels) had been used by the smaller crayfish boats, it is now also being used by the larger tuna vessels (see Figure 6.2, picture 2 above). As a result, owners of the crayfish boats complain that their vessels are being damaged by the movement of these tuna boats particularly during periods of bad weather or surges caused by passing I&J trawlers. Similarly desperate to find secure moorage for their boats, an ever-increasing number of tuna and crayfish boats run the risk of being badly damaged or even sunk by I&J trawlers moving in and out of the Alfred Basin. This can be seen in the photographs in Figure 6.2 (picture 2) above which clearly shows the bows of a number of boats jutting out beyond the safety of the Concentra Basin.

When unable to obtain mooring in the Concentra or Elliot Basins, boat owners are forced to moor alongside the Fish Quay or Collier Jetty (see Figure 6.2, picture 1 and two above). Unlike the Concentra Quay, these facilities are subject to certain restrictions (see Appendix H). Whilst the Collier Jetty can only function as mooring 'when not used by bulk carriers utilising the Grain Silo', the Fish Quay (or Proclaimed Lobster Landing Area) is presently only set aside for the 'reasonable use' of tenants (Tripartite Agreement, 1991 : 4). Furthermore, these berthing facilities (like all berthing facilities in the Victoria and Alfred Basins) are 'subject to the Port Captain's overriding authority' (ibid, 1991 : 2). In terms of this authority, the Port Captain has the power to order vessel relocation. Under increased pressure to balance the needs of the working and commercial elements of the V&A Harbour, the Port Captain has, to the dismay and anger of the inshore fishing interests, on occasion ordered the relocation of inshore boats from the Fish Quay. In one particular instance, boat owners were requested to move their boats from the Fish Quay so that tourists could watch a dragon boat race organised by the V&AW. When questioned about the event, Port Captain Bill Sheuwell (pers. comm., 1992) responded by saying that his actions had been motivated:

**To allow the other people a fair share of the water. Nobody has the right to the water. So isn't it reasonable to ask them to move when someone else wants a share of the water? They're not being denied access to business. They're being told 'while you're doing nothing, please move because we're going to use that water for another activity'. It's valid that they raise it and I have no problem with them raising it, but I have an answer to it.**

Yet, despite Bill Sheuwell's comments, inshore fishing interests (particularly the independent boat owners) viewed such orders to move as a clear indication of port authority disregard. Moreover, it further heightened the feelings of insecurity (and uprootedness) within the inshore fishing industry. Determined to secure their future in the V&A Harbour, tuna boat owners and operators formed an association to address the question of mooring with Portnet (Sheuwell, pers. comm.). The Tuna Association together with Dasen Lobster effectively represented the cross-section of inshore fishing interests in negotiations with Portnet and the V&AW. Following these negotiations it was decided to set aside the Collier Jetty (see Figure 3.1 above) as an inshore moorage facility. In July 1992 the entrance to the jetty was fenced off and full time security posted to control access to this facility. In so doing, the owners of the boats could be assured of their vessels' security and the port authority could successfully 'police' the boat owners (Sheuwell, pers. comm.). Thus, while being able to retain the traditional blue boats (or 'chug-chuggies') and allay community fears, Portnet and the V&AW Co. were able to restrict crew from sleeping on the boats. This, in turn, has seriously undermined the social patterns and relations within the inshore fishing community (see below).

Initially built to facilitate the transshipment of grain and not as moorage for small wooden inshore vessels, the height of the Collier Jetty was problematic. Therefore, apart from agreeing to the insertion of power points, the V&AW, as Carlos Correia (pers. comm., 1992) pointed out, also consented to the adaptation of the jetty. Despite a V&AW offer to undertake such modifications, the Association decided to conduct its own modifications principally because of the high price quoted by the V&AW. According to Carlos Correia (pers. comm., 1992), Chairman of the Tuna Association, the boat owners were able to 'pool their resources' thereby reducing the overall cost of modification (which required the insertion of steel girders). In spite of general opposition to the payment of a moorage fee, the allocation of the Collier Jetty as long-term moorage facility did much to appease inshore fishing concerns of relocation.

#### **6.4.3 The concerns of ship-repair facilities**

Until this point, I have focused on the conflictual relations between the V&AW and the Fishing Industry, as the largest occupier of space in the V&A Dockland. However, as mentioned earlier, there are a number of auxiliary activities vitally important to the Fishing Industry. The largest of these is Nautilus Marine (Pty) Ltd, a company which conducts general ships' cleaning. To this end, Nautilus Marine (like other ship-repair

services) makes use of the Portnet-controlled synchrolift and Robinson Graving Dock; facilities predominantly utilised by local and foreign fishing fleets.

Like the Fishing Industry, the ship-repair companies have also experienced disruption of their operations, particularly where facilities adjoin the commercial sectors of the V&A development site. The Robinson Graving Dock (see Figure 5.8), situated alongside the South African Maritime Museum (formerly a SATS workshop) became the primary site of disruption. As a result of V&AW rules and regulations imposed on the utilisation of the dry dock, Nautilus Marine has become hesitant to use this facility. According to Mr Bezuidenhout (pers. comm., 1992), Industrial Manager of Nautilus Marine, it had become 'a hassle working at the Robinson Dry Dock'. Apart from the absence of compressed air facilities, the company was not 'allowed to work on the museum side' of the dry dock (Bezuidenhout, pers. comm.). Consequently because of the creation of 'dead space' on the one side of the dry dock, Nautilus Marine has been forced to pile all their equipment and materials on the other side. The resultant obstruction of activities effectively slows work and increases overall costs (Bezuidenhout, pers. comm.).

Furthermore, Nautilus also experienced problems when blasting and spraying in the dry dock. Because of the dry dock's proximity to facilities such as the Dock Road Cafe and Theatre and V&A Hotel and Shopping complex (see Figure 5.8), there were initially complaints from visitors regarding damage to their vehicles. This resulted in 'a balancing act between Portnet and the V&AW'. According to Mr Bezuidenhout (pers. comm., 1992), Nautilus Marine was initially precluded from spraying (by the V&AW) chiefly:

...because Mercedes were being covered in epoxy spray. One of these cars may cost you R10 000 to repair. But if we spray and the wind changes, then we have 20 cars to do and the owners all come knocking. You can leave as many notices as you wish but they still park where they're not supposed to.

As a result, the company complained to Portnet about restrictions placed on its operations by the V&AW. It questioned whether Portnet could effectively hire out the dry dock as 'a working facility'. Portnet, in turn, supported the continued utilisation of the dry dock (Sheuwell, pers. comm.) particularly considering that it stood to lose a great deal of revenue in the event of its closure.

Favourable foreign exchange rates coupled with the repair demands of local deepsea companies greatly enhanced the demand for the Robinson Graving Dock. Under pressure from Portnet, the V&AW allowed spraying under the conditions that operators

erect screens to prevent the spread of epoxy. The V&AW also went so far as to deny visitors access to the area between the Dock Road Venue and the V&A Hotel (see Figure 5.8). But, with the increased pressure on parking facilities especially during peak seasons, the V&AW Company has been unable to prevent tourists from parking their cars on the west quay side of the dry dock apart from erecting 'keep clear' notices. Moreover, as part of the public spectacle and therefore under constant public scrutiny, Nautilus Marine is also required to clean up after having used the dry dock; a cost which has to be absorbed by the boat owners (Bezuidenhout, pers. comm.).

Thus although supportive of the 'idea of redevelopment', Mr Bezuidenhout (pers. comm., 1992) felt that the V&AW was effectively transforming the 'working harbour' into a museum. In his opinion, this essentially undermined port authority attempts to keep the dry dock working.

**We are involved in a messy business and they want to glamorise the harbour into something that it is not. No working harbour anywhere in the world is glamorous. It's one of the dirtiest, filthiest and corrupt places. ... That's part of the atmosphere of the harbour. They're trying to make sows ear to look like a silk purse. They're going to have to fully commercialise all the facilities and forget about the shipping side... .**

In essence, therefore, the V&AW is caught between its policy to 'package' the harbour experience for tourists and its desire to preserve the working facilities (such as the Robinson Graving Dock) as part of that experience. But, as the Waterfront evolves and the Alfred Marina and Gateway Precincts are developed, it will most certainly become more difficult for the V&AW and Portnet to keep the graving dock and synchrolift working despite guarantees in the Tripartite Agreement (see Appendix G). 'Now if the V&AW start building hotels 50 yards behind our offices as shown on their model in the information centre (see Figure 5.8), it's goodbye to us. Because of the noise and the dust factor, the compressors, the spraying and blasting, they'll have to close us down...' (Bezuidenhout, pers. comm.).

Thus, despite tenure security (with a lease stretching well beyond the year 2000), Nautilus Marine, like most other ship-repair services, has found it increasingly difficult to conduct its activities in the Robinson Graving Dock. Despite attempts by the V&AW (under pressure from Portnet) to facilitate the operation of ship-repair facilities, the basic differences between industrial and commercial interests remain. The retention of the Robinson Dry Dock and synchrolift will invariably depend on Portnet's determination to protect an important source of revenue, and the V&AW's ability to negate the negative environmental and operational aspects of these facilities.

The future of the auxiliary ship-repair industry in the V&A Harbour is, therefore, inextricably linked to that of the two repair facilities and the continued existence of the Fishing Industry.

#### **6.4.4 The concerns of commercial interests**

Notwithstanding the abovementioned practical difficulties experienced by the industrial activities in the V&A Harbour, commercial interests have also found it difficult coming to terms with the working harbour. For a number of entrepreneurs and organisations who actively sought locations in the V&A Harbour, the reality of trading (and operating) in a working environment has proved especially challenging.

The V&A Hotel, for instance, is particularly close to working facilities such as the Robinson Graving Dock, the synchrolift and the Concentra fishmeal factory. The hotel's proximity to these authentic aspects of the working harbour has directly contributed to its overwhelming popularity. According to Liz Bester (pers. comm., 1992), PRO for the V&A Hotel, 'visitors like being in the harbour. It is ideal for them because it is close to bars, industrial areas and the CBD'. She attributes the hotel's success to the fact that 'the harbour is a place of action. The working harbour enhances its character as there is always something happening. It is very exciting'.

Yet, in spite of the hotel's ability to capture (for its visitors) the ambience of the working harbour, problems still exist. It would appear that proximity to significant activities can also be a liability. Liz Bester (pers. comm., 1992) admitted that visitors were disturbed by the 'odd blast of a horn' and the 'fishy smell which drifts across from Concentra'. During a discussion with an MLH consultant, Neil Skeepers (pers. comm., 1992), Factory Manager for Wavecrest, had been told that the starting of boat engines in the Concentra Quay (especially early in the morning) disturbed visitors in the V&A Hotel. It can thus be seen that the juxtaposition of the V&A Hotel to the industrial components of the V&A development site presents its own difficulties.

Similarly, the popularity of pubs and taverns in the V&A area is determined by their nautical atmosphere and location. Of particular interest in this regard are Bertie's Landing (situated alongside the New Fisheries Harbour) and the Pumphouse Bar (the site of the original graving dock pumphouse) (see Figure 5.8). Despite being marketed as places where tourists can meet locals, these establishments' management have tended to be prescriptive with respect to fishermen. Although allowing the patronage of Portuguese boat owners, they tend to insist on a dress code when it comes to crew or

dock workers. For instance, several fishermen informed me that they could not enter Bertie's Landing if dressed in work clothes (see Appendix I). Two black fishermen recalled having been evicted from the Pumphouse Bar despite having been 'well dressed'. They felt they were being discriminated against. Further, the vast majority of fishermen (n=46) (72% of the ordinary fishermen interviewed) did not frequent the nearby Bertie's Landing because they felt it was 'too expensive'. In effect then, the upmarket focus and antagonistic management ensured that facilities were generally frequented by tourists alone. Thus, whereas fishing activities at a distance provided the necessary ambience, fishermen as patrons (particularly those dressed in work clothes) were unacceptable. There was thus an attempt to conceal the more 'undesirable' aspects of the harbour from the middle-class 'yuppie' patrons.

This epitomises the dilemma faced by tourist-oriented enterprises in the V&A Harbour. By promoting the unique working character of the harbour, they have been able to attract a great number of visitors. However, unlike artificially recreating (and packaging) harbour-related activities for touristic consumption (as in the case of many North American and European dockland projects), operational port-related activities in the V&A Harbour are directed by the internal nature of their operations. Thus, although providing a great deal of authenticity to the V&A development, the working harbour (especially the fishing and auxiliary industries) remains essentially indifferent to the redevelopment. As a result, there are very few areas where commercial and industrial interests coincide. Attempts to attract shipwrights to the Quay 4 slipway (see Figure 5.8) have been generally unsuccessful because of the restrictions placed on the site by the V&AW. Whereas the V&AW wish to showcase authentic ship-repair activities for their visitors, shipwrights require a facility (free of restrictions) which can, if necessary, be left disheveled.

## 6.5 Conclusion

As seen above, the redevelopment of an operational dockland site has been extremely problematic. Not only has it led to conflictual relations between the V&AW (as developer and landlord) and the Fishing Industry (as the largest occupier of space), but it has also culminated in extended and often contentious negotiations. The Tripartite Agreement effectively diffused some of this antagonism by securing tenure for the larger deepsea and inshore fishing companies. Moreover, this Agreement gave substance to the V&AW's initial vague endorsement of the working harbour. Despite the two parties' transactional commitment to co-existence, it has not (as shown above) been easy to coordinate the practical integration of commercial and industrial interests.

Nevertheless, the V&AW and Portnet have attempted to ameliorate practical problems as they arose. Unlike the abovementioned replication of 'tried-and-tested' planning strategies within the commercial development, the V&AW Company has had to (in conjunction with the port-related concerns) formulate its own strategies on how to accommodate industrial activities within the overall development framework.

Having ascertained the spatial and functional outcome of V&AW-Industry relations, it is essential to consider the significance of these developments for the inshore fishing community living and/or working within the vicinity of the New Fisheries Harbour and Fish Quay (see Figure 3.1). As part of the overall Fishing Industry, the inshore fishing community, consisting of company owners and managers, independent boat owners and fishermen, has invariably been drawn either directly (in the case of company owners) or indirectly (in the case of independents supplying these companies with fish) into the fray over tenure. However, as alluded to earlier, inshore fishing interests in and around the New Fisheries Harbour were not provided with the security of tenure or moorage. Despite concessions with respect to moorage (see section 6.4.2 above), the eventual relocation of companies in the New Fisheries Harbour to the South Arm greatly added to the community's feelings of insecurity (or uprootedness). Apart from the logistical difficulties which such a relocation presented to companies such as Wavecrest, Redaco, Good Hope and Silvermar, it also threatened to undermine the inshore fishing community's social and spatial relations.

For many in the community, the V&AW's refusal to extend Concentra's lease clearly indicated its intention to redevelop the Silo Precinct. Any such redevelopment, it was felt, would invariably lead to the destruction of the inshore fishermen's (both skippers and crew) 'way of life'; a 'lifeworld' which obtained its special significance from the unique and distinctive physical location and concomitant patterns of interaction. Understandably, therefore, V&AW-Industry relations, as recounted above, must be seen as the context to understanding the inshore fishing community's attachment to the V&A Harbour in general, and the area surrounding the New Fisheries Harbour (inshore fishing peninsula) in particular. Thus, as the backcloth for community-place attachments, it follows that the V&AW-Industry conflictual relations will have adversely influenced the community's sense of belonging.

With this in mind then, I move to an analysis of the internal dynamics of the inshore fishing community. Based on the geographical humanistic theory developed in chapter two, I will reveal the inshore fishing community's multi-faceted sense(s) of place. To this end, I intend to focus on the inshore fishing community as geographical, social and

ideological entity. In so doing, it should be possible to determine both the community's underlying sense of belonging and opposed sense of uprootedness.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE CAPE INSHORE FISHING COMMUNITY IN FOCUS: DETERMINING THEIR SENSE OF PLACE

#### 7.1 Introduction

Now that I have established the historical, structural and functional contexts, it is necessary to address the V&A Harbour as a place where Cape inshore fishermen work and live. For despite the V&AW's appropriation and phased transformation of the 83.2 ha dockland site, 'place-bound' groups such as the inshore fishing community struggle to ensure their existence within an area imbued with existential, social and functional significance (see chapter four). However, in order to understand the significance of the V&A Harbour for this particular group of people, it is necessary first to ascertain the nature, extent and characteristics of the inshore fishing community.

In this chapter, I propose to identify the inshore industry's function and status within the V&A-based Fishing Industry (as a whole) and to outline the community's internal social structure and interactions. In so doing, it will be possible to ascertain how these inshore fishermen see themselves and others in the community. This will, in turn, give some indication as to the fishermen's sense of belonging to both community and place. Moreover, in an attempt to determine the effect of the development on the community's 'sense of place', I expand upon their attitudes regarding, and response to, the redevelopment and its developers. In order to strengthen this analysis, this chapter examines the degree of congruency of attitudes between the inshore fishing community and V&A developers and planners. It will thus be possible to ascertain any feelings of insecurity (or uprootedness) on the part of the inshore fishing community.

#### 7.2 Cape Inshore Fishermen: an urban community with distinctive traditions and well-established identities

As shown in chapter four, fishing as tradition dates back to establishment of the refreshment station by the DEIC. Similarly, I have traced the development of the inshore fishing industry from its humble beginnings on the beaches of Rogge Bay to its

present location in the V&A Harbour. But questions regarding the nature, extent and locale-specific characteristics of the inshore fishing community require elaboration. Only once this has been achieved can an analysis of the community's 'sense of place' proceed.

Because of the specialised nature of inshore fishing activities, the inshore fishing community is centred around the fleet of 72 wooden diesel powered West Coast (WC) crayfish/lobster and tuna (longline and poling) vessels (Portnet Tariff Book, 1992). Together these boats (see Table 7.1 below) legally employ approximately 900 fishermen (both skippers and crew) (ibid, 1992). Whereas skippers are generally Portuguese and 'Coloured' (or 'Malay'), crews represent a wide range of different racial groupings. These include groupings of Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Ovambo (from Namibia) and Portuguese fishermen, with by far the largest group of fishermen being 'Coloured' fishermen. This can be ascribed to the fact that fishing is a well-established tradition within the Cape 'Coloured' and 'Malay' communities (see chapter four). Therefore, many 'Coloured' fishermen have followed in their fathers' or families' footsteps. For instance, 11 out of the 22 'Coloured' fishermen interviewed stated that they had become fishermen because of family interests and/or tradition. Similarly, 12 of the 18 skippers interviewed come from a longline of fishermen. Many of the Portuguese skippers had emigrated from Madeira where their fathers had been fishermen. Because each of the 900 fishermen, in turn, provides for an average of 4,5 dependants, it can be argued that the inshore fishing industry directly supports approximately 4 000 people. Yet, in reality, this figure could be closer to 5 000 if one considers those people (fishermen and others) who, especially during the winter season, live on the boats or in the factories, performing an important security function. For many of these people (especially the Ovambo fishermen), the fishing boat is their only form of shelter while in South Africa. In addition, the size of the community is bolstered during the peak fishing season (see Table 6.1 in chapter six) when companies employ casuals to assist in the factories or on the boats (see Appendix G).

Many of the wooden crayfish and/or tuna vessels are either owned by inshore companies such as Hout Bay Fishing, Lusitania, and Wavecrest (see Appendix H), or privately owned by Portuguese, Italian, 'Coloured' or 'Malay' fishermen. Of the 18 skippers interviewed, seven independently owned their boats, five co-owned their boats and one was a shareholder in a boat. The remaining five skippers were employed (on a commission basis) to operate company-owned boats. These independent boat owners and operators are contracted to sell their catches to one of the V&A-based inshore fishing companies (see Appendix I, Q7). For instance, 20 independents are contracted

to Hout Bay Fishing (see Appendix H). Not surprisingly, therefore, 17 of the skippers interviewed supplied inshore companies with fish, including crayfish, tuna, linefish and stockfish. Only one of the skippers supplied I&J (a deepsea company) with fish.

Together, these inshore vessels and companies provide the necessary operational structure within which the community finds its spatial, social and functional identity. Whereas the fishermen can experience the freedom, excitement, risk and hardship of going out on the inshore vessels to catch (among other things) WC crayfish and tuna, the companies (predominantly located in the New Fisheries Harbour) provide the focus for social organisation and interaction. Not only do skippers visit the New Fisheries Harbour to conduct business, but also fishermen gather around the entrances to the factories (especially on the Fish Quay) in the hope of getting a 'fry' (i.e. a free fish for lunch or dinner) or a place on a fishing boat. This is particularly true in the winter season when many boats are laid up. Because of the seasonality of the inshore fishing industry, all fishermen are able and willing to work on WC crayfish as well as tuna vessels.

**Table 7.1:** An analysis of different inshore fishing activities

	TUNA LONGLINE	TUNA POLING	SC LOBSTER	WC LOBSTER	SQUID
VESSELS	+ 40 m Freezers	+ 20 m Wetfish	+ 50 m Freezers	+ 18 m Wetfish	+ 18 m Wetfish
RESTRICTIONS	No quota 12 months/year Migratory Dest: Nov-Jan Mostly foreign	No quota ditto	Quota No season; catch predom. Nov & April	Quota Open Season 15th Nov - 15th April	No quota Open Season Dec - Oct
TURN AROUND TIME	Freezer vessels 3 months at sea 7 days in harbour	Wetfish vessels 3 weeks - 2 months at sea 4 days in harbour	Freezer 2 - 3 months at sea 7 days in harbour	No. of vessels limited May catch quota in 2 weeks to a few months then take up other activities, eg. Tuna / squid	Wetfish - smaller vessels feed a mother vessel, may spend some months at sea

(Source: Adapted from Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990 : 21)

This despite the fact that WC crayfish boats use traps and tuna boats employ longline and poling systems (see Table 7.1 above). This versatility allows the inshore fishermen to work on the tuna boats once the WC lobster season closes (see Table 6.1 in chapter six). Whereas the WC lobster season opens in mid-November and closes in mid-April, the tuna, snoek and squid seasons run throughout the year. However, because of the poor climatic conditions during the winter months (May to August), many of the tuna boats remain in the harbour. As mentioned earlier, it is usually during the winter months that boat owners (both independents and companies) undertake repairs.

Therefore, during the long periods of inactivity, ordinary fishermen are forced to look for casual employment in and around the harbour. Many are employed to help with repairs on the inshore vessels (6 respondents out of a sample of 46 ordinary fishermen, or 13 percent) or as watchmen ( $n=4,46:9\%$ ), others work as casuals in the I&J factories ( $n=10,46:22\%$ ), while a few do plumbing ( $n=1,46:2\%$ ) and building ( $n=1,46:2\%$ ). Thirty-eight percent (or  $n=24$ ) of the ordinary fishermen (crew) interviewed ( $n=46$ ) stated that they would wait around on the quayside in the hope that some of the boats might go out fishing (see Table 7.7 below). This transitory element to inshore fishing is plainly clear from what 'Joey' Carolus (pers. comm., 1992) says:

**When I'm not fishing I must look for a job on shore. At the moment I haven't got money to go home. I must look for money. At home I must pay board and lodging so I stay on the *Bresa* [inshore boat moored in the Concentra Quay] until I have enough money. Maybe I can do some caulking [boat repairs]... If nothing comes up I'll go and do trucking.**

On the other hand, twelve of the eighteen skippers interviewed said that they did nothing during the winter months but visit their boats and undertake repairs (see Table 7.8 below). Only two of the skippers said that they would go out to catch snoek during the off-season, in stark contrast to past years when 'snoeking' formed an integral part of the fishing calendar (see chapter four). It is evident from the above results, therefore, that a symbiotic relationship exists between the boat owners (be they independents or companies) and crew as well as the inshore industry and deepsea industry. This interdependence has developed in response to the seasonal fluctuations which form part of the Fishing Industry in general, and the inshore fishing industry in particular. Yet although most of the ordinary fishermen (crew) interviewed admitted to having, at one or other time, worked as a casual employee in I&J factories, all except one expressed their preference for inshore fishing rather than deepsea trawling (Appendix I, Q9), in spite of the inshore fishing industry's lack of job security. The general consensus among the crew was that while deepsea trawling offered a steady income and employment benefits (such as a pension and sick leave), it did not provide

freedom of employment or the hands-on fishing experience provided by inshore fishing. As 'Joey' Carolus (pers. comm., 1992) points out:

**What is important to all fishermen is freedom. You know you free. You haven't got a boss or officer [as in the case of trawling] standing behind you, looking over your shoulder telling you "you must do this now or that". You're on the boat and you catch your own fish. What I catch I earn. That's exciting...**

Further, whereas the deepsea trawlers would go to sea for a month or more, the inshore boats (especially the crayfish boats) would go for day trips (see Table 7.1 above). If conditions were ideal, tuna (or longline) boats would sometimes remain at sea for as long as two weeks. Inshore fishermen (or longshoremen as they are often called), unlike deepsea fishermen, are thus able to spend more time with their families and friends.

Apart from the shared experiences and skills (see chapter four), this urban community of inshore fishermen can be defined in terms of their shared work (and/or living) space. Because of the specific nature of the inshore fishing industry, inshore activities are concentrated in and around the Proclaimed Fish Quay (see Figure 5.4 in chapter five). As mentioned earlier, the Fish Quay was especially built to facilitate the off-loading of fish from the small wooden ('chug-chuggie') vessels. The New Fisheries Harbour, located alongside this quay, not only benefits from its proximity to the Fish Quay, but is equipped to process and package the catches which the inshore boats offload. This infrastructural concentration, coupled with moorage sites in the Concentra Basin and alongside the Collier Jetty, has effectively territorially defined the inshore fishing community's social organisation and interaction. Apart from the Elliot Basin (where fishermen help with repairs or live on the boats), much of the inshore fishermen's everyday activities take place within the vicinity of (what can be referred to as) the inshore fishing peninsula (see Figure 3.1 in chapter three). Whether it be standing on the Fish Quay waiting for a job or payment for a job, offloading fish, helping with repairs on the boats laid up in the Concentra Basin, or watching over the boats at night, the community is defined in spatial terms. The 'geography of communality', as discussed in chapter two, is an important element to understanding the attachment between people and places (Relph, 1976).

