

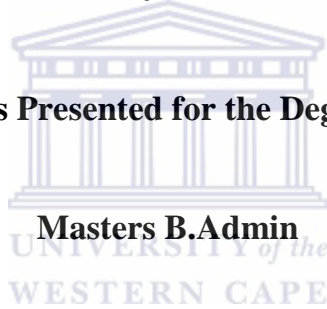


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE
Department of Political Studies

**Smokkel for the pot: The politics of liquor retail in the Western Cape, a
case study of Atlantis**

Thesis Presented for the Degree of



Masters B.Admin

Submitted By

Nicolette Chandre' Peters

JANUARY 2016

Supervisor: Professor Laurence Piper

DECLARATION

I, Nicolette Chandre' Peters, hereby declare that, that apart from the normal guidance from my supervisor, this thesis is my own unaided work, both in concept and execution. Neither the substance nor any part of the above thesis has been submitted in the past, or is being, or is to be submitted for a degree at this University or at any other university. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this thesis from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced. I am now presenting the thesis for examination for the B. Admin Masters degree.



Signed:

Date: 11 January 2016



ABSTRACT

The Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 was implemented to decrease the amount of shebeens operating in South Africa's residential areas. This action was taken in order to reduce liquor harm which has been widely reported on by health professionals. However shebeens serve as a livelihood source for poor South Africans. Thus a possible tension could exist since shebeen owners and communities might become disgruntled with politicians, political parties and government for implementing a law which threatens livelihoods. This thesis paper examines the political perceptions of the people of Atlantis towards political parties in light of the implementation of the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008.

Qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted with key role players residing in Atlantis, and focus groups were also held with shebeen owners. This was done in order to determine the community's attitude towards shebeens, liquor, politicians, political parties, government and the Liquor Act. Respondents reported that the community remains underdeveloped and that their views are ignored by politicians and other public officials. Shebeens are viewed as a necessary evil since there is a stigma attached to selling liquor and many respondents believe that liquor abuse is the cause of many socio economic problems facing Atlantis. However there are no other viable job opportunities in the area forcing shebeen proprietors and the community to accept shebeens. Interestingly this thesis also shows that both the key role players and shebeen owners have a similar attitude towards shebeens and politicians; as both groups have adopted an ambivalent attitude towards shebeens and politicians.

Bayat (2000) Chatterjee's (2004) writings will be used to show that informality has become the only viable option in Atlantis. This is because the state has not been able to provide alternative employment in the area. The residents therefore now break the law in order to survive. Moreover politics and politicians are disliked but residents still partake in politics. There is therefore an ambivalence towards both politics and shebeens in the area. In conclusion the people of Atlantis feel marginalized and oppressed by those who wield political power. The Western Cape Liquor Act however, has not had a dramatic impact as will be shown when comparing Bayat's (2000) quiet encroachment of the ordinary theory to the case.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to

The loving memory of my brothers Martin and Nico Peters.

and

My family and friends who have supported me throughout my studies.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

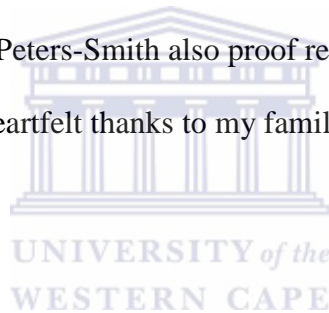
The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the valuable guidance of my supervisor, Prof. Laurence Piper. The feedback which he provided me with added greatly to this paper. He has inspired me to achieve more and helped me build confidence in my academic ability for that I am deeply thankful.

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Thank you to my sister Charlene Peters-Smith also proof read parts of my thesis.

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GLOSSARY

The following key terms will be defined as they are used in this thesis.

Shebeens- “an unlicensed establishment or private house selling alcohol and typically regarded as slightly disreputable” (Oxford dictionary, 2015, no pg).

Informal liquor retailer - A synonym for a shebeen.

Spaza shop- “Small-scale, home based, grocery store...” (Charman, Petersen & Piper: 2011, p.1).

Smokkel huis- Afrikaans slang term which is a synonym for a shebeen.

Smokkeling- To run a shebeen, or shebeening.

Off consumption premises- A business or where liquor is sold to customers. The liquor purchased may not be consumed on the premises (City of Cape Town, 2013, no pg.)

On consumption premises- Is a business where liquor is sold and consumed (Ibid, 2013, no pg.)

Smokkel yard or a yard- An on consumption shebeen where people can drink on the premises.

The Act- Refers to the Western Cape Liquor Act No.4 of 2008

Tik- Methamphetamine

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Informal liquor retailers, popularly known in South Africa as shebeens, are the most common enterprise in the informal economy of South Africa's townships. There are approximately 190,000 to 265,000 unregulated shebeens in South Africa (Charman, Petersen & Piper, 2013, p.580). This shows that the informal sector, which includes shebeens, has the potential to create much needed employment in South Africa. However, the shebeen industry is surrounded by controversy. This controversy exists because some people believe that the industry greatly contributes to liquor harm in impoverished communities (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.25). Nonetheless, shebeen owners, employees and customers believe that the industry contributes to society in a positive manner. A tension, therefore, exists between these two conflicting views, with regards to the role of shebeens in society.

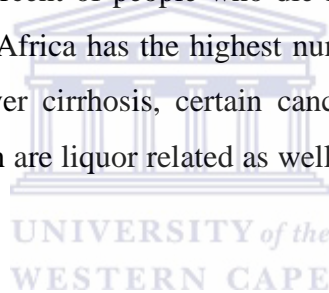
This thesis shall, therefore, examine the informal liquor retail industry in the Western Cape by utilizing Atlantis as the area of study. The case study approach shall be employed. This thesis specifically seeks to ascertain party allegiance in the community of Atlantis towards the DA (Democratic Alliance) and ANC (African National Congress). Moreover this thesis seeks to ascertain if the Western Cape Liquor Act No 4 of 2008 has impacted party allegiance. The key aim of the Western Cape Liquor Act No. 4 of 2008 is to reduce the number of informal liquor outlets in the province. It also aims to implement stricter controls upon shebeens for health reasons. The act is significant given the fact that the Western Cape is the only province ruled by the DA, and that political competition between the DA and the ANC (which dominates at a national level) has always been heated. The Western Cape is distinct nationally since Coloured¹ citizens' form the majority in the province and many unlicensed shebeens are operated by Black and Coloured people. This thesis will make use of a qualitative case study method, utilizing Atlantis as a case unit. This thesis is unique since the political impact of shebeens and liquor policy on political attitudes is often not studied. This thesis will show that although the act may have impacted political allegiance it did so in

¹ Coloured denotes a person of mixed race origin. Black is a racial term denoting a person born in South Africa of African origin. Racial classification ended with the repeal of the Population Registration Act created during apartheid. However on census reports and due to the Employment Equity Act racial classification still exists in South Africa (Christopher,2002,p.405-406).

a miniscule way. It could not be determined that that the act had a dramatic impact on support for the DA and ANC in the community.

1.2) Significance of this study

The negative impact of alcohol abuse has been widely reported in South Africa. Hence, there was a surge in concern over the liquor policy since 2003 in the Western Cape when a new liquor bill was proposed for the province (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.8). Since many shebeens operate in the informal business milieu and, therefore, liquor provision of unlicensed shebeens cannot be strictly controlled by the state. Politicians, health experts and communities, impacted by liquor abuse views are often reported in the SA media. Shebeens are seen as greatly contributing to liquor abuse. For example, South Africa has the highest amount of babies born with foetal alcohol syndrome globally. Meel claims that roughly 30 percent of people who are Coloured in SA have alcohol dependency (Meel, 2006, no pg.). According to Arrive Alive 50 percent of people who die in car accidents are drunk (Arrive Alive, 2016, no pg.) Plus South Africa has the highest number of liquor related road deaths (Padayachee, 2015, no. pg). Liver cirrhosis, certain cancers, elevated blood pressure and strokes are all health issues which are liquor related as well showing that liquor abuse serious issue (Meel, 2006, no pg.)



Liquor abuse also contributes to poverty since people who are alcoholics choose to use their money on purchasing liquor instead of providing for their own and their families' basic needs (World Health Organisation, 2006, p.2). Absenteeism from work due to liquor also decreases job productivity. Shebeens have been implicated in sexual assault and rape cases sometimes the unbearable noise levels disturb their neighbors (Setlalentoa, Pisa, Thekisho, Ryke & Loots, 2010, p.13-14). There have also been reports that people are unhappy with the fact that some shebeens are located close to schools and places of worship (Mooki, 2012, no pg) (Mhlongo, 2008, no pg). The fact that shebeens are located within residential areas makes it easy for people to access alcohol (Molelekwa, 2015, no pg.). Nonetheless because most shebeens are informal businesses making it more difficult to gather data on how shebeens contribute to social ills in society.

According to Herrick and Lawhon (2013, p.14) in 2007, Helen Zille was arrested for allegedly participating in an anti-drug protest in Mitchells Plain. Mitchells Plain is a township

located in the Western Cape. The DA later coupled drugs and liquor together as the cause of crime and various socio-economic problems in the area and in the Western Cape Province. This eventually resulted in the 2008 Western Cape Liquor Act being implemented by the DA. The act seeks to reduce liquor related harm by decreasing the number of shebeens operating in residential areas (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.8).

Many shebeen owners are poor the following statistics provide some insight into poverty in South Africa. 41, 6 percent of Coloured people were impoverished in 2006. The poverty line of Statistics South Africa was created by measuring the amount and cost that a household spends on food. A “food line” was therefore, created and, households failing below the healthy average intake were defined as poor since they could not provide for their basic food needs (Stats SA, 2014,p.64).

“To obtain the lower and upper-boundp poverty lines, the common variation of Ravallion cost-of basic-needs approach was followed. In this method, two different sets of non-food expenditure were obtained from two separate reference households and added to the food poverty line to yield two sets of poverty lines, namely the lower-bound and the upper-bound poverty lines” (Ibid,2014,p.64).

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In 2009, however, the level of poverty amongst Coloured people decreased to 37, 8 percent. And in 2011 27, 6 percent of Coloured people were poor thus, a steady decline in poverty levels occurred (Ibid, 2014, p.27). It was also found that people with lower levels of education were usually poor (Ibid, 2014, p.30). The Western Cape and Gauteng were the only two provinces where the impoverished were in the minority; with 36,9 percent of the population being poor in the Western Cape (Ibid, 2014, p.31). And lastly women were more poor than men 47.1 percent of women were poor, compared to 43, 8 percent of men (Stats SA, 2014, p.36). Poverty remains a major issue therefore, in South Africa especially amongst women, which possess lower levels of education or no education.

This study will therefore, explore if and how the Western Cape Liquor Act has impacted on the political views of the people of Atlantis in general, and on the political views of Coloured women shebeeners in particular. There is a possible tension here as the DA is the ruling party within the Western Cape thanks to support from Coloured voters especially. However, the

party is targeting the livelihoods of poor people including poor coloured people residing in the province by spearheading the Western Cape Liquor Act No.4 of 2008. Shebeening is an important livelihood in all poor Coloured and Black communities, especially for women. The study will use a case-study of Atlantis to explore the potential tension created by the 2008 Western Cape Liquor Act between political support of Coloured people and the economic interests of Coloured women running shebeens. Alternatively the act may have widespread support by communities experiencing liquor related harms thereby increasing voter loyalty and support for the DA.

The thesis deals with a topic not studied in depth in South Africa. Most shebeen studies emphasize the health and economic impact of shebeens and not their political implications (e.g. Freeman & Parry: 2006, Schneider et al: 2007, Charman, Petersen and Piper: 2012). The study deals with a current issue which is important to vulnerable section of society indeed shebeens are the most common enterprise in the informal economy in South Africa's poor townships (Charman, Petersen and Piper, 2012). The informal sector including the shebeen industry has the potential to create much needed employment in South Africa particularly for women. In the Western Cape there are 25 000 unlawful shebeens and 152 500 people are working in the informal liquor industry in the Cape (Barnes, 2012, no pg.). Thus, the shebeen industry is already a source of employment for those excluded from the formal economy. In addition, South Africa has a high unemployment rate and, the views of the poor are often not studied. Thus, these factors all prove why this study is important as it deals with the political views and livelihoods of impoverished people.