Having ascertained the size, scope and specific nature of the inshore fishing community, I turn now to an examination of the community's attachment to the inshore fishing peninsula. By analysing the fishermen's attachment to this distinctive

landscape, or what Porteous (1985) calls 'sensescape', it will be possible to unearth the community's underlying sense of identity and belonging.

### **7.3 The inshore fishing community as geographic entity: examining the dialectical relationship between people and places**

From the above the implication is that the inshore fishing community has a well-developed spatial or geographical identity. However, in order to appreciate fully the importance of geography (or territoriality) within the community's everyday existence, this chapter will focus on their 'activities, institutions and practices' (Eyles, 1985 : 65). For as mentioned by Sack (1986 : 2) (also cited in chapter two), 'territoriality is intimately related to how people use their land, how they organise themselves in space, and how they give meaning to place'.

#### **7.3.1 Community bonding with the V&A harbourscape**

As mentioned earlier, the inshore fishing community is geographically bounded by the specific nature of the Industry of which it is part. For many (n=50,64:78%) in the community (both crew and skippers) (n=64), the V&A Harbour and the inshore fishing peninsula in particular (see Figure 5.4 in chapter five) has been part of their everyday activities since they became involved in inshore fishing (see Appendix I, Q11). Of the 64 fishermen interviewed in Questionnaire A (see Appendix A2), only one, a Portuguese skipper, had worked in the V&A Harbour for over 40 (42) years. There were, however, retired fishermen who could recall (during indepth interviews) when fishing activities were still undertaken from Rogge Bay (see chapter four); or, for instance, recount bygone times when fishermen undertook trek fishing from the Table Bay beaches prior to the expansion of the Table Bay port complex. As shown in chapter four, fishermen using trek netting techniques fished from Woodstock beach up until the early 1970s. Nonetheless, for most of the inshore fishermen presently employed in the V&A Harbour, the physical landscape had changed little prior to the start of the redevelopment in 1990. As a result, the fishing community has, like the inner city groupings referred to in chapter two, developed a complex territorial behaviour within the confines of the harbour. In essence, therefore, 'territoriality' (Sack, 1986) within the harbourscape has, over the years, formed a strong background to the fishermen's everyday spatial and social relations.

This meant that the inshore fishing industry (for all of those interviewed) had always been located in the New Fisheries Harbour. Consequently, the skippers (n=18) had

always offloaded their catches at the Proclaimed Fish Quay for processing and packing in the adjacent fish factories (see Figure 5.4 in chapter five). Further, they had moored their vessels in the Concentra Quay or alongside the Collier Jetty when not used by bulk carriers (prior to the late 1970s). Similarly, for the crew (n=46) (who had worked between 2 and 33 years in the V&A Harbour), the area surrounding the New Fisheries Harbour had been the centre of inshore fishing activities ever since the destruction of the Rogge Bay fishery in the late 1930s (see chapter four). The only difference was that prior to the 1960s most of the wooden vessels were owned by fishing companies. Advances in fishing technology and rationalisation resulted in the vessels being sold to local and immigrant fishermen. Yet despite the changes in the social character of the inshore fishing industry (as Portuguese and Italian fishermen bought boats from companies and 'Coloured' fishermen), the geography of the inshore fishing area had remained the same for more than five decades. This meant that the community was not only familiar with the spatial organisation of the area, but that they were intimate (due to repeated participation) with the inshore fishing activities, be it on the boats or on land. Thus, as Harvey (1989) (cited in chapter two) rightly points out, shared (and familiar) 'community space', whether private or public, often results in 'highly conflictual social bonding'.

Although there were those fishermen (n=8,64:13%) who did admit that the dockland area had been dangerous (see Appendix I, Q25), many others (n=18,64:28%) expressed their affinity for this lifestyle and the 'village-like feeling' of the surrounding maritime quarter (n=3,46:7%) (Appendix I, Q22) (see chapter four).

### **7.3.2 The transformation of place-based (fishing and after-fishing) activities**

However, despite their past and present involvement in inshore fishing, 42 of all the interviewees (n=64) stated that their fishing and after-fishing activities had changed (see Appendix I, Q29). Among the changes identified by thirty-six of the crew interviewed (n=46) were: reduced drinking onboard the boats (n=8,36:22%); the imposition of boat passes (n=6,36:17%); the arrival of Ovambo fishermen (n=5,36:14%); the retirement of fishermen (n=5,36:14%); and their eviction by V&AW-hired harbour security (n=5,36:14%). On the other hand, thirty-three percent (n=6) of the skippers (n=18) felt that fishing (and after-fishing) activities had changed. Half (or fifty percent) of those skippers who acknowledged that activities had changed said more skippers (Portuguese and others) were staying at home instead of visiting the harbour during off-season periods (see Appendix I, Q29). These perceptions (among many of the interviewees) were not only motivated by changes to

long-established inshore fishing activities, but reflect the underlying conflictual interpersonal social relations (see chapter two) between skippers, who have greater power, and crew, who have little control over activities (see section 7.4 below).

Despite the continuity of inshore fishing activities and practices, there had (judging by interviewee comments), particularly since the start of the redevelopment, been changes to everyday fishing and after-fishing activities and practices. Of those ordinary fishermen reportedly living in and around the New Fisheries Harbour (n=13,46:28%), there were those (n=5,46:11%) who were angered, for instance, by the erection of a security fence and gate at the entrance to the Concentra Quay (see Appendix I, Q17). Although erected by the boat owners in 1990 to reduce the incidence of theft and fighting, the V&AW employed security to control access to the basin. The gate was locked at 6:00pm and opened again at 6:00am. Apart from disrupting the fishermen's territorially defined social relations, it also reinforced the skippers' 'differential access' to the boats, and 'power' over the crew wanting to visit or sleep on the boats. Unless pre-arranged with the skipper and/or boat owner, ordinary fishermen were no longer allowed to sleep on the boats. This disruption was extended to the Collier Jetty with the erection of a 24 hour security check point in July 1992 (see chapter six, section 6.4.2). These security measures (sanctioned by Portnet) were enforced by the V&AW in order to erase all of the 'undesirable elements' and activities of the inshore fishing community. Port Captain Bill Sheuwell (pers. comm., 1992) elaborates:

**Sure it [gate and fence] upset the fishermen, its kept all the prostitutes off the boats. The social situation was such that we had to contend with shebeens, prostitutes, brawls, stabbings over women and excessive drinking. There was a situation that led to us having to fish one or two bodies out of the harbour. Fishermen would drink too much and fall overboard. It was like a squatter camp down here on the boats. ... Since the formation of the V&AW these bad elements have been cleaned up.**

Yet although having eliminated the social vices of prostitution, drinking, fighting and theft, the V&AW and Portnet have effectively not only undermined the inshore fishermen's (both skippers and crew) patterns of interaction, but threatened the relationship between the community and its attachment to place. According to some of the ordinary fishermen (n=9,46:20%), the situation had deteriorated to a point where they were no longer allowed access to the public toilets at the Concentra Quay (see Appendix I, Q18); facilities which had always been open to them in the past. Only skippers and fishermen with permission could use these facilities. For Joe, one of the inshore fishermen, the locking of the toilets merely proved that the fishermen's life had become 'hell on earth'. It seemed to prove that the fishermen were not important (see Table 7.2 below). For many of the ordinary fishermen (who made up the crew) this

merely added to their plight. This was echoed in the words of a fisherman who said: 'They don't worry about us. When they don't need us they throw us away'.

Despite perceptions (see Table 7.2 below) of the hardheartedness and indifference of skippers to the plight of ordinary fishermen (n=15,46:33%), there were those skippers like Mr Digiorgio (pers. comm., 1992), who also complained of how the fence at Concentra Quay had disrupted fishing activities. Despite a willingness to go fishing after having caught his crayfish quota, he was prevented from doing so by security who only opened the gate at 6:00am.

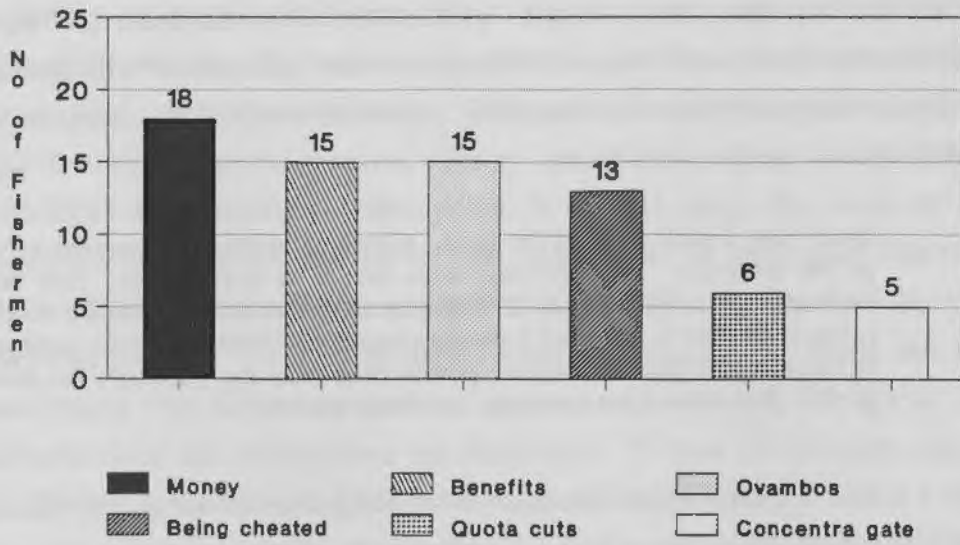
**Every year I used to go out for snoek, hottentots, harders... I was the only boat to go out every day. Few years ago there were a lot of fishermen. Now they don't come anymore. The railway [SATS] give away this place. Even if I wanted to go to sea tomorrow at 5 o'clock I couldn't because it [referring to the gate] is locked. In one way it is right to close the gate to keep away the "skollies", but now I can't go out. Fishermen have run away to other places.**

As a result, Mr Digiorgio, like many other skippers, did not go out fishing after having fulfilled their respective quotas. Consequently, this reduced the ordinary fishermen's employment and subsistence opportunities quite considerably. 'When I was younger', said Mr Thomas, 'there was always work. With all the boat business there was always work for a galley-boy washing up dishes or you could get work in the dinghies. Now I'm just a winery-boy'.

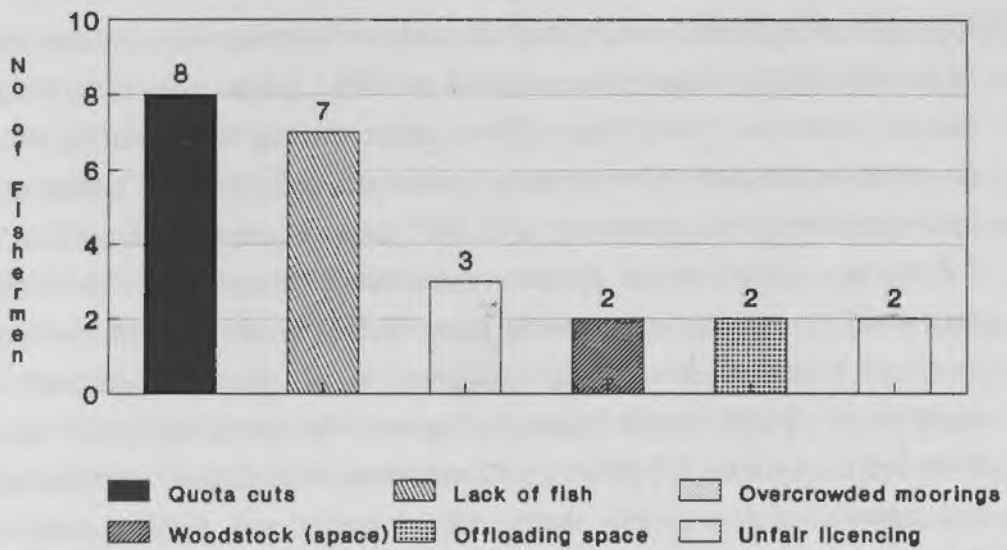
### 7.3.3 The undermining of people-place bonds

My interviews showed that most of the inshore fishermen's complaints revolved around issues such as the lack of money (n=18,46:39%), job security (n=15,46:33%) and the lack of work (n=9,46:20%). The inshore fishing community's worsening socio-economic conditions were strongly reflected in response to questions pertaining to 'problems facing the community' and 'the future of inshore fishing' (see Tables 7.2 and 7.3 below). Whereas the ordinary fisherman's control over his territory had been dramatically reduced, independent boat operators and/or owners (because of their interests) expressed concern about issues at the macro level such as the over-exploitation of fish by the bigger companies, the shrinking quotas and overcrowded moorings (see Table 7.3 below). Nonetheless, despite their difficulties, boat owners still enjoyed a far greater degree of economic and social power than ordinary fishermen.

**Table 7.2:** Ordinary fishermen's opinions regarding the future of inshore fishing



**Table 7.3:** The skippers/boat owners' opinions regarding the future of inshore fishing



As will be seen below in section 7.4, ordinary inshore fishermen (unlike deepsea fishermen) remained un-unionised which explained their effective lack of bargaining power. The ever-increasing number of people looking for work on the boats, coupled with diminishing job opportunities (due to cuts in fishing quotas and reduction in the number of boats), strengthened the skippers' differential power. As a result, ordinary fishermen had no other option but to accept what they were offered or try to find employment elsewhere.

Despite the obvious challenges to the fishermen's everyday activities and indeed their very existence, feelings of territoriality remained strong. This is most apparent from community opposition to Ovambo fishermen (see Table 7.2 above). The antagonism (unearthed during interviews) of the local (ordinary) inshore fishermen (n=15,46:33%) towards the Ovambos (from Namibia and Angola) not only highlighted the existence of an underlying community consciousness, but epitomised the community's struggle to defend a place it viewed as its own. The Ovambo fishermen, described as 'a menace' by one fisherman, were not perceived as like-minded and -thinking individuals. Rather they were viewed as 'outsiders' who further undermined the socio-economic position of local fishermen. According to one Zulu fisherman the Ovambo were:

...a waste of time. They are uncultured. As soon as their stomachs are full they want to sleep. When we go to Namibia they rule the boat. We must give in to their wishes. ... We don't understand each other so we can't work together. The Zulu stand up at 4 in the morning and has caught 20 tuna before they wake up.

Thus, as people unfamiliar with local fishing practices, culture and territory, the Ovambos (because of the lack of social support structures and 'sense of place') have not only been exploited as cheap labour by Portuguese boat owners, but become the focus of the local inshore fishing community's anger and frustration. Therefore, as alluded to by Van Eyck (1969) (cited in chapter two), 'the communality' of local fishermen's experiences, 'of place-based messages and symbols', has been reinforced by community opposition to the Ovambos as 'outsiders'. For most of the local fishermen interviewed, there exists not only a strong inshore fishing identity (see chapter four), but a well-established emotional attachment to place (which the Ovambos do not share).

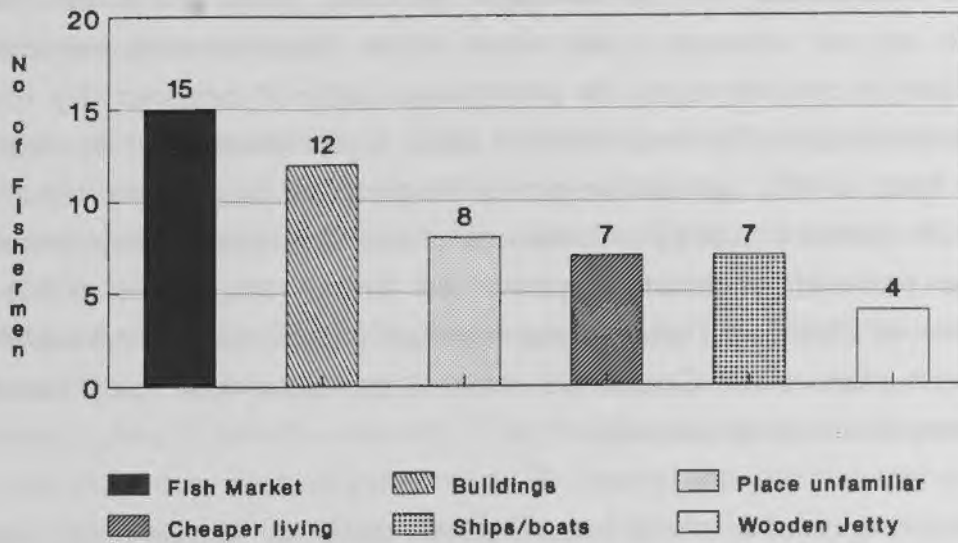
#### **7.3.4 The primacy of geography in the lives of the inshore fishing community**

The geographical foundations of the V&A-based inshore fishing community are clearly defined in terms of the existing physical landscape particularly in and around the

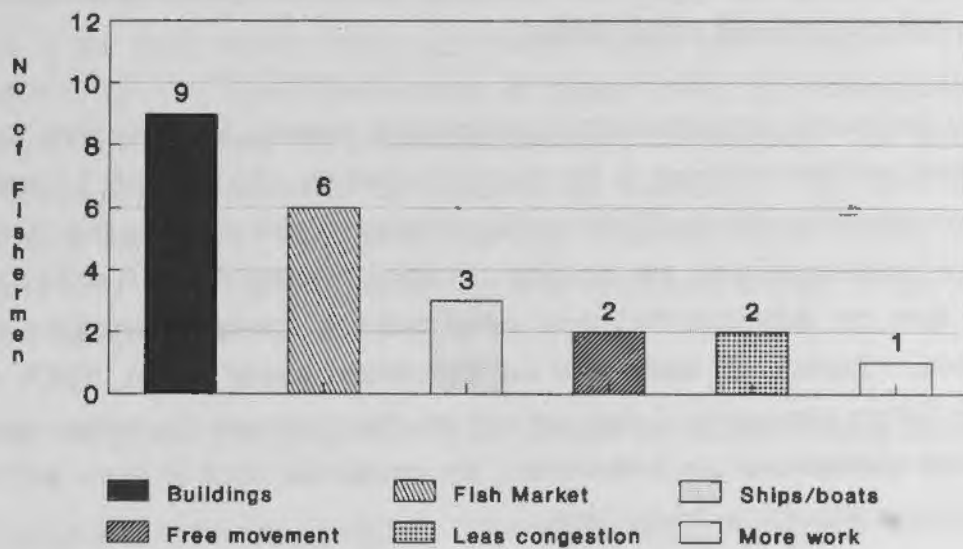
inshore fishing peninsula. As seen in Table 7.4 and 7.5 below, most of the inshore fishermen interviewed (n=21,64:33%) identified the surrounding buildings such as the New Fisheries Harbour, the Clock Tower, the grain silo and Concentra fish factory as important features in the landscape. These structures effectively reinforce the community's sense of belonging. For most active fishermen (even the oldest), the inshore fishing peninsula (see Figure 3.1 in chapter three) with its 'grubby-looking' factories and warehouses, has been a point of reference since they entered the inshore fishing industry. For those ordinary fishermen (n=46) living in the area, this landscape (as lived space) provides sensory structure to their everyday existence (n=13,46:28%) (see Porteous (1985) cited in chapter two); the smell of the fish factory, sounds of the water and the harbour and interaction with other fishermen (see Appendix I, Q12). As one fishermen put it: 'The sea is in my blood. I like the smell of the sea and the fish. In me I'm happy when I'm close to the boats and the sea'. These sentiments were echoed by another fisherman who said that "'Coloured" skippers who had pensioned off' came down the Fish Quay 'to look at the boats and see old friends'. He felt that they would 'die if they stayed away too long'.

Moreover, those fishermen (both skippers and crew) (n=64) who had been in the area for many years, recalled with some nostalgia the Fish Market (n=21,64:33%) that had operated on a wooden jetty (n=4,64:6%) in front of the inshore fish factories (see chapter four). Effectively undermined by the construction of a concrete jetty to replace the wooden one, this market served as a meeting place for members of the community. As recounted by some (n=5,18:28%) of the eighteen skippers interviewed, the Fish Market would be 'alive with activity' (see chapter four). In essence then (as referred to in chapter two), this identification with, and elaboration of, the significance of physical features (see Table 7.4 and 7.5 below) reinforce communally held beliefs and values thereby strengthening attachments to the harbour as a place of work and shelter. That is not to say that all of the fishermen interviewed (n=64) shared a nostalgic 'sense of place'. The interviews showed that there were some ordinary fishermen (n=8,46:17%) who, given their recent arrival in the V&A Harbour (as in the case of the Ovambos), did not share the 'collective place consciousness' of, for instance, the Cape 'Coloured' fishermen (see Appendix I, Q21). Even some of the Portuguese skippers (n=5,18:28%), having recently immigrated from Madeira, South West Africa (now Namibia) and Angola, remained unaffected by the physical aspects of the harbour (see Appendix I, Q22). For these fishermen, place was perceived as an 'instrument' or provider of opportunities rather than as a location imbued with felt value (Eyles, 1985). They did, however, express a passion for fishing and a love of the sea.

**Table 7.4:** The ordinary fishermen's (crew) perceptions of the surrounding harbourscape



**Figure 7.5:** The skipper/boat owners' perceptions of their surrounding harbourscape



From the above it can be seen that the inshore fishing community (with a few exceptions) can, as Sack (1986) suggests, be described as a territorial entity. There exists a strong geographical imperative to community 'interaction, activities and practices' (Eyles, 1985). The interdependent relationship between the community and place (as unearthed by Questionnaire A) is most evident from the way the fishermen perceive an industrial area of buildings, quaysides, jetties and boats. The V&A Harbour not only represents a site where inshore fishermen work and/or sleep, but symbolises (in concrete terms) the geographical centre of their everyday lives. This geographical primacy is reinforced (for many in the community) by tradition (see chapter four), routine and familiarity with the place and its functions. But, since the start of the redevelopment the community's sense of belonging has been jeopardised by moorage problems, vehicular congestion (see chapter six, section 6.4.2) and the disruption of fishing and after-fishing activities brought about by V&AW security measures. Reports of Concentra's eventual relocation have also added to the community's feelings of insecurity.

However, in spite of these and other problems facing the inshore fishing community (n=58), they remained committed to inshore fishing and the V&A-based inshore fishing industry (see Appendix I, Q30). This meant that those fishermen with an established 'sense of place' would stay if at all possible because the harbour (and the Industry) had been the centre of their material existence (and identity). Having ascertained, with the help of the theory outlined in chapter two, the 'geography' (or geographies) of the inshore fishing community, this chapter now turns toward an elaboration of the community as social entity.

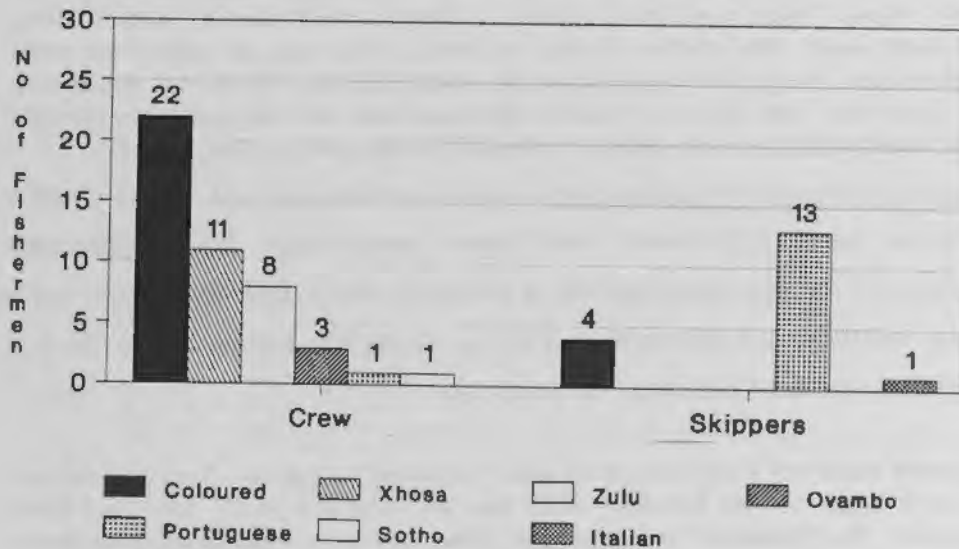
#### **7.4 The inshore fishing community as social entity: examining internal social interactions and relationships**

Having established the community's geographical context, it is important to place the fishermen and their activities at the centre of attention. To this end, I intend to show how patterned and often conflictual social relations provide place (in this case the V&A Harbour) with significance and meaning. Further, as noted above, it will be possible to reveal how the fishermen find their social meaning through interactions with other fishermen. Through an analysis of the 'differential power' (Knox, 1987) within the inshore fishing community, I shall not only be able to recreate the various social worlds (and their concomitant social networks), but explain the basis of inter- and intra-class conflict (as discussed in chapter two).

### 7.4.1 Understanding the basis of class conflict

Although ethnicity unified groups of fishermen, ethnic identities were cross-cut by class identities, which ethnicity and heightened tensions between ordinary fishermen (as the working class) and skippers (as the boat-owning and/or operating class). Whereas social groupings generally formed along ethnic lines, social stratification (or class) within, and between, those groupings was determined by the fishermen's cultural background and socio-economic position. Of the sample of 64 fishermen, 46 were crew (who had no power or control over space) and 18 were skippers and/or owners of vessels (see chapter three). As owners and/or operators of boats, the skippers had a great deal of status by virtue of the fact that they had the power to 'hire and fire' crew as they saw fit. Because of the absence of formalised employment practices, fishermen could be (or not be) employed on the basis of whether the skipper liked (or disliked) him.

Table 7.6: Ethnicity of the inshore fishermen interviewed



#### 7.4.1.1 The more affluent boat-owning (or skipper) class

As seen in Table 7.6 above, the largely homogeneous nature of the skipper or boat-owning class is very significant, especially when compared to the ethnically heterogeneous nature of the crew. Most importantly, as will be seen later, it explains

the respective degree of cohesiveness (or lack thereof) of the two classes (the skippers and crew). There is a definite social stratification not only in terms of the Fishing Industry as a whole (where inshore fishing and the independent boat owners are viewed as the bottom of the organisational chain), but within the community itself. Economically, the skippers (especially those that own, co-own or have shares in a boat) are set apart from the rest of the community. Not only do they have greater economic status as boat owners and/or operators, but under apartheid they have enjoyed greater social status (from ordinary fishermen) because of their ethnicity.