1.3) Boundaries of the study

This thesis will examine Atlantis and how this community views politics given that the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 has been implemented. Use of the case study method will allow the thesis to be an in-depth study as only one community will be studied. The case was chosen because the community possess unique characteristics. Atlantis is therefore, an exceptional case given its unique traits. The thesis will not focus on how the act would impact the residents of the entire Western Cape's political views. Moreover the thesis will not focus on detailed health arguments with regards to shebeens. Lastly the social aspects of shebeens will not be discussed. Shebeens are more than just liquor retailers they are meeting places as shown by. However, this paper deals with politics and shebeens not the social

aspects of shebeens. There was also limited resources and time in which to conduct the study, plus the relatively remote location of Atlantis all set boundaries upon the study.

1.4) Assumptions of the study

According to the authors Best and Kahn (1993) assumptions are "statements of what the researcher believes to be facts but cannot verify" (Best& Kahn, 1993, p.40). In accordance with this description, the researcher assumed:

- 1) That a qualitative and exploratory case study method was a suitable research method suited to answering the research question.
- 2) That there would be widespread community support for the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008, as shebeens are negatively portrayed in the media.
- 3) That the shebeen owners would oppose the act and would be vehemently opposed to politicians and other state officials.
- 4) That the lack of research discussing the impact of shebeens and liquor policy on politics was enough reason to pursue the study.
- 5) That an exploratory case study could highlight the views of the Atlantis community and thereby provide a better understanding of the community, and more specifically how they relate to politics.

1.5) Context of the study

This section will provide a brief history on the area of Atlantis. This will include a discussion on the establishment of Atlantis, its democratic transition in 1994 and a description of present day Atlantis.

1.5.1) The establishment of Atlantis

Atlantis is sited on Cape Town's northern corridor of the R27 towards Saldanha. It is situated within the City of Cape Town's administrative control, and forms part of the West Coast district. The area was founded during apartheid. The apartheid government created the area in order to lessen the housing demand in Cape Town, to create jobs for Coloured people, to

support divided growth and to decentralize the business districts of SA (Stafford, 2005, p.29). The apartheid state invested great vast capital into the Atlantis venture. Given that Atlantis was located far from the city and thus from employment opportunities factories were encouraged to relocate their operations to Atlantis. This was done by providing state incentives to factories which operated in Atlantis. Stafford states that "...the Development Committee, through the Industrial Decentralization Board, offered concessions to companies to open factories in Atlantis" (Stafford, 2005, p.35). Over 100 factories relocated to the area to benefit from these incentives. Nonetheless, the bulk of new employment opportunities were low paying factory positions. Layoffs became prevalent during the mid-1980s the growth of industry in the area was therefore overturned. There were numerous textile factories in the area however these factories suffered since they could not compete with international markets. In addition, state subsidization declined from 1982 onwards and, since Atlantis was far from transportation networks and quality housing for upper management workers. Atlantis, therefore, became an unappealing business site (Ibid, 2005, p.63).

1.5.2) Atlantis between the periods of 1992-2004

Although Atlantis along with the rest of SA gained democracy in 1994 in certain ways the standard of living has deteriorated after the implementation of democracy. The area stayed impoverished, doubts existed since the area was created by the apartheid state moreover investment during the new democratic era in Atlantis was not guaranteed. Thus, the inhabitants of Atlantis were tasked with ruling themselves even though they were faced with a worsening local economy.

Both the ANC and NP (National Party) aimed to gain the votes from Coloureds residing in the Western Cape. During 1991 the NP agreed to building a new police station valued at R10 million in Atlantis. The police station would hopefully reduce the increased crime rate in the area. "In 1993, Marike de Klerk, the wife of President F. W de Klerk, visited Atlantis for an NP goodwill tea, where government announced a comprehensive aid program for the town" (Stafford, 2005, p.87). In addition, just before the 1994 elections, state bureaucrats proclaimed that the overdue rent and money outstanding for municipal services would be scratched off the financial record books. These were all seen as contentious actions and the ANC disapproved since the ANC saw these actions as manipulative political tactics. For example local officials requested that the pronouncement of the scrapping of overdue rent be done after the election. However the NP did not honour the request (Stafford, 2005, p.88).

This, therefore, shows the contestation between the NP and ANC at the time. Moreover, Stafford claims that “Many Coloureds were suspicious of the ANC, which though non-racial, was dominated by Black Africans. At the same time, the ANC was not eager to invite into party politicians who had collaborated with the former regime” (Ibid, 2005, p.88-89). Gaining the votes of the Coloured populace was central to the NP’s election campaign. It could not win the election by relying on votes from White citizens only. The NP also recognised that the Coloured population shared a common language with Afrikaners, Afrikaans and that Coloured people were segregated from Black citizens. The NP, therefore, sought to gain support from Coloureds. With the NP showing signs of reform and renewed investment in Atlantis, it was better known and trusted quality for many Atlantis residents, while the ANC was unknown and intimidating to many. Even within Atlantis, the ANC was associated with radical politics that most residents did not identify with (Ibid, 2005, p.89-90).