Predominantly Portuguese (n=13,18:72%) in nationality, these skippers (as 'Whites') have, as a direct result of the apartheid laws, enjoyed social privileges in the broader society. This has meant that the Portuguese fishermen have been able to maintain their properties in surrounding inner city areas when 'Coloured' and 'Malay' fishermen were forced to relocate to townships on the Cape Flats (see chapter four). Further, as a few of the 'Coloured' fishermen pointed out, Portuguese (and Italian) fishermen were, by virtue of their ethnicity, able to gain access to financial and public resources.

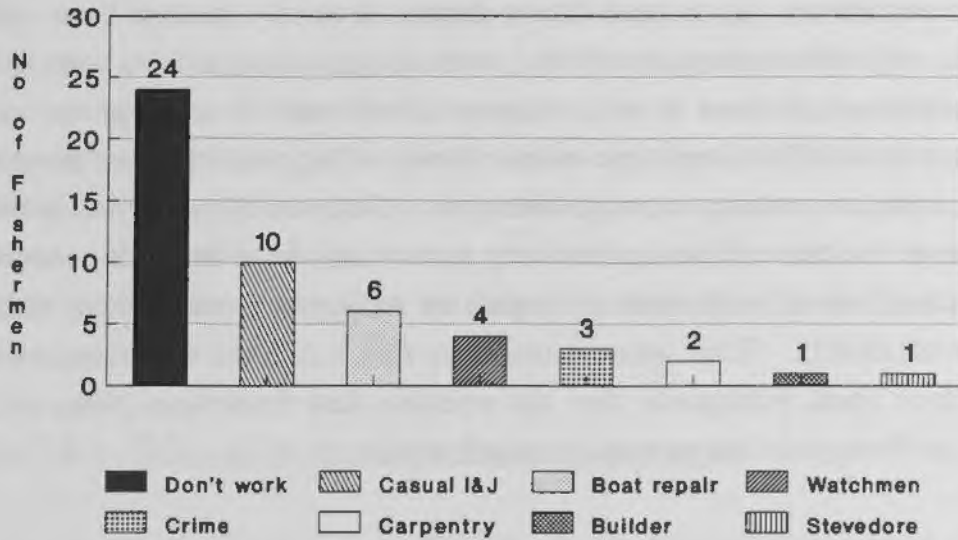
**It all started changing when the Portuguese started coming in. They started about 1965. Most of them came from Luderitz... When Luderitz factory started selling the older boats they started buying the boats. They also got help from their ambassador. So the first came in and the others followed. So the one would help the other one. See the bank wouldn't give us a loan, but they got loans through their bank [referring to the Bank of Lisbon] (Carolus, pers. comm., 1992).**

On the other hand, 'Coloured' and more specifically black fishermen were economically and socially marginalised; a situation which still determines community-based social relations and networks. This is poignantly expressed by 'Jacko' (pers. comm., 1992), a retired fishermen, when he says:

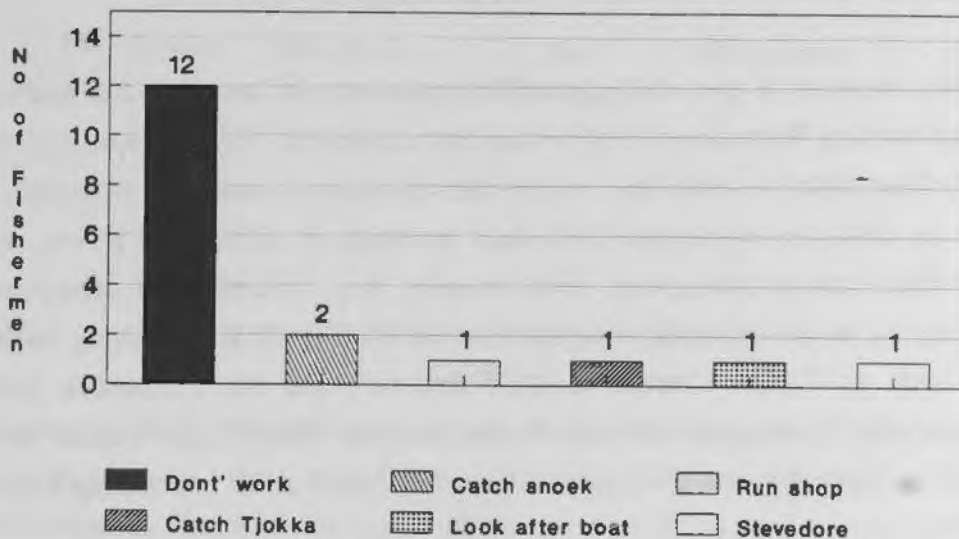
**We were better off when there were more "Coloured" skippers. Now the harbour is like a house without a father. Now they are dead and gone. May God bless them all. The "Coloured" could not cope. They had to try and pay off the boats to the companies. They were not well educated and there wasn't help for them. When the Portuguese took over they had help. The bank helped them. There was no one to help the "Coloured".**

Consequently, the skippers enjoy a great deal of status and authority (by virtue of his ownership of the boat) within the inshore fishing community. Unlike the ordinary inshore fishermen who mostly struggle to subsist (n=24,46:52%), most of the skippers (n=12,18:67%) (especially those who own boats) are financially secure (see Table 7.7 and 7.8 below).

**Table 7.7:** How the ordinary fishermen (crew) made a 'living' when not employed in inshore fishing



**Table 7.8:** What the skippers/boat owners did during the off-season period



Whereas there are those skippers (n=18) who catch snoek (n=2,18:11%), Tjokka (n=1,18:6%) or work as stevedores (n=1,18:6%) in the winter season, most wait until the start of the crayfish and tuna season (see Table 6.1 in chapter six). This means that they don't have to go out to sea after having caught their respective quotas.

During the off-season period, boats are repaired and (if necessary) refitted for the following season. As a result, these skippers tend to visit their boats a few times a week. My observations showed that, after having inspected their boats and spoken to the watchman (if there is one), skippers would stand in small groups alongside the Concentra and Fish Quays (see chapter three). They could be seen gesturing towards their boats and talking amongst themselves. Such social interaction is reinforced by language, culture and background (e.g. most came from Madeira). Moreover, their collective lack of proficiency in English or Afrikaans provides them with a stronger sense of identity. Thus, whereas they may find it difficult to communicate to people that don't speak Portuguese, they can articulate their frustrations, fears and sentiments to other Portuguese skippers and crew members.

Apart from regular interaction at the quayside, group (or class) identity and cohesion is also reinforced either by regular informal meetings at the Queen's Hotel (at the entrance to the harbour), in a tearoom in New Harbour Cafe (close to the Concentra Quay), or in Bertie's Landing (n=10,18:56%) (see Appendix I, Q27); or in irregular formal association meetings (n=5,18:28%), be it as the Tuna (Boat) Association (n=2) or the Dasen Lobster Association (n=3) (see Appendix I, Q10). Whether informal or formal, these meetings act as forums where skippers and company owners can discuss and share the various difficulties (see Table 7.3 above) that confront them as boat owners and/or boat operators, such as the overexploitation of fish (n=7,18:39%), quota cuts (n=8,18:44%) or overcrowded moorings (n=3,18:22%).

Therefore, because of this strong group cohesion as well as affiliation and/or kinship with high-ranking Portuguese (both within and outside the Fishing Industry), they have not only been able to tentatively secure their position in terms of moorage, but also enforce (as discussed in chapter two) their positions of differential power, as well as reassert their control over space. For instance, they 'voiced' their disapproval about issues relating to the vehicular congestion at the Fish Quay and mooring difficulties to people such as Carlos Correia (a UCT lecturer) and Mr Fernandez (director of Lusitania) who then negotiated with Portnet and the V&AW (see chapter six, section 6.4.2). Similarly, Miguel De Jesus of Wavecrest acted as an intermediary between the

POCTFIA and the independents. He (pers. comm., 1992) had the following to say in this respect:

**I tried to canvass support to get the small independent boat owners to work with the rest of the Industry and therefore not to undermine their position. But, it was often hard to get them to work together. When you speak to them they agree with you, but because of the nature and type of operation they're involved in, there is a lot of jealousy and friction. They haven't agreed to join POCTFIA, but they have agreed not to pay increased rentals.**

Unlike the ordinary inshore fishermen (crew), skippers (although not always in agreement) and company owners had representation at port authority and V&AW level (as in the case of negotiations over the Collier Jetty). Skippers could, in the light of spatial restructuring (as Knox (1987), cited in chapter two, points out), collectively employ their resources and influence in an attempt to control their power over, and access to, quayside moorage and building (particularly for storage, fish processing and packing) space. Because of their collective importance to both small and big inshore fishing companies (see Appendix H), they were generally supported in this endeavour. For instance, they were allowed to erect a fence and gate at the entrance to the Concentra Quay to control access (see chapter six, section 6.4.2).

#### 7.4.1.2 The marginalised working class fishermen (or crew)

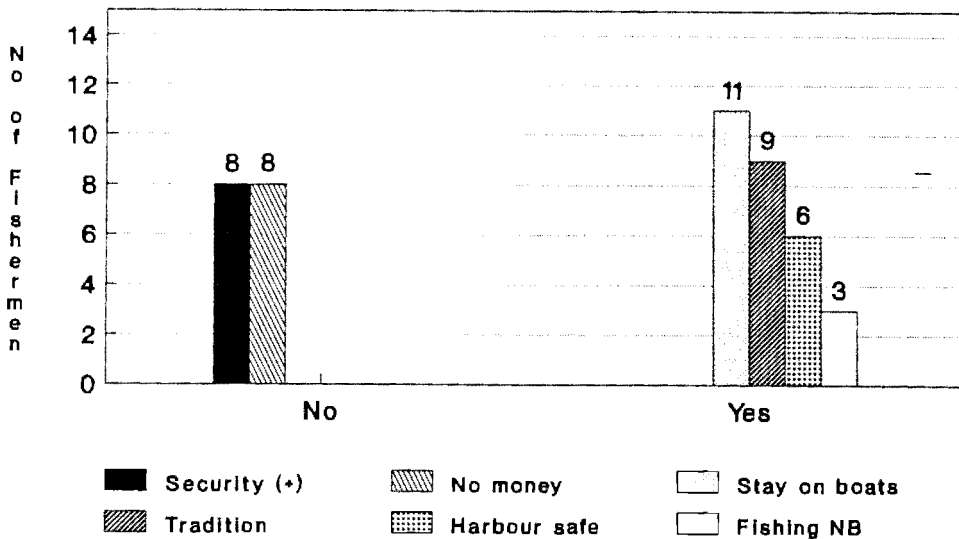
Those inshore fishermen who crew on inshore boats are, as shown in Table 7.6 above, an eclectic mix of different ethnic groupings. As an unformalised and transitory labour force (see Table 7.7 above), these fishermen (unlike the skippers) have no legal standing nor any differential power over space. In effect then, the only 'power' that many of the working class fishermen possessed lay in their reputation as skilled fishermen as well as a love for the sea. Most fishermen are able to secure employment on an inshore boat during the summer months (or peak season), provided they are not disabled and have the skills needed to catch fish (see chapter four). Not surprisingly, given the absence of formalised employment practices, working class fishermen complain about being poorly paid (n=18,46:39%) or even cheated (n=13,46:28%) (see Table 7.2 above). 'Jacko' (pers. comm., 1992) voiced these complaints by saying:

**They [Portuguese] have everything they need: fishshops, restaurant, the boats. Off-season all the men work in the fishshops and restaurant. They leave the fishermen both "Coloureds" and blacks. In-season the women work in the fishshops and restaurant and they [the skippers] get a couple of Bantus and "Coloureds" to do the dirty work. But when you ask them for your money they more poor than we [the crew] are. You must hear them talk about all their troubles.**

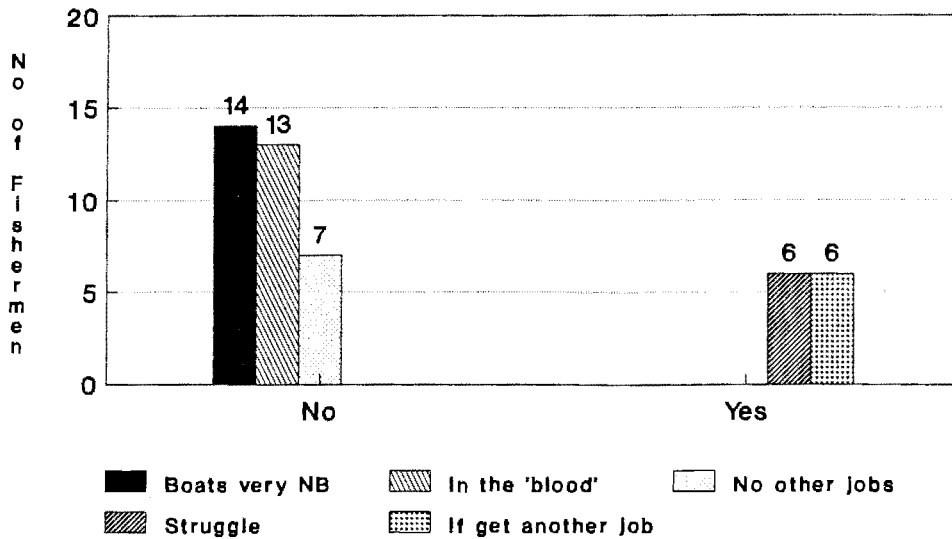
However, in spite of these and other grievances (see Table 7.2 above), fishermen remain powerless (because of their ethnic diversity and economically marginal position) to force the skippers to institute standardised wages and employment benefits. Consequently, the lack of collective action between the different social groupings essentially entrenches the cycle of hardship and exploitation experienced by most ordinary inshore fishermen. Although many fishermen (n=17,46:37%) 'voiced' their despondency with respect to their present existence, they were 'resigned' to the 'inevitable'. Interviews showed that whereas some of the ordinary working class fishermen (n=9,46:20%) expressed feelings of being 'caged in' by the V&AW (and Saber) security, others cited the lack of money as a major problem (n=8,46:17%) (see Table 7.9 below). Understandably, there were those who felt it was 'too much of a struggle' (n=6,46:13%) and said that they would leave, or 'exit' (Knox, 1987; see chapter two of this thesis) inshore fishing if they could get another job (n=6,46:13%) (see Table 7.10 below).

Yet, in spite of their constant struggle to improve their material existence, most of the inshore fishermen interviewed (both skipper and crew) (58,64:91%) remained committed to their style of living. This attitude was reinforced by a 'sense of place' firmly located in the past (see chapter four).

**Table 7.9:** The ordinary inshore fishermen (crew) 'voicing' their grievances



**Table 7.10:** Determining the attitude of the ordinary inshore fishermen (crew) to their hardships



As shown in Table 7.10 above, when asked if they would want to go elsewhere, thirteen (or 28%) ordinary working class fishermen said that fishing was in their 'blood' while fourteen (or 30%) said they would follow the boats wherever they went. Thus, interviews established that many of the ordinary working class fishermen (crew) were not only 'resigned' to their material existence (see chapter two), but presented a strong emotional attachment to the harbour and its people. Apart from 'voicing' their anger and frustrations to each other regarding their poor treatment at the hands of the Portuguese skippers (see Table 7.3 above), they had no form of representation or forum to air their complaints. Mr Finck (pers. comm., 1992) elaborates:

*I take it for myself, if I was an ordinary fisherman today I don't see a future for myself. You've got to be sure of your skipper, that he is going to recruit you again the next season. For the rest of the year you've got to fend for yourself. So what future is there? In other words these fishermen they just casuals. When the season is finished they're out on the street. They've got nothing to fall back on.*

#### 7.4.2 Determining the rationale for intra-class conflict

This inherent lack of power is reinforced by social divisions within the ordinary working fishermen class itself. As depicted in Table 7.6 above, ethnicity determines the number and nature of social groupings and concomitant social networks. Similarly, like the skippers, group identity is reinforced by language, culture and tradition.

#### 7.4.2.1 The importance of tradition

Of the various social groupings of ordinary fishermen, the 'Coloured' and 'Malay' fishermen (n=26,46:57%) displayed the strongest identity and most well developed social networks. Unlike the other social groupings, the 'Coloured' fishermen were bound by 'shared activities and patterns of social interaction' (Eyles, 1985; see chapter two of this thesis). As already mentioned above, many 'Coloured' and 'Malay' fishermen had been born into families with a strong fishing tradition (see chapter four). As a result, these fishermen shared a common identity rooted in a nostalgic 'sense of place'.

Prior to the proclamation of the Group Areas Act (and subsequent forced removals in the 1950s and 1960s) and destruction of District Six from 1968 onwards (see chapter four), many of these fishermen stayed in cottages (or 'hire-houses') in the inner city areas surrounding the harbour. Brought up in the vicinity of the harbour, many of the 'Coloured' fishermen interviewed had, as children, been able to play and work on the boats and quaysides (see chapter four). Whereas forced removals had destroyed many existing residential social networks, social interaction and organisation in the workplace has continued (see chapter four). Thus, 'Coloured' fishermen remain committed to their lifestyles and their past identity. For many the past was perceived as a happier and materially more prosperous time. 'Those were lovely days', stresses Mr Thomas. 'That time the money was not much but we live happy, happy. We always had something to keep us going'.

Given this common identity, it is not surprising that the 'Coloured' fishermen could be seen socialising together. Not only could they be seen sitting and eating together, but they would inform each other of employment opportunities, share food or accommodation. On many an occasion, 'Jacko' (a watchman in the Concentra Quay) would receive other 'Coloured' fishermen on his boat. They could often be observed sharing a drink, cleaning (or flecking) a fish for dinner, or just talking over a cigarette. Moreover, apart from their shared fishing heritage, members of the 'Coloured' fishing community occupied positions of responsibility and authority (such as watchmen or factory managers). There were also many 'Coloured' and 'Malay' boat owners. As a result, there was a general perception among those 'Coloured' fishermen interviewed that they were 'true' fishermen and, therefore, better than other social groupings. This attitude was reinforced by the fact that their identity was rooted in place (such as inner city areas and traditional waterfront) as well as the past (see chapter four).

#### 7.4.2.2 The importance of ethnicity

Apart from the 'Coloured' group of working class fishermen (n=26,46:57%), there were also social groupings of Xhosas (n=11,46:24%), Zulus (n=8,46:17%), Ovambos (n=3,46:7%), Sothos (n=1,46:2%) and Portuguese (n=1,46:2%) (see Table 7.6 above). The Portuguese crew members, although generally assured of employment because of their nationality, did not socialise with the Portuguese skippers. They had a distinctively lower status than the skippers despite other fishermen's complaints that they received higher wages. As in the case of 'Coloured' fishermen, these fishermen would group themselves according to their ethnicity. Therefore, groups of Xhosas or Zulus would be observed sitting, smoking or drinking together. There was, however, a degree of interaction between the groups especially when it came to coexisting onboard a boat (see chapter four). The Ovambo fishermen were especially close knit. They could almost always be seen in each other's company. This group cohesion was strengthened by their lack of existing social networks, 'apathetic' 'sense of place' and community hostility. The Ovambos, therefore, were able to withstand the social and physical alienation through their shared culture and language. Similarly, despite the ethnic divisions between local blacks, they shared an identity rooted in the past, especially with respect to their (collective) experiences in the city (see chapter four). Because they had, prior to 1986 with the repeal of the pass laws, been perceived as temporary sojourners in South African cities, blacks had not been able to obtain access to public or financial facilities. As a result of their social and economic marginalisation, it had been impossible to acquire inshore boats. Black inshore fishermen have, therefore, always occupied the lowest socio-economic positions within the Industry. Understandably they have also found comfort and strength from others of the same culture and lifeworlds. Black fishermen (unlike the 'Coloured' fishermen) lacked a nostalgic 'sense of place'.

The evolution of these various social groupings and networks has resulted in the creation of what Eyles (1985) refers to as the 'multiplicity of social worlds' (or lifeworlds), 'identities and material existence' (see chapter two). Despite interaction on boats and on the quayside, fishermen's attitudes towards and perceptions of their respective lifeworlds were inevitably determined by the social world to which they belonged. For instance, whereas a 'Coloured' fisherman would express affection for the sea and their (i.e. fishermen's) way of life, black fishermen were prepared to try their hand at something else (especially if it paid better). For them the harbour (as place) was perceived as a provider or non-provider of economic opportunities.

Further, 'Coloured' fishermen found it easier to interact with skippers because of their perceived higher status within the community. Yet this is not to say that all 'Coloured' fishermen casually conversed with skippers. Mostly, skippers could be observed standing together while fishermen would be grouped not far away (see chapter three). On occasion one would see a fisherman approach the skippers to ask them something. However, he would soon return to his group. This highly patterned interaction occurred early in the morning and would eventually begin to disintegrate by early afternoon once the skippers had left the harbour (in the winter season) or departed on a fishing expedition (during the summer season).

### **7.4.3 The implications of inter-group conflict**

The lack of inter-group cohesion (and plurality of identities) essentially undermined ordinary fishermen's ability to stand together against exploitation especially with respect to poor wages (n=18,46:39%), non-existent employment benefits (n=15,46:33%) and low rates of compensation (n=13,46:28%) (see Table 7.2 above). 'The fishermen are not together', complained one inshore fishermen, 'they pull different ways'. Interviews with working class fishermen revealed that all (n=43,46:93%), except three of the forty-six ordinary inshore fishermen (two of whom belonged to the Seaman's Maritime Union and the other to COSATU) interviewed, did not belong to any union. Attempts to join unions like the Seaman's Maritime Union had been unsuccessful both because of the strong opposition from skippers and the cost of union membership. Despite a willingness to unionise (in an attempt to improve compensation) many fishermen spoke of victimisation from the skippers. 'If you join', said a fishermen, 'you will not find a job'. This was echoed by another fisherman who said that a 'union can't do anything for fishermen on the private boats'.

Apart from the resistance from skippers, the cost of joining such a union was exorbitant for fishermen who barely earned enough to meet their subsistence needs. A fisherman qualified to join the Seaman's Maritime Union by working anywhere within the harbour area. However, on joining the union a crew member has to pay R15 followed by monthly membership fees of R12. As a result, therefore, most of the union's 5 000 registered members are reportedly employed in the larger fishing and maritime companies such as I&J, Marpro and De Beers diamond mining operations. According to Mr Stephens (pers. comm., 1992), negotiator for the Seaman's Maritime Union, most of the problems experienced by fishermen are 'financial in nature'. He said that fishermen 'only approached the union when they're in trouble. When they're not in

trouble you don't see them'. Because most of its members were permanently employed in the companies he did not think that the union's fees were excessive. Because of the informal nature of inshore fishing the Seaman's Maritime Union had found it impossible to recruit inshore fishermen let alone protect them from exploitation (Stephens, pers. comm.). It was not until February 1994 that a union meeting was held on the Collier Jetty (see Figure 3.1 in chapter three). However, fearful of reprisals from skippers, many fishermen did not attend.

#### **7.4.4 The underlying reasons for inter- and intra-class conflict within the inshore fishing community**

Understandably, when you have different interests, classes and groups there is, as Fitzgerald (1991) points out (in chapter two), always the possibility of conflict. Most of the inter- and intra-class conflict has been overshadowed by the tensions between the Fishing Industry and the V&AW as landlord and property developer. High-powered negotiations between the POCTFIA and the V&AW (see chapter six) have essentially obscured the low profile (yet no less important) internal conflict within the inshore fishing community itself.

##### **7.4.4.1 Focused inter-class conflict**

Much of the tension between the skippers and crew centres on the issue of unfair remuneration (see Table 7.2 above). For instance, fishermen would receive between 12c/kg and 28c/kg for the crayfish catches. Similarly, they would be paid between R20 and R70 for every ton of tuna caught. Despite these flexible rates of remuneration, there were still widespread complaints of underhandedness by skippers. Many ordinary fishermen (n=13,46:28%), angered by the way they were being cheated, referred to the skippers as sly (or 'skelm'). The crew was, as a rule, not allowed to observe the weighing process and therefore, could not dispute the weight of the catch. Mr Thomas (pers. comm., 1992), an inshore fisherman, had the following to say about the fishermen's treatment by the Portuguese boat owners:

**The Portuguese kills us [speaking figuratively]. I don't mind a man making money but he must be fair. It's only when we catch snoek that it's fair. That's the only way. If you work by the kilo [as is the case for tuna and lobster] they keep you away from the scale. He doesn't tell you how many kilos the boat was carrying. If there was a record of them any girl will fall in love. Their stories [meaning their excuses] are always so sad.**

Many felt that they were underpaid for their efforts. One Xhosa fishermen said that he had received only R385 after many months of work. Because he was not privy to the weight of the various catches, he had no proof that he had been underpaid.

These feelings of discontent were reinforced by the fact that the crew had no legal recourse. In fact, many ordinary fishermen complained that they were treated like criminals by the V&AW security. For instance, on one particular occasion (while conducting questionnaires) I came across a group of fishermen standing on the Fish Quay. They told me that they had returned from a fishing expedition and had been waiting for over a week for their money. They could not return home without money nor could they stay in the harbour because of victimisation from the V&AW security. The fishermen concerned were sure that the skipper was returning at night to offload part of the catch thereby reducing their remuneration. Because these fishermen had been forced to vacate the harbour, they could not prevent the skipper from offloading the tuna. When they had approached the skipper to ask for their money they had been told to wait. These fishermen (like other inshore fishermen) had no way to enforce the payment of money owed. They told me that they would have to wait until such time that the skipper decided to pay them. 'There was nothing else we could do', said one fisherman. The conflict between the ordinary working class fishermen (which made up the crew) and the skipper and/or boat owning class is, therefore, an integral part of the community. Constant (albeit covert) tension thus underlies the relations and interactions between these two classes (see chapter two). Whereas the skippers (and companies) have the power to repeatedly exploit their crews, the crew has no power to counteract this exploitation.