1.5.3) The 1994 elections

The first democratic elections in SA were held in 1994 and were won by the ANC. The party won 62.6 percent of the voter pool, whilst the NP gained 20.4 percent of votes nationally. Although the ANC won the national election with an outright majority, the NP won the Provincial Election in the Western Cape. The ANC gained 33.6 percent of votes in the Western Cape. The NP won 68.7 percent of the votes. The Coloured voters of the province therefore may have voted for the NP. This pattern continued in Atlantis as only 16 percent of voters, voted for the ANC in Atlantis. An outright majority was won by the NP in Atlantis. “The NP held 29 seats, while the ANC had two and the Democratic Party held one”. Local government control was thereby given to the NP (Stafford, 2005, p.91). Nonetheless, the local government had a multitude of challenges which had to be solved due to the areas apartheid passed. Atlantis was faced with joblessness, paucity and its remoteness. An independent report conducted in Atlantis found that during the period of 1987 to 1992 “8000 jobs and 20 factories were lost” (Stafford, 2005, p.92). In 1997, 30 percent of the population was unemployed and, in turn, crime levels increased. As a result, the living conditions also deteriorated, plus substance abuse and gangsterism increased. Furthermore, Stafford believes that “Alcohol abuse, particularly among the poor, contributed to social dysfunction. Shebeens (unlicensed alcohol vendors, operating out of people’s homes) proliferated in the residential areas, with as many as three on a single street block” (Ibid, 2005, p.92-93)

1.5.4) Atlantis currently

The area has an estimated population of 70 000, 2 percent of Cape Town's population, and 98 percent of residents belong to the group previously classified as Coloured (Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.4). 88.1 percent of the residents speak Afrikaans as their first language (Erasmus, Jacobs & Mans, 2005, p.11). The main religious groups are Christian with 92.2 percent membership and Islam with 2.8 percent membership (Ibid, 2005, p.11). Atlantis has a young populace as nearly 40 percent of the inhabitants are under the age of 18 years old. A third of the population are young adults aged between 18-34 years old. Only 70 percent of residents completed secondary education between grades 8-12 and, 0, 3 percent have tertiary education beyond grade 12 (Atlantis Inter Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.5). The poor levels of education have increased unemployment levels in the community. It is estimated that the area has a 35 percent unemployment rate (Ibid, 2011, p.5).

The appeal of Atlantis as a business locale has diminished due to the elimination of regional manufacturing inducements granted during apartheid. This has exacerbated the area's long-standing economic decline (Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.5). The international and domestic economic recession has also led to a loss of business and jobs (Ibid, 2011, p.5). During 2010 to 2011, 10 factories closed down and 1 moved. In addition, 500 employees working outside of Atlantis were retrenched (Ibid, 2011, p.5). Over an 18 month period, 150 new jobs were created but, 850 jobs were lost (Erasmus, Jacobs & Mans, 2005, p.5). The location of Atlantis and a poor public transport system has had an adverse impact on residents seeking work and medical services outside of the area. Residents claim that the area is unsafe. They believe that unsafe sports and leisure amenities and roads are caused by crime, drug misuse and gangs. Law enforcement is also alleged to be inept and undependable (Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.42). Domestic violence is also an every-day occurrence in Atlantis (Ibid, 2011, p.5) and poverty is widespread. According to the 2001 Census, 51 percent of residents earned between R1600 and, 6 400 per month. More than a third earned less than R1 600 per month (Ibid, 2011, p.5).

According to Malan and van der Merwe (2006, p.19), permanent farming jobs are almost exclusively accessible to men on the farms in Atlantis. Most women in Atlantis are unemployed. However few women are employed as domestic workers on farms and on certain farms women work as seasonal workers in the vineyards. In Atlantis South, some women travel to Cape Town City to work as domestic or factory labourers. They usually

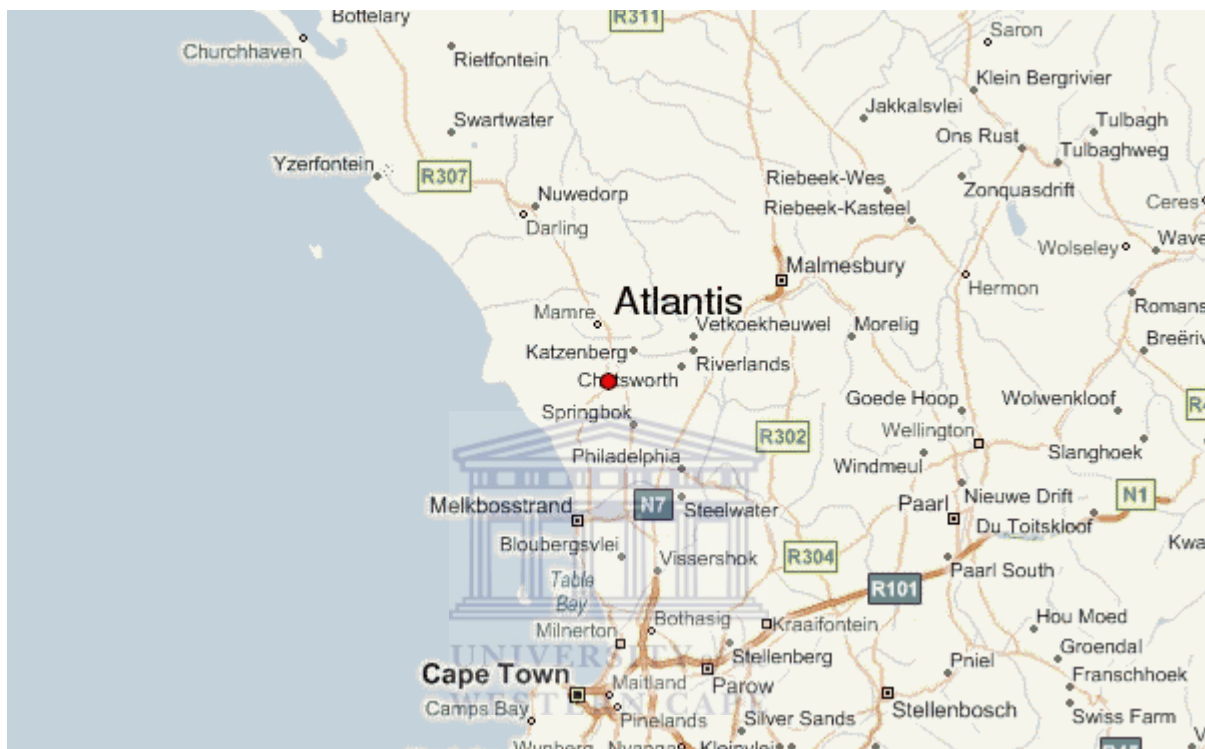
travel via taxi to get to work. The majority of workers in the area are Cape Coloureds. On dairy farms black workers are often employed. The formation of Witsands, an informal settlement, has consequently led to more Black residents entering Atlantis and more Black workers on farms. There is one big Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) farm namely Philadelphia Chick Breeders, although management positions are generally occupied by Whites (Malan & van der Merwe, 2006, p.19.). It is important for workers to be able to speak Afrikaans as it is the most popular language in Atlantis. Farm workers earn a low income. Some workers earn R980 monthly whilst senior workers earn R3000-R3500 monthly. Casual workers earn R40-R60 per month. Income levels are low. Breadwinners typically earn upwards from minimum wage (R980/ month). More senior workers may earn more per month. Wages for casual work (seasonal pruning, harvesting) appear to be in the region of R45-R60/ day (Malan & van der Merwe, 2006, p.19.).

According to Malan and van der Merwe a significant feature that impacts people's perceptions of happiness with the place they live is the way the area they live in and/or work in impacts on how they view themselves (Malan & van der Merwe, 2006, p.19). They claim that cramped spaces with little or no amenities add to a sense of hopelessness as shown by various studies conducted in other impoverished areas. Atlantis flats especially are cramped and the community lacks socializing amenities. There are a large number of tradesmen in Atlantis. Atlantis's extensive industrial region is the cause of various health issues and troublesome issues for example toxic odours produced by factories. There is a high HIV/AIDS rate Malan and van der Merwe reported that "According to a community worker, the clinic in the industrial area receives on average 12 new reported cases of HIV/Aids" (Malan and van der Merwe, 2006, p.19). Although the community has a hospital there are not enough clinics according to community workers. In addition, there is a serious staff shortage at the hospital.

1.6) Organization of the dissertation

This chapter has provided a context of why the study should be conducted and the context of the case. The significance of the study, its boundaries and assumptions and definition of terms has also been provided. Chapter two explains the research methodology, the structure of the sample, interviews and focus groups to name a few. Chapter three is a review of the relevant literature, which will show that the research on shebeens is limited. It also discusses liquor policy and politics in South Africa and shows how the two intersect. Chapter four

provides a framework for the analysis chapters. It examines informality, gender and party politics. Chapter five and six present the findings of this thesis. Lastly, Chapter seven is a summary of this thesis; it suggests implications, recommendations and, areas for further study.



1.7) Caption: Map indicating where Atlantis is Located, Copyright: <http://www.weather-forecast.com>

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

2.1) Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology of this thesis. Methodology stipulates how the researcher can go about practically what he or she is studying (Durrheim, 1999, p.7). The methodology therefore, structures how the study will be executed. The main research question addressed by this thesis is if and, how the Western Cape Liquor Act impacted the political allegiance of the people of Atlantis. I determined that the act has impacted the political views of Coloured women shebeeners but, only in minor way given that other factors contribute to political allegiance as well. This has been done as the act is perceived as negatively impacting their lives. The reason why only women were included in this study is because women are more affected by job loss Women are less educated, have fewer skills and have more dependents in comparison to men and, this will be shown later in this thesis. The Act therefore, has a larger impact on the lives of women. Thus, I have answered a list of questions which allowed me to assess the attitudes of the people living in Atlantis towards the DA, ANC and shebeens in the area. These attitudes specifically refer to their political allegiances, questions were asked on voting as well. Unfortunately respondents were reluctant to answer questions related to voting. The methodology employed by this thesis shall be discussed in the following order: the qualitative nature of the study; the case study method; data collection methods; the list of research objectives and questions, and the method of analysis. The limitations, ethics and my experiences in the field will also be discussed.

2.2) Rationale for the research approach

The study used the qualitative research method in order to answer the research question. This is because the qualitative research method is best suited to this study. The qualitative methodology is mainly interested in the manner which people mould the world. It focuses on the ways in which human behaviours produce meaning and generates social order which characterizes the world (Denscombe, 2010, p.132). The qualitative method also prefers data in the form of words, text and images as this method believes that it is better suited than numbers in gaining in-depth understanding into a study. Furthermore, the qualitative research method seeks to describe rather than analyze an event (Ibid, 2010, p.133). The subsequent quote proves that the qualitative method was best suited to this thesis "...Qualitative

researchers generally aim to get an understanding based on some insight into the meanings people give to phenomena, seeing it from their point of view” (Denscombe, 2010,p.133).

Qualitative research also seeks to uncover and describe the reasons why people behave the way they do. It also looks at how people construct their reality; how people therefore create the world they live in. Perceptions are usually central to the qualitative research method, in other words the research shows how people make sense of the world they live in. Lastly life experiences are ascertained thereby showing what it is like for an individual to experience a specific event (Ibid, 2010, p.133). By using this method I gained an understanding of how the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 impacted the political views of people in Atlantis. However, only in a limited manner as respondents did not want to discuss their views in detail. Plus limited information was available to determine if other factors impacted political allegiance. Information on Atlantis was difficult to obtain and, there are no texts which discuss the political dynamics of the area in detail. This thesis demonstrated how people perceive the act and their perceptions of politics as a result of the act. Qualitative research focuses on the context of the particular study thus, the history and surrounding social context was therefore considered during the qualitative research process. The context was considered because qualitative researchers believe that the context influences how events and behaviours are perceived (Neuman, 1997, p.331).

Despite this, critics argue that because the qualitative method depends on data from words, texts and images it loses the ability to meticulously and objectively analyze data. Analysis relies on the personal analysis of the researcher not on a common analysis method. Consequently comparing and evaluating the findings of a qualitative study with other studies findings is often impossible. The findings ultimately reflect an individual researchers approach to the study (Denscombe, 2010, p.134). But this is not a significant weakness of this study because the study aimed to study the particular case of Atlantis for its individual merit not for its possible universal applications or replicable findings.