#### 7.4.4.2 Opposition to Ovambo fishermen; the cause for most intra-class conflict

As mentioned earlier, apart from the covert inter-class conflict or tension, an analysis of interviews confirmed the existence of an overt intra-class conflict between the (ethnically diverse) local fishermen and the Ovambo fishermen (see Table 7.2 above). Despite ethnic differences, local fishermen were united in their opposition to the employment of Ovambo fishermen on inshore tuna vessels. In most instances, the Ovambos were paid in clothes and accommodation. This, in turn, angered the local fishermen as it undermined their (already weak) bargaining position. They were thus forced to accept lower rates of payment in return for the same amount of work; work that was not only physically taxing but dangerous (see chapter four). As a result, these ordinary fishermen (n=36,46:78%), who were in most instances the sole breadwinner, found it more difficult (if not impossible) to support their families. Many were forced

to get casual jobs to supplement what they earned from fishing (see section 7.3 above). The Ovambo fishermen (n=3,46:7%) although dissatisfied with their living conditions (on the boats) and lack of money, had even less power than the local fishermen mainly because many did not have South African work permits. Continued opposition from local inshore fisherman in harbours throughout the Cape Peninsula culminated in the repatriation (from mid 1992) of Ovambos to Namibia and Angola. Because of the illegal status of these fisherman, skippers could not oppose this action. They were once again forced to employ locals at slightly higher rates of payment thereby strengthening inter-class tension.

From the above analysis, it is evident that V&A Harbour (as location for the inshore fishing community) derives its meaning and significance from complex, interrelated and conflictual interactions which occur between opposing V&AW-Industry interests, inshore community classes and social groupings (see chapter two). By looking at the question of ethnicity it has been possible to understand the origins of inter- and intra-class conflict (or tension), and the underlying reasons for social stratification. Thus, while the analysis of the patterned and conflictual interactions (Knox, 1987) of the inshore fishing community explains how place (in the case of the inshore fishing peninsula and the V&A Harbour) derives its meaning from people, this community also needs to be examined in ideological terms.

### **7.5 The inshore fishing community as ideological entity: examining the insider-outsider dialectic**

Despite the ethnically diverse social character of the inshore fishing community, common values and beliefs do exist (see chapter two). As alluded to above, despite the multiplicity of identities, the various social groupings do share particular values and aspirations. Located in a unique physical location and functionally immersed in inshore fishing activities, many fishermen share an affection for, and occupational dependence on, their lifeworlds (which are rooted in the inshore fishing industry). Their 'sense of place' is, therefore, closely related to their identity as inshore fishermen. In spite of the diversity of identities (depending on ethnicity and past experiences), fishermen are aware of their position (class or grouping) not just in their own inshore industry, but in the Fishing Industry as a whole. In the light of the spatial restructuring, shared perspectives strengthen community feelings of insiderness (or belonging) and outsidersness (or uprootedness).

As mentioned above, community sentiment (as discussed in section 2.4.2.3 of chapter two) has been translated into locational action by the skippers and/or boat owners who have the economic power to protect and promote their sectional interests (as in the case of negotiations to ensure moorage facilities). On the other hand, working class fishermen (be they 'Coloured', Xhosa, Zulu or Sotho), given their inherent lack of economic power, have managed to exist by establishing supportive social networks. These networks, while strengthening sectional inter-group and inter-class identities, tended to undermine the shared communal sense of belonging. As a result, community belonging (among ordinary fishermen) arises through a commonality of experience. In other words, the various groupings of ordinary inshore fishermen tend to identify with others that are exploited by the Portuguese boat-owning class. Similarly, because of the distinctive nature of the inshore fishing industry (see section 7.2 above), the community (both skippers and crew) possesses a strong identity as inshore fishermen as opposed to deepsea fishermen. Yet, as discussed above, this identity (or 'sense of place') is based on social (see section 7.4) and geographical (see section 7.3) conditions of human existence. Because the inshore fishing community's identity is defined in physical terms, the harbour as place is very important.

### **7.5.1 Identifying and understanding the incongruency between the inshore community and V&AW**

Having determined the community's shared sense of belonging (or 'sense of place'), it follows that the community's underlying aspirations, needs and beliefs will not be the same as those of the developers (V&AW's). By using Relph's (1976) concept of an insider-outsider dialectic, it is possible to show why the inshore fishing community and the developers perceive (or sense) each other and the utilisation of the V&A Harbour differently.

#### **7.5.1.1 Overlooking the insiderness of the inshore fishermen**

Inshore fishermen are essentially insiders to the harbour because they identify with it as an important part of their lived- and work-spaces. Thus, whereas the inshore fishermen perceive and experience the harbour as insiders, the V&AW (as developer) and its planners (such as MLH) can be described as outsiders. They lack an understanding of what it is to be existentially, empathetically and behaviourally active within the harbour. The V&AW, according to David Jack (pers. comm., 1992), is committed to maximising the economic potential of the dockland site by redeveloping and spatially restructuring (with the help of its planners) its physical form (see chapter five, section

5.3). As existential outsiders, the V&AW and its planners remain reflexively uninvolved in the harbour. Rather than see the harbour as a place imbued with special significance, it is viewed (e.g. by David Jack, Managing Director of the V&AW Company) as a development site with great potential. This attitude essentially enhances the status of the harbourscape as object at the expense of its subjective characteristics (see chapter one). The mystique of the inshore fishermen, like the historic maritime buildings, are perceived (see chapter two) as commodities to be marketed and sold. Inshore fishing was, and still is, seen as important in terms of ambience (Meek and Swartz, pers. comm.) rather than as the functional and occupational foundation of the inshore fishing community's everyday existence. Despite public acknowledgement from David Jack (1992) regarding the occupational importance of the Fishing Industry (see chapter five, section 5.3.3), the Industry has been marketed as an extension of the redevelopment. Pictures of the inshore boats and fishermen are, for instance, often used in V&AW literature (be it magazines, booklets or brochures) as well as in tourist booklets such as *The Waterfront* (Van Rooyen, 1991). Whereas the inshore boats (and working harbour) provide the necessary 'colour', fishermen add to the character of the Waterfront (ibid, 1991). Many fishermen (n=15,64:23%) were aware of their significance as tourist attraction (see Appendix I, Q25). However, these publications tend to overlook the underlying significance of these symbols and people. This sanitised view of the inshore fishermen essentially points to the V&AW's lack of understanding of the harbour's deep and symbolic significance for many in the community (see chapter four). Mr Le Roux (pers. comm., 1992), director of the South African Cultural History Museum and member of the Minister's Liaison Committee, had the following to say in this regard:

**I think that the development is becoming a money making thing. Back in the days when I was a student in the 1960s, I used to work in the harbour in my summer vacations. Then the harbour and fishing was part and parcel of the "Coloured" community. It's important that the harbour be maintained for them.**

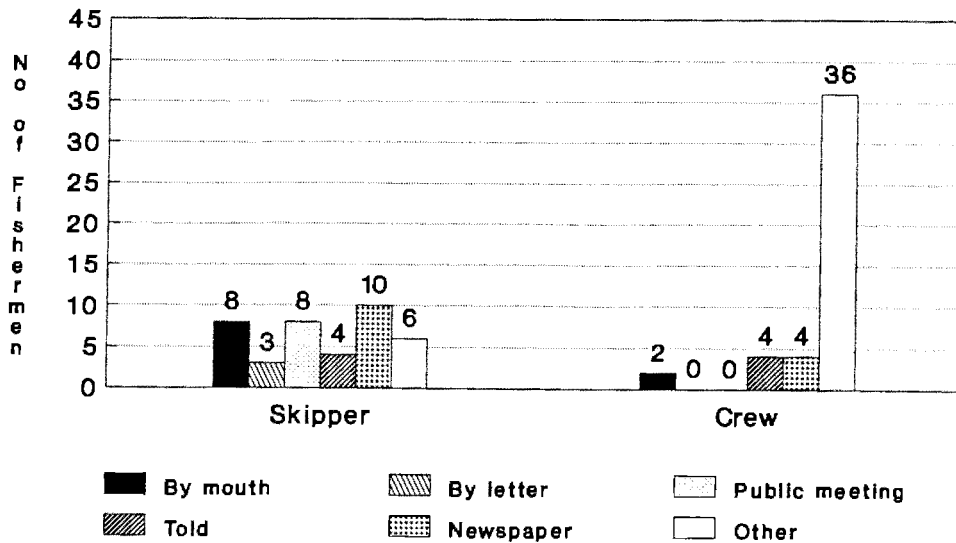
By redeveloping the harbour (without any empathetic understanding) the V&AW is unknowingly undermining the authenticity of the V&A Harbour (see chapter two, section 2.4.2.4). Spatial restructuring will effectively destroy meaning and develop what Relph (1976) refers to as an 'inauthentic attitude' or place. This inauthenticity (or placelessness) will evolve as the V&AW applies tried-and-tested planning practices (see chapter five, section 5.3.2). In its attempts to replicate the successful international waterfront redevelopments, the V&AW has created a standardised postmodern landscape. This new landscape, although aesthetically pleasing to tourists, lacks the senses of place which the working parts of the harbour still possess. Thus despite having expressed their support for the changes (n=16,64:25%) (see Appendix I, Q26),

all of the fishermen interviewed felt that the V&AW should not develop the south side of the V&A Harbour (the site of the working harbour). The consensus among fishermen (both skippers and crew) was that the inshore fishing peninsula should remain a working environment. 'This has been a fishing harbour all the years', said one fisherman, 'why should it have to change now'.

#### 7.5.1.2 The implications of developer and planner insidersness

Further, just as planners and developers are outsiders to the community's everyday experiences, they are insiders to the planning process. They are not only privy to the V&AW's overall planning objectives (see chapter five, section 5.3.1), but were, and will continue to be, intimately involved with each stage of the redevelopment (see chapter five, section 5.3.2). Whereas V&AW management employed strategies to facilitate private sector investment, the planners set about transforming the built form of the harbourscape. On the other hand, the inshore fishing community (like the Fishing Industry) remained outside the planning process. Although determined to secure its existing operations and activities (be it through tenure and rental negotiations), the POCTFIA did not involve itself in the planning process unless it interfered with their fishing operations. Because no social impact assessment had been conducted (Van Zyl, pers. comm.), community members only became aware of the start of the redevelopment once they saw the physical changes in 1989 (n=36,64:56%) and in 1990 (n=23,64:36%). Five interviewees were unsure about when they noticed the changes (see Appendix I, Q35).

As depicted in Table 7.11 below (which is based on interview results), apart from having seen the changes as they occurred, fishermen also found out through word of mouth (n=18,64:28%), the press (n=14,64:22%) and by letter from the V&AW (informing lessees of rent increases) (n=3,64:5%). None of the inshore fishermen (n=64) interviewed (whether skipper or crew member) had attended the public meetings. Whereas the skippers (n=18) 'did not know' about these public meetings or 'did not see how they could contribute' to such meetings, crew felt that such meetings were just for the 'bosses' or 'big shots'(n=9,46:20%). The common perception was that they were purposefully kept in the dark by the skippers and the company because fishermen were not well dressed and uneducated. 'Fishermen are too stupid', said one fisherman. 'Only higher people goes', said another.

**Table 7.11: How the inshore fishermen found out about the redevelopment**

Feelings of outsidership and insecurity were reinforced not only by hostile relations between the V&AW and the Industry, but because the V&AW and Portnet had failed to assure the inshore fishing companies of their position in the V&A Harbour (see chapter six, section 6.3.1). The lack of such assurances seemed to prove to the ordinary fishermen within the community that they were 'not seen as important' (n=18,46:39%) (see Appendix I, Q41). Most of the skippers (n=14,18:78%), however, dismissed their insecurity by saying that there was 'nothing they could do'. As one skipper said: 'They don't worry about the fishermen. They'll do what they want to anyhow'. Others in the community (n=19,64:30%) felt that it proved that the V&AW did not want the fishing boats in Cape Town Harbour and were sure that they would be moved (see Appendix I, Q43). As 'Joey' Carolus (pers. comm., 1992) puts it:

**One of these days this place will be gone from here. There will be no Fish Harbour around here. I size it up something like that. I see these people [referring to the developers] demolishing all these buildings and filling up here with tourist things. These smaller boats there [pointing to the "chug-chuggie" boats moored in the Concentra Basin] will be no more line-fishing here in Cape Town. They will be gone and there will be nothing left.**

Such perceptions were based on the lack of tenure for the inshore companies in the New Fisheries Harbour coupled with initial problems related to moorage. Not surprisingly, therefore, 84 percent (n=54,64) of all the fishermen interviewed

expressed their collective desire to know more about the redevelopment, especially in terms of how it would affect their activities (see Appendix I, Q42). Whereas some of the ordinary fishermen simply wanted to be informed of 'what will happen' in the future (n=10,46:22%), others wanted to know, among other things, how it would affect them (n=8,46:17%), where they would have to move to (n=15,46:33%) and where they could find alternative employment (n=8,46:17%). Thus, while the crew were intent on determining the implications for individual or collective existence, skippers (as noted earlier) were preoccupied with issues that affected them as boat operators and/or owners. As seen in Appendix I (Q43), skippers wanted clarification on issues such as moorage (n=5,18:28%), leases (n=1) and rentals (n=1). Of those skippers interviewed, seven wanted to know whether or not they would remain in the area (of the New Fisheries Harbour). There were still those skippers (n=9,18:50%) who preferred not to be informed as they had no power to alter what would happen. They felt that the V&AW Co. and its planners had their own agenda; an agenda which did not include the inshore fishing community.

#### 7.5.1.3 Determination to safeguard inshore fishing: reflections of wider Industry-V&AW negotiations and agreements

Fifty two interviewees wanted to be involved in planning issues that affected them as inshore fishermen. On the one hand, the ordinary fishermen wanted the boats to stay in their present location not just because of practical considerations but for historic (or nostalgic) reasons. For instance, many of the 'Coloured' and 'Malay' fishermen felt that the V&A Harbour had been an 'appropriate place' for many years and did not see why it should be changed (see chapter four). Because the V&A Harbour as place was regarded as part of their personal history, possible relocation was viewed by some of the fishermen as a threat to their lifeworld. Nevertheless, because the future of the inshore fishermen (both skippers and crew) is linked to the future of the boats, both the independents (n=18) and the companies (see Appendix H) wanted to ensure the continued utilisation of a protected and safe moorage. The Tripartite Agreement (see Appendix G) and the subsequent negotiations regarding the Collier Jetty (see chapter six, section 6.4.2) have essentially provided these assurances. The tightening up of security measures at the Concentra Basin and (most recently at the) Collier Jetty, by restricting access to ordinary fishermen, has effectively undermined established patterns of interaction. Moreover, because of the concentration of inshore fishing activities and lifestyles, the restriction of movement by security personnel and fences will inevitably affect the fishermen's sense of belonging.



**Figure 7.1:** Life on the inshore boats (Picture 1 (top) is of 'Jacko' (who stays permanently on the *Marie Louisa*) hanging up his washing. Picture 2 (bottom) shows a fisherman catching up on the latest horse racing statistics. These scenes form part of the fishermen's everyday existence on the inshore boats).

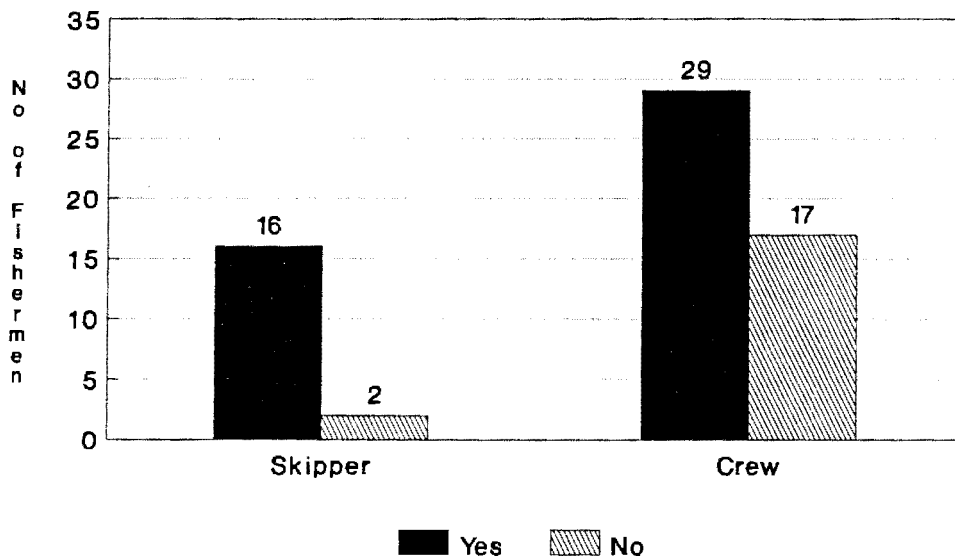
Despite constraints to movement and association, some fishermen (like watchmen) have been able (with the support of the skippers, company owners and other fishermen) to continue their everyday activities (see Figure 7.1, pictures 1 and 2 above). Others have responded by working on the smaller and more mobile ski-boats. Because of their size, these boats can be towed to slipways anywhere in the Cape Peninsula. Granger Bay is a popular launching site for these vessels. It is often a hub of activity. Apart from the comings and goings of the ski-boats, catches are sold to hawkers and the public from the boats, 'doillies' (artificial bait made by fishermen to supplement their incomes) are sold to departing fishermen and nets are repaired. These activities will inevitably be lost with the development of Granger Bay Precinct (see chapter five, section 5.3.2). Furthermore, the development of the V&A Harbour has also opened up certain opportunities. For instance, 'Jacko' (see Figure 7.1 pictures 1 above), a fisherman who lives on a boat (Marie Louisa) in the Concentra Basin, had decided to sell photocopies of a picture depicting life in District Six to the tourists. He was sure that he could sell each colour photocopy for R10. Because of his poor health, he was unable to actively participate in fishing. With no pension he was therefore forced to seek alternative ways to earn money. Similarly, for people of financial means like Mr Dos Silva of Silvermar (pers. comm., 1992), it was possible to rent space (at R30/m<sup>2</sup>) in the Victoria Wharf. But, for the members of the inshore fishing community (even the company owners), participation and involvement in the commercial development remains secondary to fishing activities. All of the inshore fishing company owners/managers (except Silvermar) remained committed to their existing activities. Thus, it is possible to argue (after Giddens) that whereas structure (be it social, functional or material) can, and has, constrained fishermen in their everyday activities, it has also enabled them. Changes within the social and spatial structure of the fishermen's everyday lives (both past and present) have effectively resulted in the establishment of coping mechanisms and support strategies (as mentioned in chapter four and above in section 7.4), innovative income-generating activities, or as in the case of Silvermar, opportunities to realise profits by participating in the development. In the final analysis, however, it would appear that the disadvantages far outweigh the advantages (both real and perceived).

#### 7.4.1.4 The polarisation of perceptions

The structural transformation of the V&A Harbour has essentially polarised perceptions. With the economic success of the V&A redevelopment, the V&AW and its planners have stepped up the pace of development. Yet in order to utilise the site to its full potential (Jack, 1992), the V&AW intends to insert a residential component

within the harbour (see chapter five, section 5.3.2). In so doing, the V&AW will effectively undermine the inshore community's (and other dockworkers) subjective experience (and senses) of the harbour. Not only could it weaken the individual's 'sense of place', but it could upset fishermen's place in the existing social and economic order. In an attempt to attract future residents, security measures will invariably be increased thereby further restricting the movements and interactions of ordinary fishermen. On the other hand, as noted above, feelings of insecurity abound within the ranks of the inshore fishing community. Consequently, as depicted in Table 7.12 below, many of the fishermen interviewed (n=19,64:30%) had already been uprooted (or lacked a sense of belonging). However, the majority of the interviewees (n=45,64:70%), while stressing the importance of the harbour and boats in their lives (i.e. that they belonged), did also express reservations about whether the Fish Harbour would remain unaltered (see above).

**Table 7.12:** The fishermen's 'voiced' sense of belonging



As outsiders to the planning process, inshore fishermen (especially the crew) feel powerless to alter the course of events. There is therefore a definite incongruity of perceptions and attitudes between the V&AW and the inshore community. This incongruity was reflected in conflictual V&AW-Industry relations as discussed above (see chapter six). As part of the broader Fishing Industry, the months of stressful and

drawn-out negotiations between the Industry and the V&AW have understandably (and undeniably) affected the inshore fishing community. Having filtered down from the company owners (such as Miguel de Jesus of Wavecrest who has been involved in negotiations) and managers, Industry tensions and suspicions of V&AW objectives have become rooted in the community as a whole. The incongruity between the V&AW who wished to develop (for touristic purposes) excess space occupied by the fishing companies, and an Industry determined to hold on to what it had (see chapter six), has inevitably influenced fishermen's attitudes and perceptions. These attitudes and perceptions have, in turn, reinforced feelings of insidership and outsidership. As part of an Industry opposed to V&AW rationalisation plans, the inshore community's (especially the independent boat-owning class) sense of insidership has been bolstered. Similarly, the V&AW's failure to renew Concentra's lease or to afford the inshore companies with tenure security has, as alluded to in section 6.3.1 of chapter six, greatly added to communal feelings of outsidership (or uprootedness). Many in the community (both crew and skippers/owners) felt that if 'big' formalised companies such as Concentra could not ensure their future then the less formalised independents could not hope to guarantee their existence in the Fish Harbour (see Appendix, Q41-Q43).

#### 7.5.1.5 The unholy alliance: understanding the significance of an inshore-deepsea Industry partnership

Thus, as discussed in Chapter Two, the various groupings of the community have attempted to realise their distinctive, and often opposing, places-in-the-world (or harbour). As can be seen from the above, 'the communal interest is lost behind a host of competing particular interests' (Ollman, 1976 : 215). Whereas ordinary working-class fishermen struggle to maintain their 'way of life' (albeit harsh and exploited), skippers attempt to obtain access to, and control over, fishing resources and physical space. Successes in this regard were made possible by what amounted to an 'unholy' alliance between competing fishing sectors (deepsea and inshore industry) and companies. For instance, as discussed in section 7.3 above, many skippers (n=15,18:83%) felt that the deepsea trawling companies were directly to blame for their difficulties (see Table 7.3 above). Nevertheless, despite this hostility, there were those within the community (especially within the inshore companies) who understood the importance of inshore industry maintaining its coalition with the deepsea industry (see Appendix H). Miguel de Jesus (pers. comm., 1992), owner of Wavecrest, was sure that the Fishing Industry (and especially the inshore fishing industry) could ensure its future:

**...as long as the Industry sticks together and confronts problems and finds solutions together and we're not left on an individual basis to negotiate with the V&AW Company. In that scenario we would be overpowered. We would not be able to withstand the V&AW on our own.**

By forcing the V&AW and Portnet to acknowledge and ensure its existence in the V&A Harbour, the Industry empowered (through the threat of alienation) what Merrifield (1992) calls 'place-bound groups' like the inshore fishing community to resist, if only temporarily, the exclusionary tendencies of the V&AW and its planners. In the final analysis, however, concessions regarding moorage are overshadowed by V&AW's medium term plans to develop the Fish Harbour and its surrounds (see Figure 3.1 in chapter three). As the redevelopment unfolds and expands it will inevitably become more difficult for the inshore fishing community to maintain its attachments to community and place. The social costs associated with the V&A redevelopment will, as in many successful international redevelopments, be obscured by the ever-increasing profits. The 'proposed' relocation of the inshore fishing industry to the South Arm and redevelopment of the Silo Precinct will alter, perhaps irrevocably, long-established place-identity-material existence relations.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

Following on from the structural and functional framework developed in chapter five, this chapter has examined how the broader economic- and port-based developments (discussed in chapter five) affected the place-bound inshore fishing community. With the help of participant observation and interviews, it was possible to assess the community in geographical, social and ideological terms thereby determining its 'sense(s) of place'. By ascertaining the special significance of the harbour (as place) and its people to the fishermen's everyday existence and social interactions, it was possible to evaluate the impact of the redevelopment on the community's 'sense(s) of place', identity and material existence. Through Relph's (1976) insider-outsider dialectic I attempted to determine the increasing degree of incongruency between the attitudes and objectives of the inshore fishing community and the V&AW and its planners. By unearthing the internal dynamics of the community it was possible to ascertain the multiple, sometimes divergent, identities and senses of place evident within the various groupings and classes. Through an examination of the inter- and intra-class conflict this chapter revealed differences in social power and control. In this way I could explain why the boat-owning class were able to counter feelings of uprootedness (and insecurity) by reasserting their control over space.

Thus, whereas the site of the inshore boats may (through negotiations) have been assured in the short to medium term (see Appendix G), the community's geographic location, social lifeworlds and insiderness are not. In case of the redevelopment of the Silo Precinct (see Figure 5.7) the community's sense of belonging (and place) will be altered, if not destroyed. The transformation of the inshore fishing peninsula will inevitably necessitate the relocation of the inshore factories and companies, thereby weakening long-established emotional bonds between the inshore fishermen and the V&A Harbour.

## CONCLUSION

In this study I have attempted to provide a multi-faceted interpretation of dockland redevelopment using both a non-parochial and parochial view of place. With the help of a conceptual framework which draws upon structure- and agency-orientated theories (chapter two) as well as a qualitative methodological approach (chapter three), this study has examined the Victoria and Alfred Dockland both as the outcome of the wider transition from Fordist to flexible regimes of capitalist accumulation and the specific site of conflict, struggle and material existence. With the help of a *historical materialist* analysis it was possible to trace the spatial and functional development of the Victoria and Alfred Harbour (chapter five). In this way I was able to assess the forces which contributed to the V&A Harbour's initial construction, elaboration and eventual decline. Further, chapter five not only revealed the Victoria and Alfred redevelopment as the culmination of local cityport authorities' attempts to reverse inner city decline, but also elaborated upon the evolving postmodern form and nature of what can be described as the first major dockland redevelopment on the African continent. Moreover, I have endeavoured to demonstrate how the V&AW Company, through the flexible processes of commodification and 'spectacle-isation', has harnessed existing 'history' and 'community' in its pursuit of capital and tourists.

But, as mentioned above, the core of the study was concerned with how the daily lives of the inshore fishermen have been disrupted by the spatial restructuring which has accompanied the redevelopment of the Victoria and Alfred Dockland since 1990. As a key to understanding the lifeworlds of the inshore fishing community, chapter six focused on the working harbour as context. By highlighting the conflictual relations between the V&AW developers and planners and the traditional port-related fishing companies, it was possible to elucidate the struggle over space in the V&A development site. Through an elaboration of the drawn-out and contentious tenure negotiations, chapter Six determined the seemingly insurmountable differences between the V&AW (who represented commercial interests) and POCTFIA (representing the Fishing Industry). Despite having reached an agreement (Tripartite Agreement) which ensured tenure for fishing companies, practical difficulties were experienced when attempting to integrate two groups with opposing needs and agendas.

Using *geographical humanism*, this study proceeded to examine the everyday lifeworld of the inshore fishing community, a place-based group whose past (chapter four) and present (chapter seven) material existence and identity (or sense of place) centred on the

Victoria and Alfred Docklands. Through this parochial view of the V&A Docks (as place) I was able to determine the inshore fishing community's territorial attachments, everyday material existence, multiple identities and sense(s) of place. Focusing on this place-identity-material existence relation it was possible to ascertain not just how the inshore fishermen viewed (and interacted) with others in the community, or how they were able to eke out an existence, but how they perceived the structural and functional changes to their dockland environment. Moreover, by examining the relative insiderness and outsiderness of both the inshore fishermen and the V&AW developers and planners, the incongruity of attitudes and perceptions emerged. Implicit within these were feelings of uprootedness within the inshore fishing community. Materially dependent on the continued existence of the inshore fishing industry (especially the inshore fleet) and experientially rooted in place, most inshore fishermen felt increasingly insecure about their position in the harbour (chapter seven). Whereas the skippers had (through voicing their dissatisfaction) been relatively successful in securing moorage facilities at least for the medium term, ordinary working class fishermen have either resigned themselves to change or left to work on the more mobile ski boats.

As yet it is not clear whether the inshore fishing community along with the inshore fishing industry will be relocated to make way for further development of the Fish Harbour (or Silo Precinct). What is clear, however, is that the community's long-established sense(s) of place has been undermined by the spatial and functional changes thus far. A few years would need to pass in order to assess the full impact of the redevelopment on the inshore fishermen and the working harbour as a whole. Having said that, this preliminary study has served to gauge initial sentiment and reaction to the evolving V&A development. Yet this study raises a number of questions not just about the nature of the V&A redevelopment and dockland regeneration in general, but the underlying economic ethic which directs the planning process.

With the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront redevelopment already a success, other cityport authorities, most notably Durban and Port Elizabeth on the east and south coasts of the country respectively, have also begun implementing redevelopment projects in their respective underutilised port areas. The danger is that these authorities will focus on the economic achievements of the V&AW alone: the large amount of dockland rezoned and put to profitable use; the concomitant rise of land values; the attraction of private investment as well as local and international tourists. They should not be blinded by these profits, but rather question whether the V&AW thus far has succeeded in mitigating the impacts of the development on the port-related activities

and communities. The issue should not be simply to reproduce (as the V&AW has done) the planning strategies and postmodern form which have resulted in success, but also to learn from the mistakes made in the V&A project. It is essential to look beyond the public-relations 'hype' which has surrounded the V&A redevelopment to the reasons underlying the conflict between the V&AW and the Fishing Industry and feelings of uprootedness within the inshore fishing community.

But, as in the case of the V&AW which was set up to achieve economic self-sufficiency in as short a time as possible, maximisation of land values and commercial activity appear as overriding ambitions. Rapid change and the drive for short-term profits can, however, often disadvantage local groups. Whereas the 'Package of Plans' approach (V&AW, 1989) adopted by the V&AW Co. has secured the all-important short-term economic success of the dockland project, it has also resulted in conflict with the largest industrial occupier of space in the V&A Docks, the Fishing Industry. In an attempt to achieve its economic objectives the V&AW Company proposed to rationalise existing fishing operations (Jack, 1992 pers. comm.) with a view to 'filling' this space with 'appropriate' high-status land uses. But, as discussed in chapter six, this led to drawn out contentious negotiations between the V&AW and the Industry which in turn impacted on communities such as (the predominantly marginalised) inshore fishermen. If anything this conflict has emphasised the need for greater participation in planning affecting industrial tenants and communities. But rather than just being instituted at the top V&AW-Industry level, participatory planning structures must allow for representation from community level.

With the pro-development bias gaining momentum both locally and nationally, there exists the danger that affluent developers will further disempower already marginalised communities. Social Impact Analysis (SIA), increasingly part of main-stream planning procedure, has been generally advanced as a means of facilitating increased community involvement. For as Rabel Burdge (1991), an international expert on Social Impact Assessment, points out:

**SIA assists persons to better anticipate the possible social consequences on human populations and communities of proposed public action and policy change. The social impact assessment process alerts the community and community leaders as well as the project proponents, to the likelihood of social impacts. ... The SIA process alerts community and extension leaders to potential social impacts and at the time to receive a realistic appraisal of possible ramifications and suggestions for project alternatives and possible mitigation measures.**

John Short (1989b : 103) is far more cautious in his appraisal of SIA's ability to address issues as fundamental as community disempowerment. Commenting on urban design and planning in Britain he had the following to say:

**One small improvement would be to introduce social impact analysis (SIA), funded by the developers and organised by an independent body for all large and medium building proposals. These SIAs should be written in non-technical, accessible language, perhaps in a standard format, and should include a socially sensitive cost-benefit analysis. The reports should be freely distributed and could be a point of discussion...**

It could also be argued that the adoption of SIA-informed planning process may have presented the V&AW with ways of interfacing and integrating working elements in the evolving commercial development. Thus, rather than forcing out (seemingly incompatible) operations such as Marine Republic Contractors from its Quay Four premises (see chapter six, section 6.2.1), the V&AW could possibly (in consultation with company representatives) have devised strategies aimed at retaining these working operations. Unfortunately, except for allowing the continued operations of Sealink (a ship-servicing company) on Quay Five in front of the Victoria Wharf shopping complex, existing industrial shipwright operations on Quay Four were relocated. Inappropriately high landuse guidelines discouraged other shipwrights from utilising this area. Three years later the Quay Four slipways are being utilised by Farocean Marine. But rather than assisting in the repair of the wooden inshore fishing fleet, Farocean Marine specialises in leisure craft repair, thereby further entrenching the spatial and functional divide between the industrial and commercial sectors of the V&A Harbour. The subsequent consolidation of the commercial development has not only undermined pre-existing social relationships and local group identities, but lost part of the working harbour 'heritage'; an important element in ensuring the flexible regime of capital accumulation.

Thus while the implementation of SIAs may have greatly reduced the conflict between the developers and industrial tenants and helped to facilitate industrial-commercial integration, I seriously doubt whether it would have been entirely effective in offsetting the inshore fishing community's feelings of insecurity and uprootedness. On the contrary, SIAs could possibly even have heightened these sentiments by alerting them to the possible social impacts. Thus, I would argue, a far more fundamental restructuring (or modification) of the planning process is required to ensure community participation and empowerment. The character of flexible accumulation, through which community attachments to place can be undermined (and ultimately destroyed) through spatial restructuring, suggests the need for an alternative planning approach.

There is a very real need for an urban planning and development arrangement that shares both costs and benefits. Short (1989b : 132-133) elaborates:

**The time is now ripe for experiments in community ownership and employee cooperatives. Rather than attract footloose capital with costly incentive schemes, which, even if successful, will probably be at the expense of some other city, we can develop feasible alternatives. ... If we see people as emancipators rather than as prisoners of their economic situation, then we can begin to develop schemes that build upon human resources.**

Thus, rather than using its success to vindicate its short term economic pragmatism, the V&AW (and other present and future urban developers) must avoid disadvantaging (or uprooting) already disadvantaged groups. In a country like South Africa with a legacy of invasive socio-economic planning, developers and planners should be that much more sensitive to the needs of local communities and the social and cultural significance of place. Thus, as the V&AW moves closer to medium-term development objectives (such as the Silo Precinct) it should attempt to include, through progressive social planning, those communities which, by force of circumstance, tradition and routine, have their place in the Victoria and Alfred Dockland. In the light of the present study's findings, there still remains a clear need for planning approaches capable of engineering change while at the same time ameliorating the socio-economic difficulties which are being experienced.

The challenge for the V&AW (and other emerging waterfront developers) lies in developing planning strategies which will assist in achieving economic success as well as sensitise developers and planners to the impacts of their existing plans on the day-to-day social and geographic lifeworlds of place-bound groups such as the inshore fishermen. This can be achieved by developing more effective, socially responsive planning strategies. For instance, developers could empower the economically marginalised communities (such as the inshore fishing community) by financing forum(s) which allow for community objections (or voicing) or alternatively, they could contractually (and financially) link them to the evolving enterprise. Through community representation at committee level or paying them for their role in the waterfront spectacle, for example, the V&AW could help to strengthen existing rootedness prior to insertion of upmarket accommodation and the arrival of affluent residents scheduled for 1995. Of course these and other strategies can be moulded and adapted to suit site-specific difficulties and concerns. But rather than being viewed as 'once-and-for-all-time solutions' (ibid, 1989 : 131), these strategies should be constantly re-evaluated to accommodate changing concerns and ensure maximum social benefit.

I would suggest that future conflict could be avoided not by relegating the inshore industry (and its dependent community) to some surplus space in the corner of the harbour, but by guaranteeing the Industry's (and therefore the community's) present and future place-in-the-harbour. At present it would appear, at least from the inshore fishing community's perspective, that relocation is inevitable once Concentra's lease expires in 2003. Only the future will tell whether the V&AW Company will (in a practical manner) come to appreciate the special significance of the old Fish Harbour and Docks in the life (and identity) of the city and more specifically of the inshore fishing community. John Short (1989b : 105) eloquently sums it up as follows:

**Developers are canny people, sensitive to local conditions. The point is to change these conditions, to change the climate of opinion so that developers have to construct pleasant, usable buildings ... We can reclaim aesthetic and political control of our cities, and still give the developers freedom to work and make money. The public life of a city is only as good as the public life of its citizens. By ensuring engagement and enhancing empowerment we open up the possibilities of greater citizen involvement, greater civic responsibility and greater civic pride.**

## POSTSCRIPT

In the course of writing this thesis, South Africa has undergone an almost miraculous socio-political transformation; from repressive white oligarchy to democratic majority rule. This transformation merits mention not just because it has resulted in the destruction of the socially abhorrent Apartheid system, but also because of its distinctive impact on local South African geography and geographers. Given that all research obtains its significance and relevance from its particular temporal and socio-political contexts, local South African geographical developments must be seen in the context of the changing political complexion of South Africa.

Thus, the unbanning on 2 February 1990 of liberation organisations such as the African National Congress and Pan African Congress, subsequent repeal of discriminatory apartheid legislation, multi-party negotiations and the events prior to and following the country's historic first ever, democratic, non-racial general election held on the 27/28 April 1994 have had, and will continue to have, a definite effect on the nature and content of local geographical research agendas. Building upon the 'apartheid' and 'protest' geographies of the 1980s (Rogerson and Parnell, 1989), South African geographers have most recently begun to formulate a 'post-apartheid' geography (McCarthy and Rogerson, 1992). In addition, rather than simply reflect international geographical developments, local geographers have increasingly since the early 1980s endeavoured to develop a distinctive South African geographical identity. Local humanistic geographers have played an important role in forging this identity. They have in fact done much to create a 'post-apartheid' geography by placing people and their everyday existence on the agendas of mainstream South African geography (Lammas, 1992). Historical and transport geographers have, for instance, done much to place human geography on the forefront of a 'post-apartheid' geography. There has been a resurgence of writing on the South African past (Crush, 1992), as historical geographers attempt to refocus attention of social histories on issues of space and place (Witz, 1990). The intention of this has been to construct 'alternative historical geographies, to the divided landscapes of industrial capitalism; to the "hidden spaces" inhabited by the marginalized and dispossessed; and to a view of space and landscape as a container of struggle, conflict, and resistance' (Crush, 1992 : 17). These new avenues of research symbolise an inherent desire by historical geographers to 'investigate, monitor and unmask the ugly contours of the "inhuman" geography of apartheid' (Rogerson, 1990: 227).

Similarly, South African transport geography has abandoned its descriptive-regional and quantitative styles of the 1960s and 1970s for a qualitative indigenous and somewhat eclectic style in the 1980s and 1990s (Pirie and Khosa, 1992). This change has been marked by 'studies of real railways and roads, actual airways, real vehicles and termini, and sentient, flesh-and-blood passengers' (Pirie and Khosa, 1992 : 285). Like historical geography, South African transport geography in the 1990s not only has a rich and varied base of information to draw on, but an important role to play in an evolving 'post-apartheid' geography. 'Guided by more explicit theoretical concerns', write Pirie and Khosa (1992 : 289), 'transport geographers in the emergent new South Africa might also make some contribution to the vexed question of state intervention versus market mechanisms as instruments of transport provision'.

It can be seen that these emerging qualitatively-inclined 'post-apartheid' (urban, historical, transport) geographies have a vital role to play not just in chronicling past and present geographical realities, but in addressing applied issues relating to the environment, education, health, urban planning, land reform and transport. The response of local geography to these issues is particularly important (for the discipline's future relevance and indeed existence) as we move beyond the events of May 1994 which saw the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President and the constitution of a government of National Unity. Of particular interest to local (and international) geographers is the manner in which the new government, led by President Nelson Mandela, will attempt (with the help of policies aimed at reconstruction and development) to undo the widespread socio-spatial geography of Apartheid.

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## GLOSSARY

**ANC:** African National Congress.

**Bergies:** Vernacular word meaning 'vagrants' or 'homeless'.

**Bokkoms:** Vernacular word meaning 'dried fish'.

**CBD:** Central Business District.

**CCC:** Cape Town City Council.

**Chug-chuggie:** Vernacular term referring to the wooden diesel-powered lobster\crayfish boats which operate out of the Victoria and Alfred Basins. Also referred to as 'day boats'.

**COSATU:** Congress of South African Trade Unions.

**CTA:** Refers to the licences issued by the Cape Town port authority. Need CTA licence to fish out of the Table Bay Harbour.

**Deepsea fishing:** Term used to define the capital intensive industry which includes deepsea trawling, demersal long-lining and south coast lobster fishing. Vessels used in these activities are (given their size (50-75 metres) and strength) able to remain up to three months at sea (Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990).

**DEIC:** Dutch East Indies Company.

**Doillies:** Vernacular word referring to 'artificial bait' used in long-lining.

**Fischmans:** Tribe of Khoisan people who were reportedly good fishermen during the sixteenth century.

**Fry:** Vernacular term referring to a 'free fish' given to a fisherman for his lunch or dinner.

**GSB:** Graduate School of Business.

**Houte:** Vernacular term for the Imperial Cafe, a wooden structure build early in the twentieth century.

**I&J:** Irvin and Johnson.

**Inshore fishing:** Term used to define the labour intensive industry which includes west coast lobster fishing, demersal longlining (for among other things, tuna, squid and snoek). Vessels are wooden and generally under 20 metres of length. Because of their smaller size these vessels tend to fish close to the shore (inshore) and remain at sea from between a month (Tuna boats) to a day (in the case of the lobster boats) (Sturgeon, Ward and Schwartz, 1990).

**ISO:** International Standards Organisation.

**Kabeljou, Harders, Geelbek, Marsbankers and Snoek:** Vernacular words for various popular fish species.

**Khoisan:** Collective term referring to Hottentot and Bushman peoples found at the Cape up until the eighteenth century.

**Langanas:** Vernacular word meaning 'fish trader'.

**Mandjies:** Vernacular term meaning 'basket'.

**Mootjies:** Vernacular word meaning 'pickled snoek'.

**POCTFIA:** Port of Cape Town Fishing Industry Association

**Portnet:** Port authority and a division of TRANSNET.

**R:** Symbol for South African currency, the rand.

**Ro-Ro:** Refers to the Roll on-Roll off vessels which transport motor cars, trucks etc.

**SAFM:** South African Fisheries Museum formerly the South African Fisheries Centre.

**SAR&H:** South African Railways and Harbours.

**SAS:** South African Ship.

**SATS:** South African Transport Services.

**SIA:** Social Impact Assessment (or Analysis).

**Skelm:** Vernacular word meaning 'sly'.

**Skollie or skollie-boys:** Vernacular term meaning 'gangster' or 'lay-about'.

**Snoeking:** Vernacular term used when going to catch a fish species (snoek).

**Steegs:** Vernacular term meaning 'narrow lanes'.

**TRANSNET:** Formerly South African Transport Services. Governmental organisation which controls all of South Africa's transport facilities. Also sole-shareholder in the V&AW Company.

**Trek netting:** Term describing a method of fishing where fish are dragged onto the beach in nets.

**UCT:** University of Cape Town.

**USA:** United States of America.

**V&A:** Used intermittently when referring to the Victoria and Alfred Docks, Harbour, Basins or Dockland.

**V&AW, V&AW Co. or V&AW Company:** Used interchangeably when referring to the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd.

**Vrijburghers:** Dutch word meaning 'free burghers' or 'citizens' who lived at the Cape during DEIC rule.

**WC:** West Coast.

## PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

- Bacon**, 1992: Owner of Viking Fishing, July 1992.
- Bell, J.**, 1992: Group Accountant for the Lusitania Group, August 1992.
- Bester, L.**, 1992: PRO for the V&A Hotel, September 1992.
- Bezuitehout**, 1992: Industrial Manager for Nautilus Marine, August 1992.
- Booyesen, E.**, 1992: Inshore fishermen employed at Hout Bay Fishing, July 1992.
- Bross, R.**, 1992: Secretary of Deepsea Trawling Association, POCTFIA and member of Minister's Liaison Committee, June 1992.
- Carolus, J. (Joey)**, 1992: Inshore fishermen and engineer on *Anesta*, June 1992.
- Correia, C.**, 1992: Chairman of the Tuna Association, July 1992.
- Cottle, D.**, 1992: Skipper of the *Jessica*, July 1992.
- Cottle, H.**, 1992: Managing Director of Good Hope Fishing, August 1992.
- Davidson, B.**, 1992: Regional executive of the ANC and member of DAG (Development Action Group), August 1992.
- De Jesus, M.**, 1992: Owner of Wavecrest, July 1992.
- Digiorgio, G.**, 1992: Owner of the *Bevalyn* (crayfish boat), July 1992.
- Dos Silva**, 1992: Owner of Silvermar, July 1992.
- Fagan, G.**, 1992: Architect and Special Advisor to the V&AW, September 1992.
- Finck**, 1992: Former owner and skipper of a crayfish boat and presently a security guard for the V&AW, July 1992.
- Flanegan, B.**, 1992: Managing Director of Atlantic Fishing, July 1992.
- Henderson**, 1992: Former employee of Concentra, August 1992.
- Jack (Jacko)**, 1992: Retired inshore fishermen on *Marie Louisa*, June-August 1992.
- Jack, D.**, 1992: Managing Director of the V&AW, September 1992.
- Joe**, 1992: An inshore fishermen interviewed, June/July 1992.
- Latus**, 1992: Owner of the *Maria Louisa*, June 1992.
- Le Roux**, 1992: Director of the SA Cultural History Museum, September 1992.
- Meek, R.**, 1992: Architect and Planner with Gallagher, Gallagher and Prinsloo, August 1992.
- Mendel, S.**, 1992: General Manager of Concentra fishmeal factory, July 1992.

- Misplon, R.**, 1992: Owner of Marine Republic Contractors, August 1992.
- Nachenius, R.J.**, 1992: Founder of South African Fisheries Centre and curator of the South African Fisheries Museum, June 1992.
- Ozinsky, S.**, 1992: Education Co-ordinator for the V&AW, August 1992.
- Pam**, 1992: Longtime resident of Colbern Street, August 1992.
- Pequeno, D.**, 1992: Manager of Redako Fishing Products, June 1992.
- Schwartz, N.**, 1992: Consultant with MLH, August 1992.
- Sheuwell, B.**, 1992: Port Captain for the Port of Cape Town, June 1992.
- Skeepers, N.**, 1992: Manager of Wavecrest, June 1992.
- Stephens**, 1992: Negotiator for the Seaman's Maritime Union, June 1992.
- Thomas**, 1992: An inshore fishermen interviewed, June/July 1992.
- Van der Merwe, D.**, 1992: Financial Executive of the V&AW, September 1992.
- Van Schalkwyk**, 1992: Shore skipper for Hout Bay Fishing, June 1992.
- Van Zyl, P.**, 1992: Development Manager for the V&AW, August 1992.
- Vreulink**, 1992: Managing Director of Marpro, July 1992.
- Ward, S.**, 1992: Consultant for DAG and formerly of MLH, August 1992.
- Wasserfal, E.**, 1992: Skipper and owner of *Stormy Weather*, July 1992.
- Whitehead, G.**, 1992: Managing Director of Irvin and Johnson's Trawling Division, July 1992.

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## **APPENDIX A1:**

(CTA's) Licenced craft for 1992

LICENCED CRAFT FOR 1992  
 CTA'S 1 TO 34 - REFER CLAUSE 1.51  
 AND CLAUSE 4.10.2/3 OF THE PORTNET  
 TARIFF BOOK

CTA NO	VESSEL	OWNER'S NAME	TEL NO	LIC NO	SURVEY DUE	M_3	D_L	HULL	CREW	A/C
32	U2	BERTIES SAILING ACAD			37 29-09-92					
132	ABE SHAPIRO	HOUT BAY FISHING	251954		30 07-10-92	184	20	W	20	10084
54	ABRAHAM	PHOENIX INVESTMENTS	5911378		21 18-07-92	283	23	W	23	14000
28	ACE	OCEAN FERRIES	477115		111 16-10-92	25	6	R	5	10158
144	ADELETTE	DA MATA J J	474954		47 26-10-92	189	21	W	15	10256
27	AFRICANA	DOEF	4023075		99 05-02-95	2939	78	R	50	10225
117	AFRIKANER	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39872	11-03-93	2284	61	S	51	10058
26	ALABAMA 2000	CDRUISELINE			109 03-09-92					
42	ALASKA	DE SOUSA V C	474664		3 30-10-92	241	24	W	14	14000
97	ALKAR 2	VIKING FISHING	4194140		58 24-03-92	846	47	S	25	10185
50	ALDE	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39874	30-09-92	2298	61	S	51	10058
29	ALTER EGO	GILDLESTONE NL	254292		0 21-03-92	10				
7	ALWYN VINCENT	SA MARITIME M.			0 09-05-92					
16	AMANDA	SEALINK	254480		89 06-09-92	-25	11	F	2	10275
59	ANEMONE	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39875	21-10-92	2270	61	S	51	10058
211	ANESTA	BRIDGER AND ANGELICO	253068		68 19-10-92	80	14	W	19	10026
71	ANQUINETTE	VIRRISINO M B	471720		27 11-10-92	62	16	W	8	14000
157	AQUILLA	D OLIVIERA T A L	5913324		8 03-10-92	283	23	W	24	14000
53	AKCHEK	CORREIA C DE J	454948		0 24-10-92	122	16	W	12	14000
209	ARCO	SANDERMAN R			98 18-12-92					
95	ARIES	VIKING FISHING	4194140		57 18-08-92	468	31	S	20	10185
154	ARMANA	VIKING FISHING	4194140		54 06-02-93	1104	47	S	23	10185
294	ARUM	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39888	21-11-92	2130	50	S	34	10058
00	ATLANTIC OCEAN	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665		0 21-10-91	52	13	W	12	10173
133	AUBACORA	DENELAS FISHING	252211		52 06-08-92	2341	39	S	38	10155
104	AVRIL W	SA SEA PRODUCTS	7901140		0 07-08-90	180	18	W	16	10124
87	AZALEA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39876	05-02-93	2284	61	S	51	10058
89	BAIA DE ZARCO	PIMENTA FISHING	517580		0 30-06-90	691	39	W	0	10055
84	BARATZ	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665		92 20-09-92	521	33	S	25	10173
115	BEGONIA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39884	03-12-92	1941	44	S	33	10058
43	BENQUELLA VIKING	VIKING SHIPPING	4194140		55 08-01-93	851	45	S	18	10185
44	BERTIES FERRY	BERTIES LANDING			4433 08-01-93	5	5	F	28	14000
437	BEVALYN	DIGIDREID B	451833		0 14-10-92	44	15	W	14	14000
18	BLOUBERG	PRISONS DEPT	4191300		0 27-11-91	722	29	F	6	10219
626	BOA VEAGEN	VIERA D & SONS	471693		113 17-10-92	40	15	W	12	14000
707	BOSVELD	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665		73 02-04-92	48	15	W	12	10173
263	BRESSA	BRIDGER & ANGELICO	253067		69 23-09-92	164	17	W		10026
90	CAPENSIS	IRVIN AND JOHNSON	251300		0 27-06-91	820	33	S	28	10058
51	CARPEDIEM	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665		114 12-11-92	310	28	S	18	10173
33	CHEETAH	DA GAMA JA	7904453		0 01-10-92	280	21	W	18	14000
101	CHRIS TRAUTMAN	AGRELA C R	5917634		0 19-09-92	133	18	W	12	10026
754	CHRISTIAAN DE WET	LAUBSCHER C H	770484		0 15-12-90	258	22	W	10	14000
147	CHRISTIE SUE	DE OLIM M	7903013		5 25-08-92	181	20	W	15	10327
03	CHRISTINA MARINE	MARPRO TRAWLING	217500		40 21-04-93	2908	67	S	47	10102
81	CHRISTINE	DA GAMA J A	7904453		0 13-08-92	283	24	W	14	10077
74	CONDOR	HILLS K B	4175612		34 21-11-91	197	20	S	75	18019
83	CRASSULA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39877	22-08-92	2284	61	S	51	10058
6	CUSTOS	CPA	450757		0 27-08-92	2248	50	R	22	10262