2.3) The case study method

The study uses a case study to answer the research question. A case study is a practical investigation into a current occurrence within its real life situation. In other words a case study is utilized if a researcher wants to intentionally study contextual circumstances that could be very applicable to the event which he or she is studying (Yin, 1994, p.13). Rule and

John provide a more comprehensive definition. For them a case itself is an event of the condition of a specific individual, object or behaviour. Cases also range in magnitude and extent. Moreover a case can be an individual, a classroom, a project, a procedure, a set of developments, an organization or even a state. Therefore it is clear that a case study is a methodical and exhaustive analysis of a specific circumstance in its environment in order to produce information (John & Rule, 2011, p.3). There are also various types of cases studies including: exploratory, descriptive, historical, explanatory and evaluative. A brief explanation of each type of case study follows. Firstly, exploratory case studies seek to investigate circumstances that may not have been studied before and for which there may not be established theories. They endeavour to supply knowledge of an event by examining it closely. Thus exploratory questions are open ended ones and are expected to produce data that gives deeper understanding into the character of the case (Ibid, 2011, p.28). Secondly, descriptive case studies attempt to produce a meaningful and deep account of an event. The aim of the examination is therefore to rigorously describe a specific case. This may require the use of both qualitative and quantitative information. There core questions are ‘what’ and ‘how’ questions (Ibid, 2011, p.27).

Thirdly, a historical case study incorporates a descriptive element; however it may also focus on explanatory and or evaluative factors. This case study focus on the past and on an event as it grows and evolves over time. This type of case study provides a retrospective view to track topics and patterns as they arise from the specific past of the case (Ibid, 2011, p.29). Fourthly explanatory studies attempt to explain situations. This type of case studies tries to explain how and why incidents occurred or situations exist. They try to discover what caused an event to occur or situation to be present (Ibid, p.30). Lastly evaluative case studies form questions which will judge or evaluate (Ibid, 2011, p.30). This study will use the exploratory case study method as the relationship between shebeens, liquor policy and politics has not been previously studied in the community of Atlantis.

Various methods can be used for the research strategy of a case study (Yin, 1994, p.13). I collected information about Atlantis from a previous case study and from various sources. I used a document from the Atlantis library and a two case studies conducted by other researchers which focuses on Atlantis. I also made use of books, journals, newspaper articles and online sources to gather information which would help answer the research question. This case study has also made use of qualitative interviews of key figures who live in

Atlantis. The impact of the 2008 Western Cape Liquor act on the political views of people in the Western Cape specifically in Atlantis has not been studied before so this is an exploratory study. The case study is also a single case study (Yin, 1994) as it is only studying one community. In addition, the findings of this study are specific to the case and cannot be generalized (Neuman, 1997, p.331).

2.4) The research setting

The research will be mainly confined to a particular section of the Atlantis residential area, namely Saxonsea and Town Centre. I lived in Saxonsea with a friend of mine whilst completing my field research and all the offices of the respondents I selected were located in the Town Centre. The case study site was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly I worked in Atlantis interviewing shebeen owners as a field worker previously. I therefore, saw this as an opportunity to add to current research and, general knowledge building. Secondly, is that the area has a sizeable amount of liquor outlets, including shebeens. There were reportedly 167 liquor outlets in 2005 (Erasmus, Jacobs & Mans, 2005). Shebeens therefore, have an impact on the community and, I sought to discuss why people allow so many shebeens to operate in the area. Thirdly, as previously outlined Atlantis was created by the apartheid state and the area faces various socio economic problems, making the area unique. The area has a youthful population however, most people living there are poor. This is also why Atlantis was chosen as I wanted to allow the voices of the poor to be expressed by this thesis. Lastly given that poverty is an issue in Atlantis, if shebeens are managed correctly they can provide employment in a community that needs job opportunities.

2.5) Research sample and data sources

The research sample consists of women who own shebeens and key role players within the community of Atlantis. Interviews were conducted with key public figures local ward councillors from both of the DA and ANC, as well as the party leaders of these parties. Religious leaders such as priests, pastors, imams, safety and security officials, the community policing forum members, neighbourhood watch members, police officers, head of the police office and the designated liquor officer were also interviewed. I also interviewed leaders of a flat committee in the area and people who work with non-governmental organizations. In addition people who work with party secretaries and ward councillors were also interviewed.

The study made use of the snowball sampling method. This sampling method asks current participants in a study to refer the researcher to people they believe are prospective participants (John & Rule, 2011). The reason why this sampling method was used is because I did not have the time to interview all the residents of Atlantis. In addition, I did not have access to current population statistics for Atlantis and, there is no database which will provide me with the location of the shebeens in Atlantis. Thus a random sample cannot be used as I do not know how many people are currently living in Atlantis. More importantly, the key role players which I interviewed were also elite respondents (Neuman, 1997.p.337) claims that “researchers cannot study elites-people in the positions of formal or informal power-with random samples because they are too rare and because they are unlikely to participate” (Ibid, 1997, p.337). These respondents have been selected because of the knowledge that they possess and I needed to find out their contact details from the community. I am also an outsider and did not know the area or the people, so snowball sampling was the most convenient sampling method given the limitations which I faced. Thus the views of key figures have been used to represent the views of the community. This obviously limited the research scope but, I did not have any other choice as my resources were limited.

2.6) Data collection methods

The research techniques were as follows: An interview schedule was used as a guide for the interviews with key role players living in Atlantis. Semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted. This allowed the respondents to answer as they see fit and their responses were not restricted (Seidman, 1998). I chose semi structured interviews as they are useful when conducting exploratory research. The following quote substantiates this view “...As pointed out earlier, unstructured and semi-structured interviews are very helpful in exploratory research...” (Bless, Higson-Smith& Kagee, 2006, p.119). This study is exploratory as indicated before. I also wanted to have the ability to ask questions not included in my interview guide. Using semi-structured interviews provided me with more flexibility as respondents choose to highlight themes which I did not expect them to in some of their responses, and I could ask them questions based on their responses.

Two focus group discussions were carried out with female shebeen owners to ascertain their views of political parties and the liquor act. The research problem looked at the tension between coloured voters and the DA as the 2008 Western Cape Liquor act may impact their livelihoods in a negative manner. Furthermore, the research question sought to gain the

political views of the people of Atlantis. By conducting this focus group I uncovered the views of female coloured voters who were directly affected by the 2008 Western Cape Liquor Act. Thus the focus group allowed me to answer my research questions. I was provided with a database of female shebeen owners by the company I worked for in Atlantis. Although this was an asset there is no way to know whether the database includes every single shebeen owner in Atlantis. Moreover, whilst calling the cell phone numbers I found that some numbers no longer existed thus, demonstrating that although I had information to work with it was not complete. I contacted these women to find out if they were willing to attend a focus group session. An audio recording of the focus groups was also made.