LICENCED CRAFT FOR 1992  
 CTA'S 1 TO 34 - REFER CLAUSE 1.51  
 AND CLAUSE 4.10.2/3 OF THE PORTNET  
 TARIFF BOOK

CTA NO	VESSEL	OWNER'S NAME	TEL NO	LIC NO	SURVEY DUE	M_3	O_L	HULL	CREW	A/C
165	DAAN VILJOEN	HOUT BAY FISHING	251984	31	07-10-92	174	19	W	20	10084
303	DAHLIA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39889	24-11-92	2130	50	S	34	10058
690	DAVID LOURENCO	DA SILVA D	989030	20	27-05-92	39	14	W	12	14000
1	DAWN	SEALINK	251480	101	01-04-93	-25	10	F	2	10275
330	DELMAY	DA SILVA H G	593513	104	11-09-92	35	13	W	12	14000
48	DEO VOLENTE	LUSITANIA FISHING	216466	74	20-07-92	316	30	S	20	10173
212	DEUS TE AJUDE	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	75	18-02-93	68	16	W	12	10173
20	DIAS	PRISONS DEPT	4191300	0	10-10-92	2 360	28	F	6	10219
55	DISA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39892	13-08-92	421	29	S	30	10058
65	DONNA MARIA LIGIA	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	76	20-01-93	805	43	S	29	10173
83	EAGLE STAR	HOUT BAY FISHING	251984	64	25-11-92	1226	50	S	50	10084
36	EL PESCADOR	DE SOUSA M F	475448	39870	23-10-92	49	14	W	6	14000
166	ELANDSBERG	DE FLORENCA J J G	462965	0	23-10-92	105	18	W	12	14000
9	EI TABETH R	SEALINK	254480	83	12-11-92	-25	11	F	11	10275
98	ENDURANCE	VIRISSIMO M B	446561	28	01-10-92	140	17	W	12	14000
131	ERICA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39885	31-10-92	1941	44	S	33	10058
69	ESTRELO DO MAR	DE OLIM J	591780	36	17-06-92	283	24	W	16	10166
313	EUGEN MARINE	MARPRO TRAWLING	251184	42	03-11-92	3518	74	S	14	10102
25	FALCON	FALCON CHARTERS		32	20-11-92					
49	FREDA R	RODRIGUES J	502522	34	15-10-92	51	15	W	6	14000
162	GALLANTRY 2	HOUT BAY FISHING	251984	62	25-09-92	852	43	S	30	10084
107	GODETIA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39878	10-02-93	2269	61	S	51	10058
41	GREAT OUTDOORS	MILLER K G		0	28-11-91	7	7	F		14000
148	HELENA MARIE	LUSITANIA FISHING	216466	77	06-05-92	567	34	S	12	10173
497	HISPANHOLA	GOOD HOPE FISHERIES	253030	105	14-08-92	162	19	W	12	10261
221	INTERSEA 21	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	0	19-11-91	354	23	S	21	10173
222	INTERSEA 22	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	78	17-04-92	354	23	S	21	10173
250	JAMES KAISER	SA SEA PRODUCTS	7901140	0	29-11-90	108	16	W	6	10124
163	JAN MARIA	HOUT BAY FISHING	251984	0	12-12-91	803	41	S	30	10084
3	JAO	DEPTH REC. UNIT	4175018	0	22-08-91	25	11	D	10	10319
7	JASUS	CPA	450757	0	14-04-92	241	23	R	0	10262
230	JENNY LEE	DA LUZ & SON C.C.	968417	0	05-10-91	199	20	W	20	14000
94	JESSICA	HARRY COTTLE FISHING	6377157	0	31-10-92	60	16	W	12	10174
	JOHN ROSS	PENTOW MARINE	251616	0	31-12-91	7665	95	S	41	10275
168	JONATHAN	DE OLIVIERA A	479637	17	01-10-92	94	17	W	12	14000
50	KARASBERG	TELES A H	478442	39869	22-10-92	57	15	W	6	14000
138	KARIDA	HOUT BAY FISHING	251984	12	13-11-92	185	21	W	16	10084
150	KENTUCKY	JFP FISHING	424624	0	03-10-91	222	20	W	16	10261
111	KINGKLIP	MARTINS A/MENDOZA A	4395034	43	14-10-92	100	18	W	6	14000
170	KUSWAG 1	PENTOW MARINE	251616	91	01-05-92	421	29			10275
171	KUSWAG 2	PENTOW MARINE	251616	92	12-03-93	421	29			10275
172	KUSWAG 4	PENTOW MARINE	251616	93	02-06-92	421	29			10275
173	KUSWAG 5	PENTOW MARINE	251616	94	27-10-92	421	29			10275
85	LADSMITH	SA SEA PRODUCTS	7901140	0	07-11-90	100	16	W	6	10124
153	LARKSPUR	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39890	01-05-92	2130	50	S	34	10058
146	LE PANTO	VIKING FISHING	4194140	56	30-01-93	765	39	S	18	10185
47	LE TIGRE	BERTIE REED		2	30-08-92	17	17	F		14000
293	LEE ANNE (ROSS JUP)	VIKING FISHING	4194140	26	09-04-92	1078	47	S	10	10185

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 CTA'S 1 TO 34 - REFER CLAUSE 1.51  
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CTA NO	CTA NO	VESSEL	OWNER'S NAME	TEL NO	LIC NO	SURVEY DUE	M_3	O_L	HULL	CREW	A/C
52	134	LIBERTAS	MORNELAS FISHING	252211	53	10-02-93	736	39	S	22	10155
213	145	LILY MARLENE	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	0	04-09-91	154	19	W	20	10173
46	35	LINCOLN	VIKING FISHING	4194140	57	07-07-92	1172	47	S	19	10185
185	136	LINDA MARIE	PIMENTA FISHING	517580	0	06-11-92	219	24	W	16	10005
127	120	LOPELIA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39879	24-07-92	2298	61	S	51	10059
184	103	LORRAINE	VIKING FISHING	4194140	0	06-03-92	533	35	S		10185
23	119	LUCERNE	VIKING FISHING	4194140	65	28-07-92	917	44	S	18	10185
31	290	LUDERITZ STAR	BRIDGER & ANGELICO	253067	70	28-08-92	150	19	W	17	10026
181	183	LUPIN	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39895	26-05-92	3351	68	S	75	10058
169	135	MACHIM 1	MORNELAS FISHING	252211	71	09-01-93	526	34	S	21	10155
80	161	MARE SERENITATIS	HOUT BAY FISHING	251984	61	23-09-92	1746	60	S	32	10084
68	664	MARIA LUISA	ANGELICO L	444780	41	29-01-93	31	14	W	17	14000
156	158	MARIA MARINE	MARPRO TRAWLING	252184	79	25-10-93	1398	53	S	43	10102
122	74	MARIE CLAIRE	LUSITANIA FISHING	216466	0	25-10-93	1396	50	S		10173
141	240	MARINA	TELO L	598874	0	20-02-91	21	12	W	10	14000
32	56	MELODIE	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	0	01-09-91	303	38	S	29	10173
15	143	MISS ITALY	RUSSO G	492076	9	31-10-92	34	14	W	17	14000
576	110	MODERN MAID	KONSORTIUM KREEF	252717	0	30-09-92	46	15	W	12	10157
137	75	MONIE MARINE	VIKING FISHING	252184	0	24-02-93	1398	53	S	34	10102
590	61	MONTÉ BELLU	LUSITANIA FISHING	216466	0	05-11-91	206	20	W	20	10173
14	195	NAMAQUA	KONSORTIUM KREEF	252717	0	05-01-93	165	20	W	12	10157
159	152	NERINE	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39891	21-03-92	2130	50	S	34	10050
218	155	NEW MEXICO	MENEZES J	4484074	15	18-09-92	213	21	W	12	10157
576	466	NEWLANDS	DE JESUS FISH INVEST	5917685	39872	30-10-91	32	15	W	15	14000
149	38	NORTH STAR	CAPE DIVING & SALVAG	4174341	0	23-01-92	115	17	D	8	10034
150	29	OCEAN PRIDE	OCEAN FERRIES	717297	66	15-05-92	530	27	F	37	10158
140	40	OCEAN STAR	GIRDLESTONE N	7972824	0	08-01-92		16	F	10	14000
108	151	OCEANA BOCKET	J.FERNANDES	472825	0	25-09-92	213	21	W	16	14000
77	126	OCEANA VIKING	SA SEA PRODUCTS	7901140	0	09-01-91	716	34	S	12	10124
114	70	DOM BEN	BROSS INVESTMENT	583488	0	18-10-91	84	21	W	16	14000
99	24	OSTERLAND	WARREN MARINE	7901040	0	01-12-91		36	S	8	10268
130	335	DUPAAS	SILVA L	5917823	18	21-07-92	168	19	W	16	14000
139	64	DUMA	VIRRISSIMO A	45039	24	14-10-92	128	18	W	12	14000
203	21	P P 1	PRISONS DEPT	4191300	0	04-03-91	12	8	P	0	10219
129	22	P P 2	PRISONS DEPT	4191300	0	04-04-92	12	8	P	0	10219
73	45	PALINURUS	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	0	18-02-92	135	48	S	29	10173
39	246	PAULINE BRIDGE	KONSORTIUM KREEF	471648	46	23-07-92	122	17	W	6	10157
106	8	PELICAN	SEALINK	254480	82	30-07-92	0	9	F	12	10275
116	37	PENGUIN	PRISONS DEPT	4191300	112	13-04-93	245	18	F	68	10219
174	164	PORTIA 1	HOUT BAY FISHING	251984	63	14-11-92	2613	44	S	30	10084
608	128	PRAZERES	PRAZERES FISHING		0	23-11-90	34	12	W	6	14000
100	31	PRINCE ALFRED	GILDELSTON N	254292	0	15-10-92					
428	67	PROTEA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39880	19-01-93	2284	61	S	51	10058
62	82	PROTECTOR 1	CPA	450757	0	18-07-91		13		4	10262
63	167	PROTEUS	PRISONS DEPT	4191300	0	31-03-91	245	18	F	60	10219
112	92	RED HAWK	DE PAD M J R	472793	39898	15-10-92	200	19	W	16	14000
274	17	REUNION	SEALINK		90	10-06-92	313	27	S	11	10275
66	142	RIVIERGANG	DA LUZ J L V	4171415	25	22-09-92	589	21	W	12	14000

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CTA NO	VESSEL	OWNER'S NAME	TEL NO	LIC NO	SURVEY DUE	M_3	D_L	HULL	CREW	A/C
182	STOESSE	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39894	13-09-92	4454	84	S	74	10058
425	STORMY WEATHER	WASSERFALL E	729453	0	03-10-92	32	11	W	12	10032
394	SUDWES	DAS NEVES J T	598874	97	06-02-93	36	15	W	12	14000
19	SILSAN KRUGER	FRISONS DEPT	4191300	0	15-11-91	151	31	F	6	10219
105	SWIFT	BRIDGER ANGELICO	253068	0	17-10-91	31	11	W	12	10026
109	THE HARRY	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	0	03-10-91	71	15	W	12	10173
471	TICKEY	LUSITANIA FISHING	253665	0	15-05-91	88	16	W	12	10173
60	TIGER REEF	LOPES J H N	5915356	0	16-10-91	91	17	W	10	14000
186	TINA	DA SILVA J M M	473786	0	16-12-92	119	20	S	16	14000
427	TITEN	FERREIRA J M A	5113934	14	18-10-92	83	16	W	12	14000
5	TRACHURUS	DOEF	4023099	67	08-01-93	244	22	R	0	10225
4	TYGERBEEG	SEALINK	254480	86	21-08-92	109	17	F	5	10275
202	VALHALLA	GOOD HOPE FISHERIES	474853	106	19-09-92	179	19	W	12	10261
102	VAN DER STEL	SWANEPOEL H J	9020706	0	10-03-90		9	W	8	14000
91	VASCO DA GAMA	GOOD HOPE FISHERIES	6377157	107	30-09-92	18	13	W	0	10261
121	VFLOMA	DE ADREU J	465132	22	22-08-92	83	16	W	12	14000
96	VERA MARINE	VIKING FISHING	252184	60	13-03-92	1340	53	S	40	10102
57	VERBENA	IRVIN & JOHNSON	251300	39883	<del>05-05-93</del>	2298	61	S	51	10058
10	VICTORY	SEALINK	254480	84	01-04-93	-25	9	F	2	10275
2	VIVIFENNE W	MARITIME TECHNOLOGY	861092	0	04-07-91	25	11		12	14000
118	VLAERERG	DA MATA J J	474954	49	10-10-92	33	18	W	12	10256
11	VONIE	SEALINK	254480	95	29-09-92	-25	9	F	1	10275
199	WATER MARK	SPORTSMARK	4197744	38	03-10-92	25	11	F	12	14000
72	WESTERDAM	WESTERDAM CLOSE COFF	578093	0	13-10-92	193	20	W	25	14000
200	WILMAG	TELD A D S	461775	110	03-10-92	100	16	W	10	14000
	WOLRAAD WOLTEMADE	PENTOW MARINE	251616	0	31-07-93		95	S	41	10275

## **APPENDIX A2:**

Questionnaire A - The Inshore Fishermen

## QUESTIONNAIRE A

### QUESTION FRAMEWORK - THE INSHORE FISHERMEN

Hello, my name is Darryll Kilian. I am a student at the University of Cape Town. I am carrying out a survey to try and find out how you and other inshore fishermen feel about the present changes to the Victoria and Alfred Docks (V&A Dockland) and how these changes have affected your daily routine. You may chose not to answer these questions if you wish, but should you decide to participate I can assure you that anything you may say will not be repeated. I would like to emphasise at this point, that as a student I have no power or influence over the planners involved in redeveloping the V&A Dockland, other than to inform them of my findings.

#### A. CONTEXTUAL

Respondent's name (if offered): \_\_\_\_\_

1. Are you a skipper or a crew member?
2. (If a skipper) Do you:
  - (a) own the boat yourself (i.e. soleownership);
  - (b) share the ownership with one other person (i.e. co-ownership);
  - (c) share the ownership with 2 or more people (i.e. shareholdership);
  - (d) or are you an employee on a company boat.
3. (If owner of boat) How many years have you owned a boat?
4. For how many years have you been involved in fishing?
5. Why did you become involved in fishing? Was it due to one or more of the following reasons:
  - (a) Family interests/tradition
  - (b) Introduction by friends
  - (c) The money that could be earned
  - (d) Job offers

(e) Any other reasons \_\_\_\_\_

6. Are there different fishing seasons?  
If yes, (i) What are these seasons?  
(ii) What kinds of fish are caught?  
(iii) Do you fish in all of the seasons?  
(iv) (If not) In which seasons do you fish?
7. What do you do with the fish you catch? Do you:  
(a) sell them (If yes) Where are they sold?  
(b) use them for bait  
(c) eat them yourself  
(d) give them away
8. Do you earn enough money from fishing to live on and support a family?
9. How do you earn money when fishing is poor or when you are ill?
10. Are you a member of a fishing group; association or union?  
(a) If yes (i) What is the name of the group/association/union?  
(ii) Why did you decide to become a member?  
(b) If not, why not?
11. Have you always fished from/worked from the V&A Dockland?  
(a) If yes, how long have you fished from/worked from the V&A Dockland?  
(b) If not, where else did you fish from immediately before moving to the V&A Dockland?  
(c) Where else have you fished from?
12. Why do you work from/in the Victoria and Alfred Basins rather than Kalk Bay or Simonstown, for example?
13. Has there been a change in where fishermen can or cannot moor their boats in the V&A Dockland?  
If so, what are these changes?
14. Do you need a permit to fish from/out of the V&A Dockland?

- If yes, (i) Are there a limited number of permits?  
(ii) Are there any requirements one needs to meet in order to qualify for a permit?  
(iii) (If yes) What are these requirements?  
(iv) How long does the permit allow you to fish from the V&A Docks?  
(v) How much does a permit cost?  
(vi) Has the cost increased?
15. Do you have a permit to fish from/out of the V&A Dockland?
16. Do you intend to renew your permit/lease? Why is that?
17. What are the main problems facing inshore fishing in the Victoria and Alfred Dockland?  
(If unsure) What about foreign and commercial fishing fleets, yachting, tourism, harbour redevelopment, overfishing etc.?
18. Which of those problems which you have mentioned would you consider to be:  
The most serious \_\_\_\_\_  
The least serious \_\_\_\_\_
19. What do you feel about these problems?
20. What in your opinion is the future of inshore fishing in the Victoria and Alfred Docks?

**B. ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS CONCERNING THE REDEVELOPMENT**

21. What in your opinion were the most important features/attributes of the V&A Dockland before it was redeveloped?
22. Which of these features/attributes do you think were special? Why do you say that?
23. Which of these features/attributes have been changed by the redevelopment of the V&A Dockland?
24. Which of the many changes do you most regret? Why?
25. Which of the changes do you think are for the best? Why is that?

26. Do you think you will benefit from these changes?
  - (a) If yes, why?
  - (b) If no, why?
27. Do you use the new facilities such as Quay Four, Berties Landing, Quaffers etc which have been established in and around the pier head?
28. (Aimed mainly at skippers) Do you have a contact with any of the businesses in the V&A Dockland? i.e. to supply fish.
  - (a) If yes, (i) what type of business(es) is it, and (ii) what arrangement do you have with them?
  - (b) If not, why?
29. Have you had to change your fishing and after-fishing activities because of the redevelopment? If so, why and how?
30. Do you "feel" more or less of a 'sense of belonging' or attachment since the changes to the V&A Dockland began? Why do you say that?
31. If you were given the choice, would you prefer to move and establish yourself and/or your boat(s) in another fishing harbour?
  - (a) If yes, (i) where would you chose to go, and (ii) why?
  - (b) If not, why not?
32. Do you know of any fishermen who have moved their fishing boats from the V&A Dockland?
  - (a) If yes, (i) Do you know why they moved? (ii) Where they moved to? (iii) How many moved?
33. Do you know of any fishermen who have moved to the V&A Dockland after the redevelopment had began?
  - (a) If yes, (i) Do you know why they moved here? (ii) Where they had come from? (iii) How many moved?
34. Do you think it is important for the fishermen to remain in the V&A Dockland?
  - (a) If so, why?

(b) If not, why not?

**C. DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION**

35. When did you first find out about plans to redevelop the Old Harbour?  
(a) Year?  
(b) Month?
36. How did you find out about these proposals:  
(i) through word of mouth  
(ii) by letter  
(iii) public meetings  
(iv) told about it by other fishermen  
(v) read about it in the newspaper  
(vi) any other ways \_\_\_\_\_
37. (If by letter) Who send the letter and what did it say?
38. (If public meetings)  
(a) How did you find out about the public meetings?  
(b) When was\were the meeting(s) held?  
(c) Where was\were the meeting(s) held?
39. Did you personally attend these meetings (or did you send someone else in your place)?  
(a) (If attended) (i) Why did you think it important to attend these meetings?  
(ii) Who else attended?  
(b) (If not attended) Why did you not attend?
40. Were you or any other inshore fishermen approached by planners or city officials for comment on the proposed changes to the Victoria and Alfred Docks?  
(a) If yes, (i) When were you asked?  
(ii) Were you asked to comment on changes to date?  
(iii) What were you asked to comment on?  
(iv) Were you asked to suggest ideas for the future?  
(b) If not, why do you think you have not been asked to comment?

41. Were you given assurances from the V&A Co. that you will be able to continue operating in the V&A Dockland?
  - (a) If yes, have these assurances been fulfilled?
  - (b) If not, why do you think these assurances have not been fulfilled?
42. Would you like to know more about the redevelopment? Why?
  - (a) If yes, what would you like to know; and
  - (b) why?
  - (c) If not, why not?
43. What are your main concerns regarding the redevelopment of the Victoria and Alfred Dockland?
  - (a) In what ways do you think these concerns can be addressed?
  - (b) Do you think the planners would be willing to address these concerns? Why?
44. Would you like to be involved in those aspects of planning of the redevelopment which may affect the inshore fishermen; such as the allocation of mooring space?

**D. PERSONAL DETAILS (if volunteered)**

In conclusion I would like to thank you for partaking in this survey. Your contribution has been much appreciated. There are however a few personal details I would like from you, but you are under no obligation to provide them.

What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_

How many breadwinners are there in your family?

\_\_\_\_\_

How many dependants are there in your family?

\_\_\_\_\_

What level of education does the breadwinner have?

\_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Telephone number: \_\_\_\_\_

Personal acquaintances which could provide further insights  
into life in Rogge Bay and/or the Old Harbour before  
redevelopment: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX A3:**

Questionnaire B - The V&AW Developers and Planners

## QUESTIONNAIRE B

### QUESTION FRAMEWORK - THE V&AW DEVELOPERS AND PLANNERS

Hello, I am from the University of Cape Town. I am carrying out a survey to assess peoples perceptions/attitudes regarding the present changes to the Victoria and Alfred Docks. In order to contextualise these perceptions, I need to establish the rationale behind the redevelopment and its envisioned impacts upon those people who presently work in the Victoria and Alfred Dockland; mainly within the fishing and ancillary repair activities. Your co-operation will be much appreciated and your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence.

#### A. CONTEXTUAL (information relating to the redevelopment)

1. When was the V&AW Co. first established?
2. Who initiated its establishment and are these parties and/or people represented in the V&AW Co.?
3. Why was the V&AW Co. established?
4. What is the projected lifespan of the V&AW Co.?
5. What policy has the V&AW Co. adopted to help regulate the redevelopment of the area presently under its control?
6. What are the basic aims and objectives of the V&AW Co.?
7. What planning approach has been adopted to ensure that these aims and objectives as laid out by the V&AW Co. are realised?
8. Did the V&AW Co. conduct a Social Impact Assessment (SIA)?  
If not, why not?
9. How flexible is this planning approach? Why?
10. To what extent has the V&AW Co. progressed toward the fulfillment of these aims and objectives?

**B. ATTITUDES CONCERNING FISHING INDUSTRY AND COMMUNITIES**

11. Does the V&AW Co. intend to maintain the activities of a working harbour within the areas under its control?
12. How does the V&AW Co. define a working harbour?
13. Is it the V&AW Co.'s intention to maintain all activities presently operating in and out of the V&A area?
  - (a) If yes, why has it chosen to do so?
  - (b) If not, which activities will be excluded and why?
14. What do the V&AW Co. believe the deepsea and inshore Fishing Industry could contribute in terms of its:
  - (i) ambience, and
  - (ii) commercial importance?
15. Does the V&AW Co. intend to integrate the Fishing Industry into the development in its entirety?
  - (a) If yes, how does it propose to this?
  - (b) If not, which component of the Industry will be excluded?
16. What is the relationship between the V&AW Co. and the businesses in the V&A Harbour?
17. What structure(s) and/or organisation(s) have been established thus far to facilitate closer co-operation between the Fishing Industry and the V&AW Co. and the maintenance services and the V&AW Co.? (i.e. Tripartite Agreement).
18. How representative are these structure(s) and/or organisation(s) of the various fishing and ancillary repair companies in the V&A area?
19. What were the reasons for setting up these lines of communication? (i.e. structures/organisations)
20. What is the nature of the issues which have been discussed in these forums?
21. What has been the substance of negotiations between the V&AW Co. and the Fishing Industry relating specifically to the issues of:
  - (i) tenure and

(ii) rentals

22. What is the present status of negotiations between the V&AW Co. and the Fishing Industry?
23. What has been the general attitude of the fishing community towards the development of the V&A area? Why do you say that?
24. How does the V&AW Co. view the future of the inshore crayfish and tuna fishing boats presently moored alongside Concentra, the Fish Market and Collier Jetty?
25. Does the V&AW intend to allocate a permanent mooring space for these inshore boats?  
If yes,
  - (i) What mooring space could be set aside?
  - (ii) Under what conditions will mooring space be made available?
  - (iii) Would there be sufficient mooring space given the possible future influx of leisure craft?
26. Is it the V&AW Co.'s intention to upgrade facilities presently occupied by the inshore fishing boats?  
If yes,
  - (i) What form would this improvement take?
  - (ii) How will the improvements be funded?
  - (iii) How would any possible levies be determined?
27. What problems has the V&AW Co. encountered and/or does it foresee when implementing its plans within the context of a working harbour?
28. (If unmentioned) What emphasis does the V&AW Co. place on security within the V&A area? Why?
29. What are the principal security problems which the V&AW Co. presently experiences particularly relating to the Fishing Industry's employees?

#### C. ATTITUDES ABOUT PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

30. What is the V&AW Co.'s policy regarding participation?
31. Has there been public and/or private participation in this redevelopment?  
If so,
  - (i) Who was it aimed at?
  - (ii) What form has it taken?

- (iii) Is it an ongoing process?
- (iv) Do you monitor the impacts of developments?

32. Is it the V&AW Co.'s intention to include the Fishing Industry in the planning of future developments which they have a direct interest (such as the siting of floating hotels, restaurants and/or museums)?  
If yes, (i) Who would be consulted?  
(ii) What could they contribute? [What form has and/or could their involvement take and why?]  
(iii) What sort of input would the V&AW Co. hope to get from the fishing community?
33. In what area of the development, if at all, has the fishing community and ancillary repair concerns displayed an interest?
34. How would a working harbour contribute to the overall success of the V&A redevelopment?
35. Does the V&AW Co. foresee the possible future relocation of any working component or activity in the presently operating in and out of the V&A Docks?  
If yes,  
(i) Which activity or facility?  
(ii) Why would they be required to relocate?  
(iii) Where would it/they be relocated to?

**D. PERSONAL DETAILS**

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone number clarification and/or queries: \_\_\_\_\_

Those people presently involved in the planning and/or developing of the V&A waterfront which may provide further insights into the redevelopment:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**APPENDIX A4:**

Fishing Industry Interview Schedule

## FISHING INDUSTRY INTERVIEWS

### CONTEXTUAL

Name of the company \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of interviewee \_\_\_\_\_  
Interviewee's position in the company \_\_\_\_\_

How long has the company operated in the V&A area?

Why was it located in the V&A area?

What types of 'fish' does the company catch?

What types of boats does the company use for this purpose?

How many people are employed by the company?

### REDEVELOPMENT

How has the company's operations changed since the V&AW Co. took over as landlord?

Does the company still feel secure in its operations?

What type of relationship, if any, does the company have with the V&AW Co.?

Is the company a member of POCTFIA?

Why did the company decide to join\not to join POCTFIA?

How has POCTFIA served your company's interests in negotiations between the Fishing Industry and the V&AW Co.?

Are you aware of the Tripartite Agreement which has been established?

Do you think this will secure your company's continued existence in the V&A area?

What do you think the impacts would be should your company be asked to relocate?

### PARTICIPATION

Do you think the V&A area should remain a 'working harbour'?  
If yes, why?

Do you think it is likely to remain a 'working harbour',  
why?

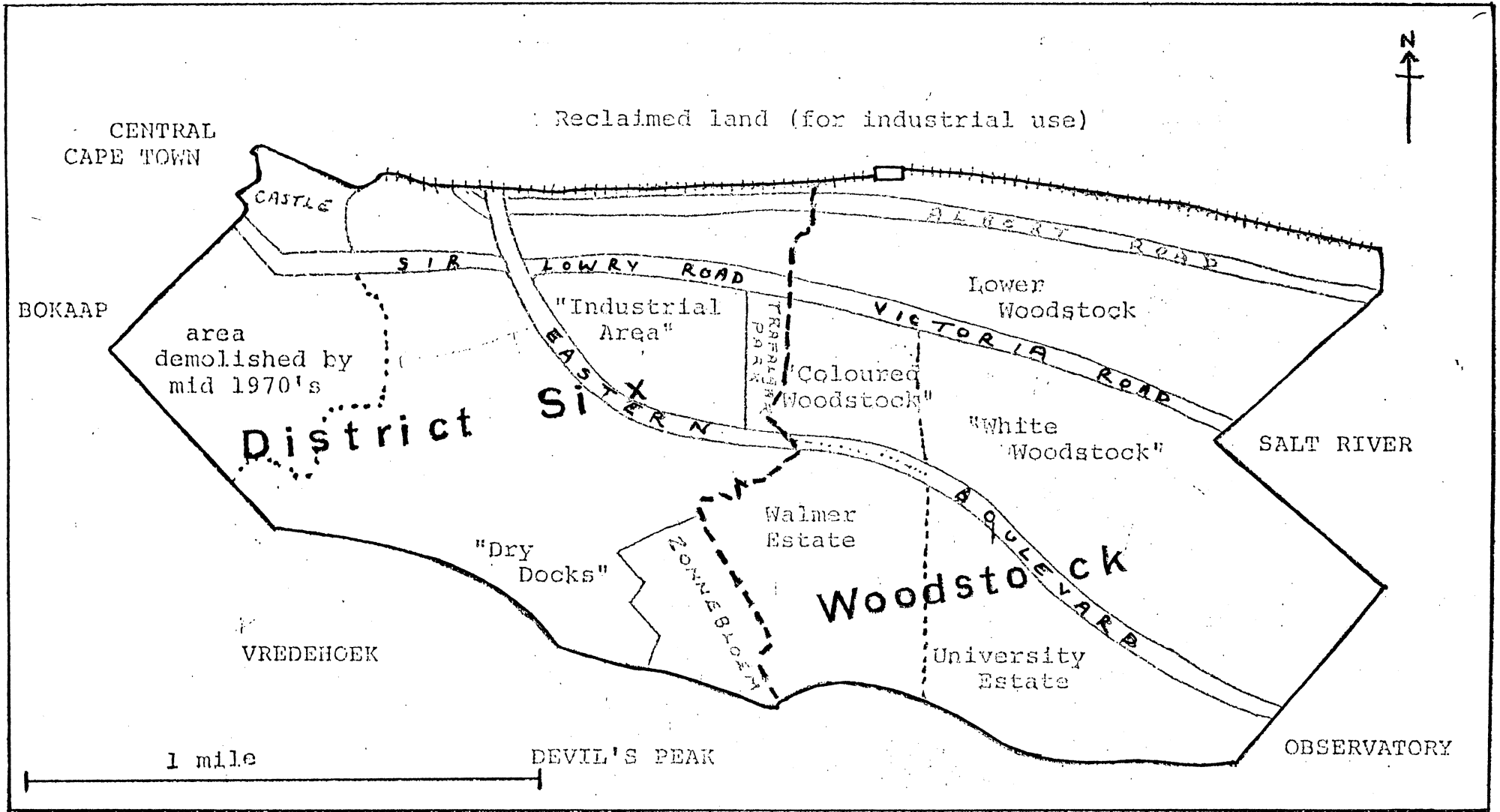
Do you think the Fishing Industry can work together with the V&AW Co. in redeveloping the area? Why?

Would your company be prepared to contribute towards the upgrading of quaysides and buildings presently occupied by the Fishing Industry? Why?

Are you optimistic regarding the future of the Fishing Industry and particularly your company in the V&A area? Why?

**APPENDIX B:**

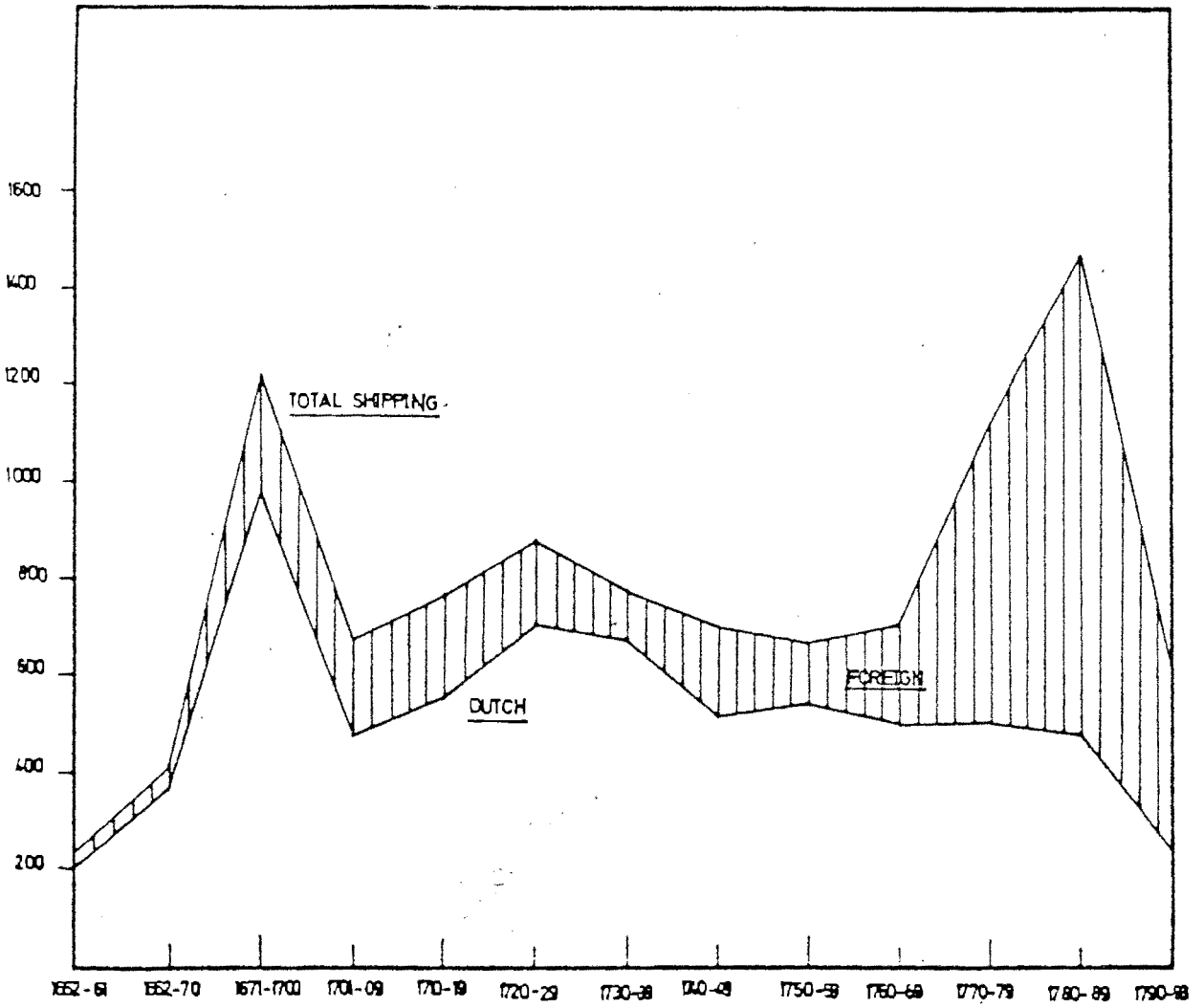
Map of District Six and Woodstock



(Source: Ridd, 1981)

## **APPENDIX C1:**

Numbers of ships calling at Table Bay Harbour (1652-1793)



(Source: Rush, 1972:82)

## **APPENDIX C2:**

Numbers of ships calling at Table Bay Harbour (1807-1882)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SHIPS INWARD</u>	<u>TONNAGES</u>
1807	200	+
1810	118	+
1815	192	+
1820	254	+
1825	128	40 750
1830	194	63 765
1835	367	106 616
1840	475	139 023
1845	757	207 805
1850	607	175 228
1855	642	160 076
1860	724	215 150
1865	528	184 562
1870	559	167 542
1875	797	429 139
1880	914	843 807
1882	926	1 039 230

(Source: Cape of Good Hope Blue Books and Statistical Registers, 1807-1882)

Year ending 31st March	Steamers Coal/Oil	Sailers	Total	Gross Tonnage
1910			362	1 029
1915	1 367	24	1 482	5 695 498
1920	1 022	26	1 317	4 939 556
1925	1 456	10	1 675	6 710 574
1930	1 906		2 192	7 004 644
1935	1 509 51	1	1 960	8 394 897
1940	477 422		3 011	13 988 410
1945	216 415	3	1 460	5 086 141
1950	209 762		3 365	14 056 846
1955	38 775		4 415	16 201 363
1957	33 1322		5 796	26 969 468*
1960	3 640		5 859	17 105 704
1965	13 570		6 646	20 038 289
1968	1081		8 880	41 461 552*
1970	758		7 582	38 581 261
1975			2 374	124 799 716
1980			1 742	98 170 182
1985			4 164	68 113 756
1990			4 658	65 685 251

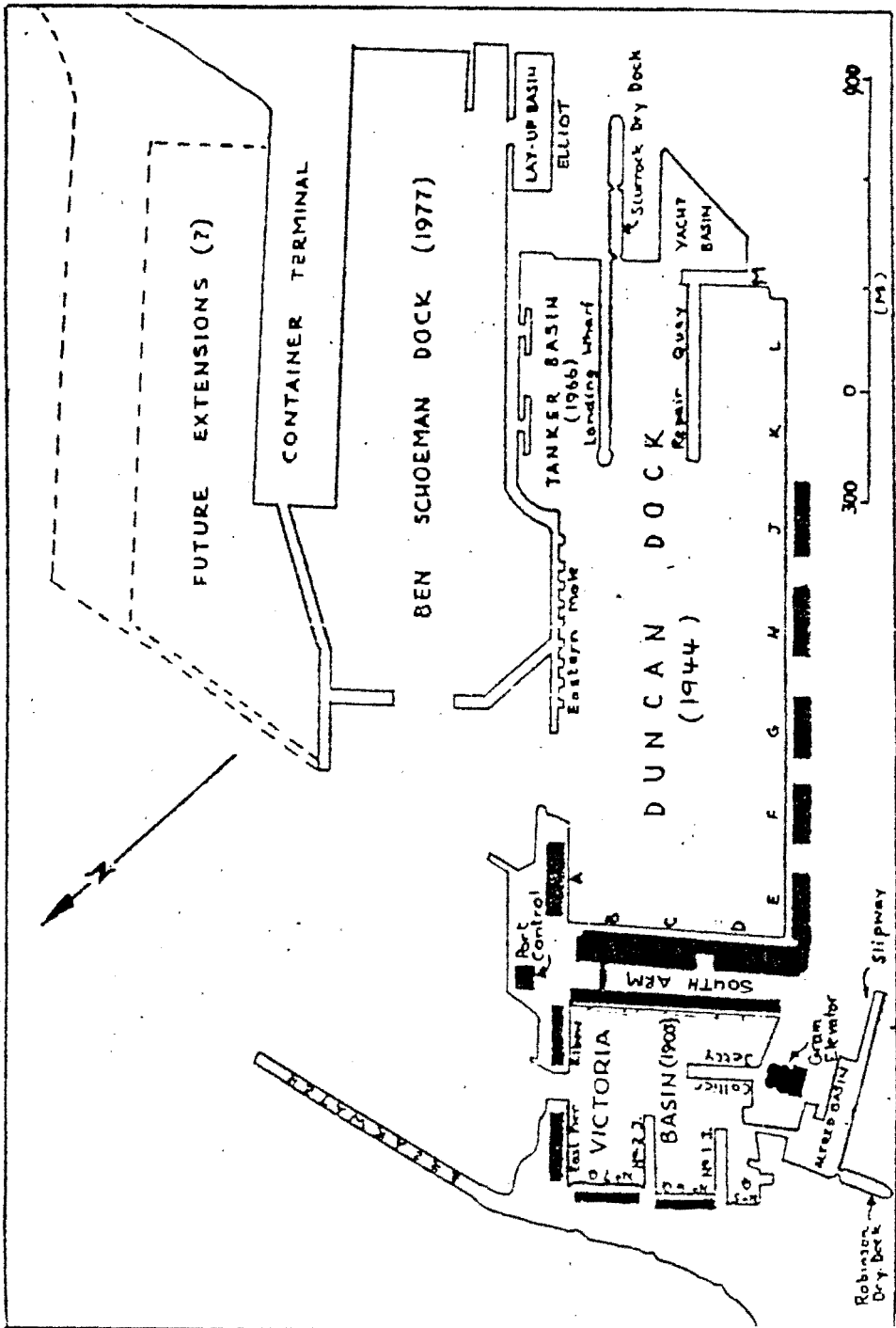
(Source: Cape of Good Hope Statistical Registers and Blue Books(1910-1965) and Annual Reports(1968-1990))

Note (\*): Year after closure of Suez Canal

**APPENDIX D:**

The location of Table Bay port facilities

(Source: SAR, 1977)



**APPENDIX E:**

List of V&AW Directors, Advisors and Consultants

## DIRECTORS, ADVISORS & CONSULTANTS

### DIRECTORS

#### Prof. Brian Kantor (chairman)

B.Com; B.A. (Hons). Head of the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town. A director of companies and a well-known champion of the free market economy.

#### David Jack (managing)

B.Arch (UCT), AA Dip Trop (London); M.Arch. Urban Design (UCLA); Arch.SA; MRIBA; MAIP. Involved in property development projects for Anglo American Corporation and Cape Town City Council.

#### Rudie Basson

Pr.Eng; B.Sc.Eng (Pretoria); B.Sc.Eng (Hons) (Pretoria); MBL (Unisa). Cape Town's Port Manager who offered major assistance at commencement of the project to relocate tenants and facilitate redevelopment.

#### Arie Burggraaf

Pr.Eng; B.Sc.Eng; MSAICE. Assistant Chief Engineer of Portnet and the chairman of the committee which is investigating the potential of South African Harbours for recreational use, thereby identifying areas suitable for redevelopment.

#### Alderman Sol Kreiner

City Councillor and a former mayor of Cape Town. Responsible for establishing the Mayor's Waterfront Steering Committee which promoted re-establishing the city's links with the sea.

#### Fuzz Loubser

B.Sc.Eng; MBL. Senior Manager of Transnet's Business Development Division, he promoted the redevelopment of underutilised Transnet land, including railway station air-rights and harbour areas. He resigned from the board in April 1991 to concentrate on Transnet's property portfolio.

#### Jacques Schindehütte

B.Com. (Hons) (RAU); CA (SA). Chief Financial Manager, Portnet, responsible for communication between V&AW board of directors and Transnet's management board.

### COMPANY SECRETARY & FINANCIAL EXECUTIVE

#### Derick van der Merwe

B.Compt(Hons); CA (SA). Filled this position from October 1990, which had been held by Duncan Cloete since the company's inception.

### MINISTER'S LIAISON COMMITTEE

Mr C McCarthy (chairman) Cape Chamber of Industries

Mr MPO Boyes (vice chairman) Cape Town Chamber of Commerce

Mr G Behrens Regional Development Advisory Committee

Mr C Bross Port of Cape Town Fishing Industry Association

Mr T Brummer SA Institute of Town & Regional Planners

Mr R Carne Cruising Association of SA

Ms H du Preez National Monuments Council

Mrs Z du Toit Somerset Hospital Board

Mr G Fagan Institute of SA Architects

Ms G Giannelos Simon van der Stel Foundation

Mr P le Roux Dept. of Environmental Affairs

Mr CB Mitchell SAPOA

Mr J Robéert Captour

\*Mr A Roux SA Cultural History Museum

Mnr J van der Lecq Kaapstadse Afrikaanse Sakekamer

Mr C van Zyl SA Tourism Board

Mr J Vivier FEDHASA

### SPECIAL ADVISORS

#### Revel Fox

An Institute of Architects gold medallist, highly regarded for the concern he has devoted to public environments. He is well-known for his recent work on the Durban beachfront, Johannesburg's Bank City, and St George's Mall in Cape Town.

#### Gawie Fagan

Another Institute of Architects gold medallist, he is one of SA's foremost conservationists and played a key role in lobbying for public access to the V&AW area over ten years ago.

#### Prof. Neville Dubow

A well-known architect and former dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Cape Town. He was also the Argus' architectural correspondent.

#### Francois Spoerry

Internationally acknowledged architect/developer of Port Grimaud, France, as well as numerous other waterfront residential developments in Europe and North America.

#### Enterprise International Development Company

Developer of speciality retail centres and festival marketplaces in Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, Hawaii and Tampa (in USA), and Sydney, Osaka, and Barcelona.

### CORE CONSULTANTS

#### URBAN DESIGN

Gallagher Prinsloo & Associates

Glen Gallagher, Barry Senior, Erky Wood,

Prof. Ivor Prinsloo & Rob Meek

#### URBAN COST MODELLING

Walker Maré

Basil Walker & Paul Maré

#### PLANNING CO-ORDINATORS

MLH Architects & Planners

Ken Sturgeon & Neil Schwartz

#### PROJECT MANAGERS

Mitchell DuPlessis Associates

Bev Mitchell, Geoff Starke, Robin Kerr,

Ian Taylor, Phillip Masson & Don Griffiths

#### CONTRACT MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS

Philip Loots & Associates

Philip Loots & Alison Green

### TRANSPORTATION & ROAD INFRASTRUCTURE

Hawkins, Hawkins & Osborne

Louis de Waal & Brian Dreyer

### SERVICES INFRASTRUCTURE

Hill, Kaplan, Scott

Leo Kaplan, Peter Heydenrych, Dennis Forster & Tony Gerig

### MARINE/HYDROLOGICAL

Kapp Prestedge Retief

Prof. Deon Retief, Muller Coetzee & Phil Smith

### LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS

Waterfront Landscape Architects

Bernard Oberholzer, Johan van Papendorp,

Ian Ford & Darryl Pryce-Lewis

### LAND SURVEYORS

Groenewald Turner & Wynne

John Groenewald & Gavin Lloyd

### SITE SURVEYOR

Geoff Gates

### HOTEL & TOURISM ADVISORS

Horwath Consulting

Delano Caras & Judy Bird

### MARKET RESEARCH

Douglas Parker & Associates

Douglas Parker & Annemarie Beekman

### LETTING AGENTS

Brouwer & Associates

Menno Brouwer, Mark Ellis Brown &

Dale Knowles

Geoffrey Breskai Property Organisation

Geoffrey Breskai & David Kretzmar

### VICTORIA WHARF & PIERHEAD CENTRE MANAGERS

Lordland

Trevor Blow & Steve Hassel

### STRATEGIC BUSINESS ADVISORS

Investec Bank

Julian Liebman & Roy Slack

Arthur Andersen

Colin Hultzer, Martin Kaplan &

Matthew de Villiers

### LEGAL ADVISORS

Jan S de Villiers

Christoff Pauw

### AUDITORS

Coopers Theron du Toit

Sarel van Aswegen, Danie Fölscher & Jan Kruger

### GENERAL SITE MAINTENANCE

Yusuf Arendze & Sons

### ELECTRICAL MAINTENANCE

Moosa Electrical

### SECURITY

Paddy Allen

Armourguard

### SIGNAGE

Marianne Liebenberg

Adelbert & Rens

**APPENDIX F:**

**V&AW's Package of Plans**

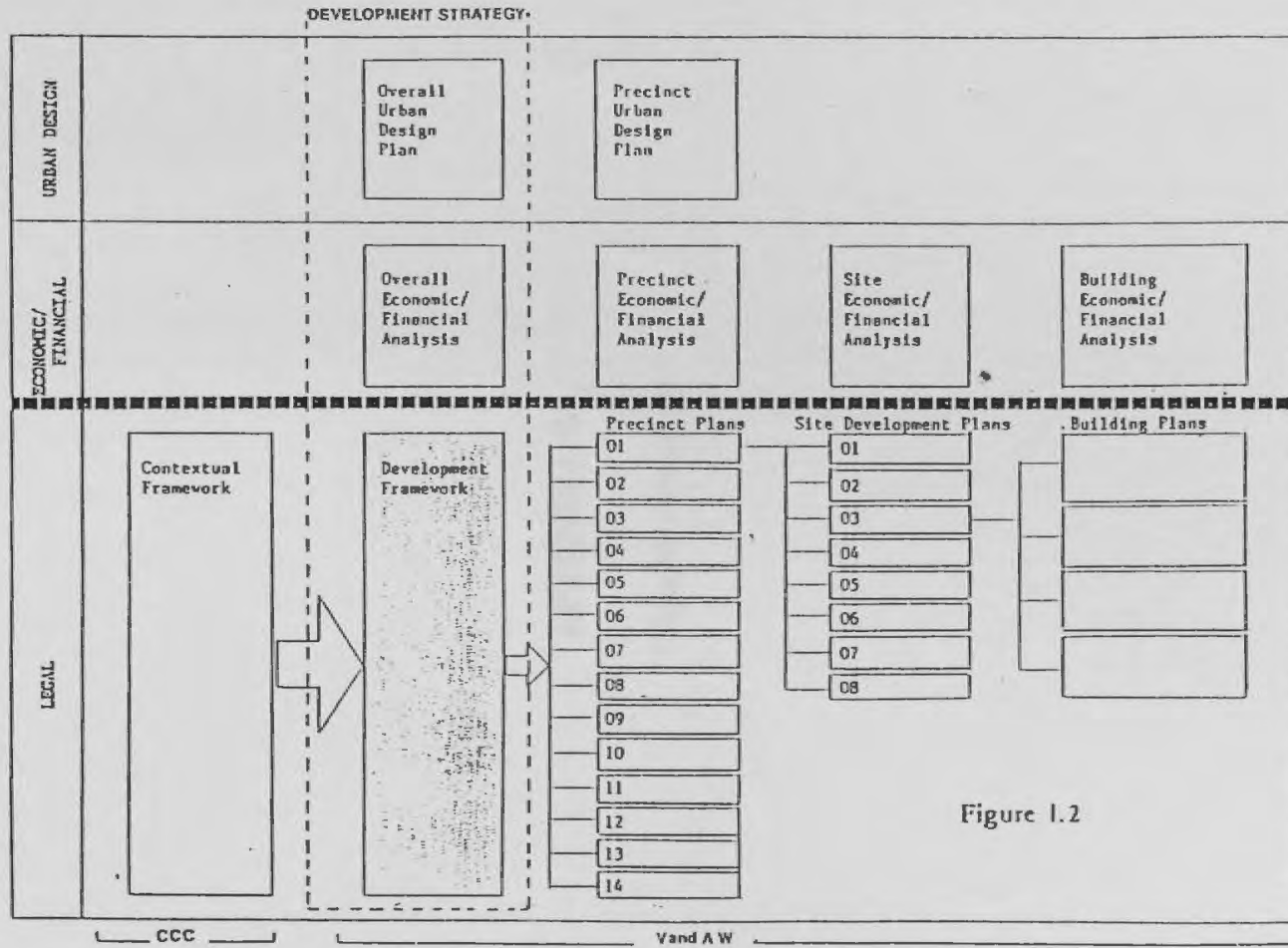


Figure 1.2

(Source: V&AW, 1989 : 3)

**APPENDIX G:**

Tripartite Agreement

KW



# AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

TRANSNET LTD  
(Portnet)

and

VICTORIA & ALFRED WATERFRONT (PTY) LTD  
(V&AW)

and

PORT OF CAPE TOWN FISHING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION  
(POCTFIA)

Representing:

- Irvin & Johnson Ltd
- Viking Fishing Co (Pty) Ltd
- Lusitania Fishing Group
- Oceana Fishing Group (Pty) Ltd
- Ornelas Fishing Company (Pty) Ltd
- Marpro Trawling Company (Pty) Ltd
- Atlantic Fishing Enterprises (Pty) Ltd
- Hout Bay Fishing Industries (Pty) Ltd
- Radaco Fishing Products
- Concentra (Pty) Ltd
- Good Hope Fisheries (Pty) Ltd
- Wavecrest (Pty) Ltd
- Konsortium Kreefbelange (Pty) Ltd
- Dassen Lobster (Pty) Ltd

REGARDING THE PERIOD OF TENURE, ALLOCATION OF SPACE AND  
CONDITIONS OF USE APPLICABLE TO THE POCTFIA MEMBERS IN THE PORT  
OF CAPE TOWN

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## 1. PREAMBLE

- 1.1 Certain fishing companies are tenants in the area and are functionally inseparably associated with quays listed under 2.1. As such they should have priority over other potential occupants with respect to the use of associated quay space, wharf space and quayside facilities including buildings for essential quayside operations as per Annexure A.
- 1.2 The fishing companies will endeavour to ensure that their activities enhance rather than detract from the value and utilisation of the investments made in the Waterfront. In this context they can play a role in the provision of tourist attractions within the constraints imposed by industrial fishing operations.
- 1.3 It is acknowledged that fishing companies directly involved in the industry should enjoy security of tenure in regard to properties currently leased but, within the environs of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development, the landlord will have no duty nor will he be obligated in any way to provide additional areas for the use of existing fishing industry tenants in the future irrespective of any demands for growth that may or may not occur as a result of increases in the natural abundance of fish stocks or the development of fisheries. (Subject to the acknowledgement that the composition of operators within the fishing industry may change).
- 1.4 It is recorded that the Robinson Graving Dock and the Synchronlift adjoining the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development area are invaluable to the fishing industry, practically irreplaceable for the time being and should continue to operate without unreasonable constraint on their use as a result of their juxtaposition to the development.