Participant observation was also used. Participant observation is a process where the researcher hides the purpose of their presence by partaking in activities of a community and or becoming part of a community (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006, p.114-116). I immersed myself into the research site in an attempt to record various kinds of activities related to shebeens and liquor. I observed a shebeen by sitting inside one and talking to people about shebeens at coffee shops. This process also included engaging in informal conversations with various individuals who frequent shebeens and other key individuals such as the ward councillor's secretary. I did this to triangulate and confirm what shebeen owners said during interviews I held with them.

These research techniques aim to achieve the following objectives and answer the subsequent questions:

Key research objectives:

- To ascertain if party allegiance in the community of Atlantis towards the DA and ANC has changed because of the act.
- To study the shebeen industry in Atlantis.
- To uncover the views of key community figures towards shebeens in the area.
- To determine if any resistance or protests have occurred due to the Act.
- To determine if the community has protested against shebeens operating in Atlantis.

Key research questions:

- Has the act impacted party allegiance in Atlantis?

- Does the community hold negative or positive views with regards to shebeens?
- Have protests occurred in Atlantis, against the Act by shebeen owners?
- Have protests occurred in Atlantis condemning shebeens?

2.7) The data analysis method

The pattern matching method was employed to analyze the findings. This method links information to propositions and various sources of information will be linked to the same theoretical position (Yin, 1994). The case study method employs numerous sources and because of this information must triangulate (Ibid, 1994). The study looked at what people from various organizations and individuals had to say about the liquor act, shebeens and political parties. The differences and similarities in their responses shall be emphasized. Their responses will also be compared to the information contained in the literature review. Thus the method of analysis that was used is qualitative in nature as the study is a qualitative study.

2.8) Limitations

Critics argue that the qualitative method does not allow researchers to thoroughly and objectively analyze data. Analysis relies on the personal analysis of the researcher not on a common analysis method. Therefore comparing the findings of a qualitative study with other studies is usually impossible. The findings ultimately reflect an individual researchers approach to the study (Ibid, 1994). But this is not a significant weakness of this study because the study aims to study the particular case for its individual merit not for its possible universal applications or replicable findings. I had limited time to conduct my interviews and focus groups. I conducted all my interviews and the first focus group from the 7th to the 17th of May 2012. I later went back to Atlantis and conducted a second focus group on the 28th of April 2013. The second focus group was also conducted on one day and I could not arrange for another date as the person driving me was only available on that specific day. The timing was awkward as it was the day before a public holiday allowing me only to speak to two shebeen owners and two members of Orion, a Non Governmental Organization in the area.

Furthermore, shebeeners in the area are often afraid of participating in research as they believe researchers may supply the police or the government with information which will lead to the closure of their shebeens. I know this because the first time I worked in the area people told me they were afraid to speak to researchers. The research was conducted by me

alone and thus, limited the amount of respondents I could speak to. I was also warned several times by residents that I had to be vigilant walking alone in Atlantis as the area is known for its high crime rate.

2.9) Ethics

As stated in the problem statement section above, the research was a qualitative study which looked into community views of the liquor act in Atlantis, Cape Town. At no stage did the research intentionally harm anyone who participated in the project, and people who agreed to the interviewing process were not put in harm's way, no participant was placed in a compromising position either. Before I proceeded I informed participants of the project aims and participants needed to show their agreement to the interview process, and general project aims this was done by them completing informed consent forms which was made available to all the participants by me. I had to and did advise participants that the process was voluntary and that they were allowed to exit the interview at any time without prejudice. I protected the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants who asked to remain anonymous. Exact shebeen locations have also been kept confidential. In signing the consent form, participants acknowledged and gave their permission to the researcher, to use the information to produce an academic research report which will be read by other academics and possibly other parties in related industries and or fields. Should the unlikely need arise to utilize the name and or identity of a participant, the researcher will only agree to do so once permission has been granted by the participant(s) concerned. Full names are not used in this paper. Lastly, all research participants were informed of their right to consult the findings that have been gathered by the researcher.

2.10) My experiences in the field

Overall my experiences whilst collecting the data were positive. I managed to interview most of the respondents I identified as expert interviewees, 23 people were interviewed excluding the shebeen owners. However, this also excludes the chairperson of the community police forum who went on holiday whilst I was conducting my research. I also could not gain an interview with the party leaders in the area as they were in Parliament when I was conducting my research. Subsequent, attempts to gain interviews with them were unsuccessful as well, due to the fact that they were too busy. The neighbourhood watch in the area is defunct and attempts at contacting ex neighbourhood watch members were futile. However, I managed to interview a person who was a neighbourhood watch member although I did not know that

whilst interviewing him and only discovered the fact as the interview progressed. Furthermore, I only managed to contact one Islamic religious leader as the Islamic community in the area is rather small. And there is only one mosque in Atlantis.

There is also only one internet café in Atlantis the connection was very slow. Certain cell phone networks also do not receive good reception in Atlantis. I could not make outgoing calls as much as I needed to. To keep my supervisor informed of my progress. I therefore, made use of email communication. I also lived far from the central area in Atlantis where most of my respondents worked. Luckily this was not an issue though as I had access to a car.

Moreover, I conducted most of the interviews and both focus groups in Afrikaans. Afrikaans is my second language plus the more informal version of Afrikaans spoken widely by people in Atlantis does not include certain research terms. However, the language issue was not a major problem as I am able to speak Afrikaans fairly well and I conducted mock interviews with my mother and sister in order to prepare myself. I also conducted a mock focus group with my cousins. The pilot study therefore, prepared me to speak fluently. The people in the area were very helpful and most of the people were very friendly. I also found that they often provided me with in depth answers to my questions. However at times I was met with anger because certain people were unhappy that I was conducting focus groups with shebeen owners only and, felt like I was promoting shebeens. After I explained my limitations and my research focus and reasons for conducting focus groups with shebeeners the attitude of these people became more helpful. I also had to explain clearly and continuously to the shebeeners that I could not assist in gaining liquor licenses for them or forward their complaints to the liquor board.