## 2. PRINCIPLES

- 2.1 Subject to the Port Captain's overriding authority with regard to berthing, the quays which are available to the Fishing Industry on a long term basis will comprise :

In the VICTORIA BASIN

East Pier

Quay 7

Jetty No 2 (temporary moorings)\* note 1

South Arm

Elbow\* note 2

Collier Jetty\* note 3

Cross Berth

Fish Market proclaimed Quay\* note 4

3/.....

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

## In the ALFRED BASIN

Concentra Quay (mooring & berthing for smaller licensed fishing boats;  
traditionally known as chug-chuggies)  
East Quay  
West Quay\* note 5

- 2.2 Leases will be entered into by the existing tenants, who have either tacit or current lease agreements on the following basis:
- 2.2.1 New leases will be entered into with tacit tenants for a period of 25 years with the option to renew for a further period of 10 years.
- 2.2.2 Current lease agreement lessees may, at their own option, at any time prior to or at termination of their existing lease agreements, enter into new lease agreements for a period of 25 years with the option to renew for a further period of 10 years.
- 2.2.3 A recordal in the lease will cover aspects that Portnet will honour the lease, should for some reasons Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd cease to exist or it be considered necessary by Portnet to take over the lease.
- 2.2.4 The conditions of lease that will apply will relate specifically to the fishing industry and will in general terms be governed by the usage envisaged in Annexure A.
- 2.2.5 Lease period will be subject to termination in the event of the tenant ceasing to operate in terms of the usage conditions agreed upon.
- 2.3 The Fishing Companies have made heavy capital investments in the form of facilities essential to their operations and relocation would place an unacceptably heavy strain on their financial resources. Relocations are readily negotiable with the tenants with unexpired leases, provided agreement can be reached on compensation for relocation of facilities.
- 2.4 Usage of buildings by the Fishing Companies should relate to agreed activities as per Annexure A for which fishing industry related rentals applicable in the Port of Cape Town will be negotiated. Other activities may be allowed by Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd, but will require renegotiation of rentals.

4/.....


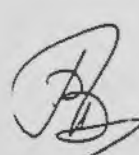
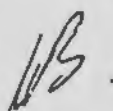
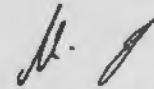
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- 2.5 The Concentra lease will not be extended in the Silo Precinct. Fish meal production may be allowed in leased areas subject to approval by Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd.
- 2.6 Alterations to buildings and the building of new structures by the Fishing Industry tenants will have to be approved of in advance by Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd. Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd should take into account the functional requirements of the tenants particularly with respect to access, services and facilities.
- 2.7 Fishing Companies will attempt to allow visitor access to as much of their activities as possible, without disruption of their normal functions, both from a tourist interest point of view and as an educational exercise to promote the understanding of the sustainable use of a natural resource.

Notes :

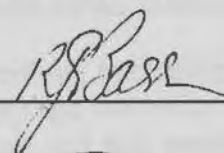
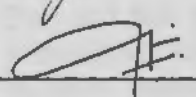
- \*1. If not needed for cruise liners or permanent floatel.
- \*2. Subject to successful negotiations with Marpro relocating to the Elbow. Otherwise Quay 6 will remain available to Marpro in lieu of the Elbow.
- \*3. When not used by bulk carriers utilising the Grain Silo.
- \*4. Subject to agreement with all involved parties, tenants will be offered comparable quay and building accommodation within the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development should the Company wish to redevelop the New Fishery Harbour (Fish Market) in the Silo Precinct. Until such time, tenants will be entitled to reasonable use of the Proclaimed Lobster Landing Area or quay.
- \*5. Extent of usage to be negotiated; until such time, tenants will be entitled to reasonable use of the Landing Area or quay.

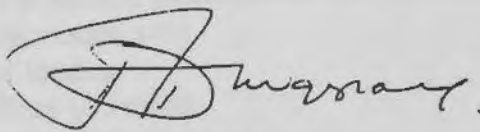
SIGNED at Cape Town on this 9th day of September 1991.


  

  

  

  
 5/.....

AS WITNESSES :

For and on behalf of  
TRANSNET

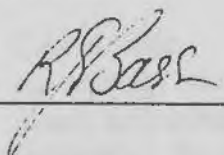

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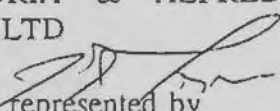
  
 \_\_\_\_\_

SIGNED at Cape Town on this  
9<sup>th</sup> day of September 1991

AS WITNESSES:

For and on behalf of  
VICTORIA & ALFRED WATERFRONT  
(PTY) LTD

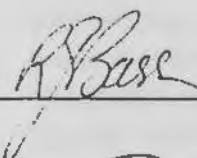

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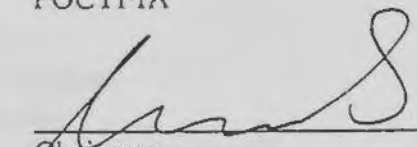
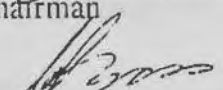
Herein represented by  
  
J.F. VAN DER MERWE  
 who warrants his authority thereto

SIGNED at Cape Town on this 9<sup>th</sup> day of  
September 1991

AS WITNESSES:

For and on behalf of  
POCTFIA

- 1. 
- 2. 

  
 Chairman  
  
 Secretary

FIXED PROPERTY USAGE BY FISHING INDUSTRY1. QUAYSIDE AND WHARF USAGE

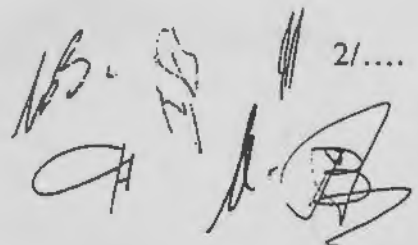
- Berthing (including multiple banking) at the sole discretion of the Port Captain
- Lay ups and refits for licensed fishing vessels only
- Fish and fish products unloading and loading
- Victualling, icing, storing and chandling of vessels
- Repairs, maintenance and housekeeping of ships
- Bunkering - Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd/Portnet accepts no responsibility for maintenance and/or supply of bunkering services, however, the Fishing Industry and/or Companies may negotiate directly with fuel suppliers to maintain, upgrade and/or provide additional bunkering facilities
- Taking of potable and ballast water
- Cranage

2. BUILDING USAGE

- Cold storage
- Ice making, storing and transportation and sale
- Stores and storage of ships supplies and inventories
- Workshops for repairs and maintenance
- Fishing gear assembly and repair
- Cleaning, processing (but not canning), sorting, weighing, packaging, freezing, storage and transporting of fish and fish products
- Holding facilities for live fish and crustacea (but not for aquacultural purposes)
- Offices for administering and conducting the activities set out in this Annexure A only
- Change rooms, mess facilities and drying rooms
- The distribution of fish and fish products
- Kitchens, canteens and staff shops for exclusive use of employees
- Waiting rooms and surgeries
- Pay offices, strong rooms and safes
- Reception and training/simulation facilities
- Oil reception, purification and storage
- Quality control and assurance facilities and equipment
- Recreational facilities for staff
- Transformer and compressor equipment

3. LAND AREA USAGE

- Bunkers, lubrication oils, chemicals and gas storage and piping
- Open air storage
- Parking for staff
- Loading and unloading
- Repairs and maintenance

165. 2/....  


## **APPENDIX H:**

Interviews with representatives of 13 V&A-based fishing companies

NAME OF COMPANY	LEJ	VIKING	LUSITANIA	OCEANA	ORNELIUS	MARPRO	ATLANTIC	HOUT BAY	WAVECREST	SILVERMAR	REDACO	GOOD HOPE	CONCENTRA
INTERVIEWEE'S POSITION	MD	MD/Owner	Group Accountant	MD	MD/Owner	MD	MD	Shore Skipper	MD/Owner	MD/Owner	Manager	Manager	GM
PERIOD IN THE V&A DOCKS?	+50 years	+14 years	+29 years	N/A	+22 years	+10 years	+10 years	12 years	+60 years	3.5 years	19 years	22 years	+50 years
REASONS FOR LOCATING IN V&A?	Need quayside space.	Access to water quayside space.	Boats to moor.	Moved to Hout Bay.	Access to water & facilities.	Need quay area.	Need space for facilities.	Needed bigger premises.	Proximity to Fish Quay.	To be close to boats.	Proximity to Fish Quay.	Proximity to Fish Quay.	Close to boats & sea water.
NATURE OF OPERATION(S)?	Operate & maintain trawlers.	Trawling, processing & repairs.	Processing of crayfish for export.	N/A	Trawling, processing & repairs.	Trawling, retail & servicing.	South Coast Trawling & servicing.	Fish processing & packing.	Fish processing & packing.	Processing fish for export.	Fish processing.	Tuna packing & packing.	Processing affil.
TYPES OF FISH CAUGHT?	Stockfish	Tuna	Crayfish, tuna & squid.	N/A	Tuna, smook etc	Stockfish	Crayfish & tuna.	Tuna, crayfish & pilchards.	Tuna & crayfish.	Tuna & stockfish.	Tuna & crayfish.	Tuna & crayfish.	N/A
NO. & TYPE OF VESSELS?	24 trawlers	12 trawlers	50 steel & wood boats	N/A	3 trawlers	3 trawlers	9 trawlers & 5 wooden boats	5 trawlers & 20 independents	4 wooden boats & 6 independents	3 wooden boats & 12-14 indep	None	4 wooden boats	N/A
NO. OF PEOPLE EMPLOYED?													
Permanent staff:	1200 people	400 people	60 people	N/A	100 people	241 people	700 people	300 people	15 people	30 people	27 people	50 people	50 people
Casual staff:	40-50 people/day	50 people	30 people	N/A	10 people	None	Seasonal	20 people	Seasonal	30 people	3 people	Seasonal	-10 people
AREA OCCUPIED?	18819 sq. metres	9000 sq. metres	7866 sq. metres	N/A	N/A	11000 sq. metres	10494 sq. metres	6183 sq. metres	1079 sq. metres	530 sq. metres	+500 sq. metres	+100 sq. metres	Unsure
CHANGES SINCE 1988?	None except for increase of water traffic.	None	Lease under negotiations.	Construction of Berties Landing upset operations.	Lease not renewed & forced to move.	None except for increase of water traffic.	Gave up No. 2 Jetty to V&A Co.	Transport difficulty in V&A area.	Access to water's edge due to parking.	Parking problems.	None	Increased rentals.	Parking problem.
IF FEEL SECURE?	Yes	Yes	Yes, but want maintain lease.	N/A	No. Present site inadequate.	No, not with Victoria Wharf next door.	Yes. Have 25 year lease.	Yes. Have new lease.	No	No. Only have lease for 3 years.	Yes, but V&A want to increase rentals.	No. Only monthly rentals.	No. Lease not renewed. Expires in 2003.
RELATIONS WITH V&A CO.?	Stormy.	Landlord & negotiations.	Landlord & negotiations.	Landlord.	None. Rent paid to Portnet.	Landlord & negotiations.	Much negotiation.	Landlord & leaser.	Landlord & leaser.	Negotiations for space in Wharf.	Landlord & leaser.	Landlord & leaser.	Landlord.
POCTFLA MEMBER?	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
REASONS FOR JOINING POCTFLA?	Ensure position in V&A Harbour.	Ornelius kicked out & wanted to secure position.	Secure new lease & affordable rent.	Ornelius kicked out. Need to stand together.	Try to get reinstated or compensated.	Felt insecure.	To secure industry in the V&A area.	To secure company's future.	V&A threatening industry's existence.	N/A	Fight for lease & fair rental.	Ensure existence.	Enforce Burggraf Report.
AWARE OF TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT?	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes, but not.
IS POCTFLA SUCCESSFUL?	Communication between tenants & 35 year lease.	Yes.	Yes, but feels might lose momentum.	Yes.	Only formed after moved.	Yes. Secured 35 year lease.	Yes. Spoke as one body.	Yes.	Only if it represents industry. Might dissolve.	Felt it could not beat V&A.	Hoped it would.	Yes. Everyone stood together.	No it doesn't. 2003 D-Day.
IMPACTS ON CO. SINCE 1988?	Attempts to increase rentals & land values.	V&A tried to interfere in renovations.	Lost administrative buildings.	Already relocated.	Moved to location with temporary buildings.	Negotiating with V&A over relocation to Elbow.	Financially a strain.	Transportation times increased.	Only monthly lease & parking problem.	Occupy less space. Improved building.	Monthly lease.	Rentals increased.	Will need to relocate in 2003.
IS WORKING HARBOUR NB?	Yes. Need quayside space.	Yes. Need quayside space.	Yes. Need access to water.	Yes. Only viable option.	Yes. Infrastructure important to industry.	Yes. Have nowhere else to go.	Yes. Hope can survive with V&A Co.	Yes.	Yes, but basins are becoming congested.	Yes. Can be attraction for tourists.	Yes. Always been active.	Yes. Always been important to the fishing industry.	Yes. Has ambience.
WILL WORKING HARBOUR REMAIN?	Yes. Trawling is important to the country.	Yes. Waterfront be successful if it is living.	Yes.	Yes. Only viable option.	Yes. Employ many people.	Yes. Use it to attract tourists.	Yes. Part of attraction.	Yes. Have no option.	Yes. It is in their interests to keep it.	Yes. Tourists show interests in fishing activity.	He hoped so.	Yes. Part of the attraction.	Yes. As long as it is required.
POSSIBILITY OF CO-OPERATION?	Yes. Painted at own cost.	Made building look presentable.	No. Very busy and dangerous.	Working harbour also include negative aspects.	No. V&A opposed to fishing industry.	Yes. As long as they understand how industry works.	Yes.	No. Two different worlds.	Yes, but V&A must not act as supreme landlord.	Yes. Many of buildings in disrepair.	Yes.	Yes. Already fixed up building.	Yes.
WOULD CO. ALSO UPGRADE?	Not pay for roads & fancy lamps.	Yes. Buildings must be fixed up.	Yes, but industry not geared for tourism.	Difficult to integrate two.	Industry no in tourist business.	Yes. Look after buildings but not fund roads.	Possibility, but cannot have tourists on quayside.	Yes, but cannot give access to tourists.	Yes. As long as industry's existence ensured.	Yes. Have upgraded the premises.	Yes, but only in building itself.	No except for building.	No, but were requested to paint building.
OPTIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE?	Yes.	Yes. Been here for 34 years & will stay.	Yes. Rest of world moving away from trawling.	No. Agendas too different.	Yes will need to rationalise, but industry is NB.	Yes. As long as quota & political situation allows.	Yes.	Yes. Has 35 year lease.	Yes if you keep everything else constant.	Yes, but felt that if Concentra moved others might move.	Cautiously optimistic.	Yes if can get lease.	No. V&A will keep what suits it.

**APPENDIX I:**

Responses to Questionnaire A



Look after boat	1
Skipper on Tuna boat	1
Stevedore	1

Q9: Crew (see histogram)

Doesn't work (check on boats)	24
Work for I&J as casual	10
Paint boats	6
Watchman for skipper	4
Illegal activities	3
Carpentry	2
Other	8

Q10:	<u>Skipper</u>	<u>Crew</u>
Yes	5 (2 Tuna & 3 Dasen)	3
No	13	33
Unsure		10

Q11:	<u>Skipper</u>	<u>Crew</u>
Yes	9	41
(a)		
0-9	0	13
10-19	5	13
20-29	3	6
30-39	6	3
40+	1	0

(between 2 & 33 yrs)

No	0	5
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(b)		
Walvis Bay	1	4
Port Elizabeth	0	7
Saldanha	0	3
Hout Bay	0	2
Cape Town	9	0
Luderitz	7	0
Lamberts Bay	1	0

Q12:	<u>Skipper</u>	<u>Crew</u>
Live in Cape Town	10	21
CTA Licence	1	
Many yachts in Hout Bay	1	
Live in Paarl	2	
V&A base for boats	4	6
Live in harbour on boats		13
No travel expenses		3
Close to home		2
Other		4

Q13:	Skipper	Crew
Yes	10	29
No	8	13
Unsure		4

(\* ) 24 of 29 of fishermen referred to the lack of space in Elliot Basin

Q14:	(i)	No
	(ii)	Yes
	(iii)	Safety checks Annual survey by Dept. of Sea Fisheries (both internal and external) Need quota to get licence
	(iv)	Year
	(v)	Between R200 and R400
	(vi)	Yes

Q15: All 18 skippers confirmed that they had permits

Q16: All 18 skippers confirmed their intention to renew the permits

Q17: Refer to histogram in chapter seven

Q18:	<u>Skipper</u>
Monopoly by big companies	11
Unfair quota cuts	8
Over-exploitation of fish	5
Gill nets	1
Lack of longline licence	1

(\* ) Respondents referred to more than one problem

Q18:	<u>Crew</u>
No facilities for fishermen	9
Ovambo undercutting fishermen	8
No money	6
Concentra gate locked	5
No papers	3
No life-saving equipment	2
Unsure	13

Q19: Designed to set respondents at ease

Q20:	<u>Skipper</u>
Yes	8
No	10

Q20:	<u>Crew</u>
Yes	23
No work elsewhere	9
If money's right & 'fry'	5
Only for skipper/bosses	5

Until get another job	3
In the 'blood'	1
No	20
No money	5
No union	4
No work	4
Restrictions on long-lining	2
No education (no options)	2
Only an existence	2
Fishing bad	1
Unsure	3

**Section B:        Attitudes and opinions concerning the  
                          Redevelopment**

Q21:		<u>Skipper</u>
Buildings (Queens Hotel, Clock Tower etc)	9	
Fish Market (auctioning of fish)	6	
Steamboats and atmosphere	3	
Freedom of movement	2	
Less congestion	2	
More work	1	
More 'Coloured' skippers	1	
Cold storage facilities next to Bertie's		1

(\* Respondents referred to more than one feature/attribute

Q21:		<u>Crew</u>
Fish Market and Fish Quay	15	
Buildings (Grain Silo, Clock Tower etc)	12	
Unsure	8	
Old steamboats and there whistles	7	
Cheaper cost of living	7	
Wooden fish jetty	4	
Community bigger	3	
More primitive fishing operations (tar nets and baskets)	3	
Blacks needed passes	3	
Lots of work	2	
Facilities for fishermen	2	
Old neighbourhood	1	
No parking problem	1	

(\* Respondents referred to more than one feature/attribute

Q22:		<u>Skipper</u>
Fish Market ('alive with activity')	5	
Unsure	5	
Harbour's past was better	3	
Does not effect them	2	

More Freedom	2
Q22:	<u>Crew</u>
Better life style (being part of harbour)	15
Unsure	11
Snoek market	4
Living close to harbour	4
More primitive fishing operations	3
Village-like feeling	3
Community bigger	2
Lots of work	1
Less security	1
More 'Coloured' skippers	1
More facilities for fishermen	1

Q23:	<u>Crew</u>	<u>Skipper</u>	
Unsure	10	No fish market	3
No snoek market	8	Woodstock smaller	3
No sleeping on boats	5	Parking problems	2
Fleet smaller	4	No storage for traps	2
Visually pleasing	4	Buildings painted	2
Security improved	4	Site of V&A Hotel	1
No passes for blacks	2	Cold storage	1
Better atmosphere	2	Other	5
No access to harbour	1		
Other	6		

Q24:	<u>Skipper</u>
None	6
Disappearance of fish market	3
Increased vehicular traffic	2
Less 'Coloured' fishermen	2
Less moorage space	2
Lack of freedom	1
Possibility of relocation	1
Less space at Elliot Basin (Woodstock)	1

Q24:	<u>Crew</u>
Fishermen will not be allowed to stay	11
Can't stay on boats	7
None	7
Increased security (pushed around)	5
Loss of fish market/snoek market	5
Cannot stay close to harbour	3
Lack of access to harbour	3
Less work	3
More tourists	3

Q25:	<u>Crew</u>	<u>Skipper</u>
Being tourist attraction	12	3
Aesthetically more pleasing	12	3
Unsure	6	
Better security (-) robberies	5	3
Less congestion		4

Possibility of job	2	
Bertie's Landing	1	
None	7	4
Q26:	<u>Skipper</u>	
Yes	5	
Better security	3	
Tourism	1	
Place to drink	1	
No	13	
Q26:	<u>Crew</u>	
Yes	11	
No	28	
Less work	11	
No money	6	
Bosses/skippers benefit	5	
Locked out	4	
Place for yachts	2	
Unsure	7	
Q27:	<u>Skipper</u>	
Yes	10	(Bertie's Landing & Queen's Hotel etc)
No	8	
Too expensive	7	
Too tired	1	
Q27:	<u>Crew</u>	
Yes	8	
Pump House	5	
Bertie's Landing	3	
No	38	
No money/too expensive	34	
Must leave harbour	4	
Q28:	<u>Skipper</u>	
No	18	
Q29:	<u>Skipper</u>	
Yes	6	
Some skippers stay at home	3	
Less 'Coloured' skippers	1	

More Ovambos and Portuguese	1
Others retired	1

No	12
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Q29:	<u>Crew</u>
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Yes	36
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Drinking reduced	8
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Many new faces	5
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Old timers left	5
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Everyone must leave	5
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Pass needed to get onto boat	6
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Blacks moving in (Ovambos)	5
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Less 'Coloureds'	2
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No	10
----	----

Q30:	<u>Skipper</u>
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Yes	16
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No	2
----	---

Q30:	<u>Crew</u>
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Yes	42
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Have to stay with boats	11
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Need to look after fishermen	11
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Tradition ('born and bred')	9
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Harbour safer	5
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Yes but does not like security	3
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NB to have fishing harbour	2
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Yes if more money	1
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No	17
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No money	8
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Lack of freedom (feel caged in')	[6]
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Security a problem	[3] = 9
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(see histogram)

(\*) Respondents seemingly undecided

Q31:	<u>Skippers</u>
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No	18
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All they know	14
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Collier Jetty to high	2
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Their are facilities	1
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NB for lots of people	1
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Q31:	<u>Crew</u>
------	-------------

Yes	12
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Too much of a struggle	6
If given another job	6
No	34
Tradition ('in the blood')	13
Go where boats go	14
Can't do anything else	7
Q32:	<u>Skipper</u>
Yes	7
Many pensioned off	3
Moved away	2
Obstructed by fence	2
No	11
Q32:	<u>Crew</u>
Yes	41
Go where boats go	16
Many die or move away	14
Pension off	9
Nobody looking after them	5
Company moved	3
Can't sleep on boats	1
No	3
Unsure	2
Q33:	<u>Skipper</u>
Yes	17
Boats move around	9
Ovambo	5
Bigger boats in Alfred Basin	2
Cheap labour	1
No	1
Q33:	<u>Crew</u>
Yes	41
Ovambo	35 (Luderitz & Walvis Bay)
Portuguese too clever	3
Come looking for work	2
All walks of life	1
Unsure	5
Q34:	<u>Skipper</u>
Yes	18

Always been in Cape Town(CT)	14
Cheaper to fish from CT	2
Harbour offers safe moorage	1
Factories in V&A Harbour	1

Q34: Crew

Yes	42
Fishermen know nothing else	15
Boats are homes	11
No other jobs available	10
Need money	5
Close to home	1
No	4

**Section C: Degree of Participation**

Q35-37 in chapter seven (section 7.5)

Q38 not applicable because no one attended

Q39: Skipper

No	18
Fishermen never go	16
Did not know about it	1
Have no education	1

Q39: Crew

No	46
Not aware of meeting	37
Might have been at sea	4
Were not invited	2
Not well dressed	2
Only for skippers	1

Q40: Skipper

No	18
Fishermen not important	17
Don't understand	1

Q40: Crew

No	46
Not informed by skipper	18
Only for 'big bosses	14
Mostly at sea	4
Kept in 'darkness'	4
Not dressed well	2
Not allowed	2

Nothing to do with them	1
People move around	1
Q41:	<u>Skipper</u>
Yes	4
Meeting about Collier Jetty	3
Asked by V&AW about Clocktower grating	1
No	14 (can do nothing)

Q41:	<u>Crew</u>
No	42
Fishermen not important	18
Manager/skippers go	12
No assurances	4
Community not together	2
No one interested	2
Powerless	2
Will be kicked out	1
Wrong profession	1
Unsure	4

Q42:	<u>Skipper</u>
Yes	11
No	7

Q42:	<u>Crew</u>
Yes	43
Want to know where will be relocated to	15
What will happen	10
Affects many people	8
Where to find jobs	8
Other	2
No	3
Does not effect fishermen	1
Will be at sea	1
No control over outcome	1

Q43:	<u>Skipper</u>
That they will be pushed out	7
Mooring place	5
Rent increases	1
Offloading place congested	1
Will not extend lease	1
Unsure	3

(a)	
Unsure	18
(b)	
Yes	9
No	9
Q43:	<u>Crew</u>
Boats will have to move	12
Will they be able to find jobs	10
Lack of facilities	6
Whether more Ovambos will come	6
Too many changes	4
Concentra gate locked	4
No future for fishermen	2
Cannot do anything to stop it	1
New Fisheries Harbour will be developed	1

(a)	
Unsure	46
(b)	
No	46

Q44:	<u>Skipper</u>
Yes	18
Q44:	<u>Crew</u>
Yes	34
No	12
Must move with boat	7
Must go to sea	3
Does not effect us	2

**Section D:      Personal Details**

<b>Age:</b>	<u>Skipper</u>	<u>Crew</u>
20-24	0	3
25-29	0	9
30-34	1	4
35-39	0	5
40-44	2	7
45-49	2	7
50-54	3	6
55-59	5	3
60+	5	2

(\*) ages range from 24 to 65