The second focus group which I conducted had a poor turnout as only two people attended. The reason for this may be that many of the shebeeners were preparing for the upcoming Easter Holiday and, most of the cell phone numbers which I had were no longer up to date. This may have been due to the respondents changing their cell phone numbers or losing their cell phones. Although the turnout was poor I gained more in depth answers and, the respondents freely provided me with answers to the questions. This was the first time I conducted a focus group although I assisted with focus group facilitation in the past and have been a focus group respondent myself several times. This was the first time that I facilitated a focus group on my own. The only challenge I had was controlling the answers of the

respondents as they tended to want to all speak at once but I just re-mentioned that I needed to hear one person speak at a time to aid with my recording and note taking and, thereafter the issue was resolved.

2.11) Conclusion

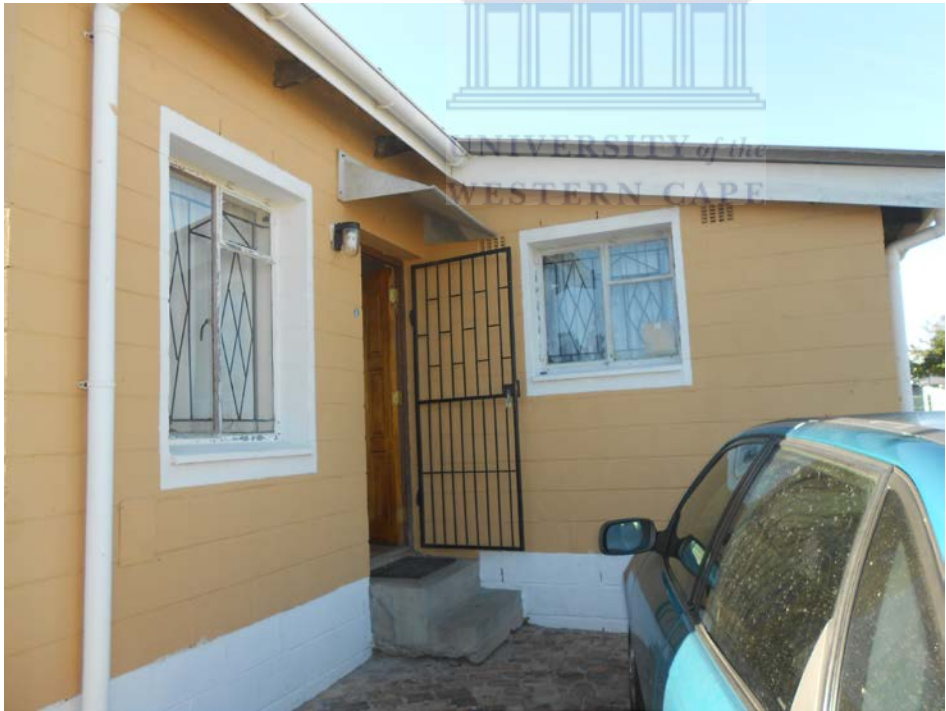
The research methodology has therefore, outlined how this thesis study was conducted. The chapter showed that a qualitative studied was best suited to answer the research question. The subsequent chapters will provide a literature framework for this thesis. This will provide a understanding into the topic and thereby facilitating answering of the research question.



2.12) Caption: Shebeen owners who partook in the first Focus Group



2.13) Caption: Venue where both Focus Groups where held.



2.13) Caption: The house where I lived in Atlantis whilst conducting my field work.



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CHAPTER THREE: LIQUOR POLICY AND POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1) Introduction

This paper seeks to examine the possible tension between voters who rely on shebeens for their livelihood and the Western Cape Liquor Act which aims to restrict and close down many shebeens. It also examines the views of voters who are opposed to shebeens to determine whether the act will impact political perceptions of voters. In order to examine this question this chapter shall firstly, discuss the history of liquor policy in South Africa. It will show how liquor policy was used to control the populace by examining the tot system, beer halls and shebeens in Natal and shebeens during apartheid. Secondly, the current South African context regarding shebeens will then be presented. Thirdly, three international states liquor policies will be outlined to show the differences and similarities to South Africa's liquor policies. This chapter will not focus on health studies related to harmful liquor consumption as it is not the purpose of the study to focus on issues concerning liquor harm.

3.2) A historical context

Liquor policy was employed as a tool to control the non-white population during the colonial and apartheid era. This was partly achieved via the tot system. The tot system was used to keep laourers dependent on liquor because this allowed business owners to secure cheap labour (La Hausse, 1988). Beer halls in Natal were established so that the apartheid state could tax Black areas and shebeens were created in resistance to these unfair practices. The apartheid state also sought to control citizens by limiting their access to liquor (La Hausse, 1992). These measures all confirm the fact that pre-democratic liquor policy has sought to control non-white South Africans. The subsequent section will, therefore, discuss these practices in order to provide a historic context for this paper.

3.2.1) The tot system

There is a long history of the use of alcohol for social and political control in colonial and, apartheid times. Alcohol has been used in resistance to this imposition this will be shown later (La Hausse, 1988). The most famous instance and, also most relevant to the Western Cape is the tot system. The tot system was established in the 1700s by the colonial government on Western Cape farms (Brophy, 2010, Singer, 2003). The tot system allowed labourers to have a part of their salary paid in liquor or they could purchase wine on credit from the farmer. For many farmers, the tot system was seen as an essential way to sustain a

dependent labour force (Falletisch, 2008). “As an insidious means of attempting to dominate and control a rural underclass, the tot system had few equals” (Ambler and Crush, 1992, p.57).

The tot system also had other consequences. It impacted the social lives of the farm workers because it helped make liquor a characteristic of the pastoral underclass way of life. Alcohol dependency was therefore, seen as a way of life instead of an addiction. In addition, canteens supplied a significant social space for the rural underclass population. The Stellenbosch anti-tot lobby movement viewed the canteens as problematic as “they encouraged anti-social unchristian behaviour” in farming areas (Scully, 1992, p.63). Therefore, the anti-tot lobby believed that canteens were adding to moral decay in the rural areas, as farm workers were drinking too much and were causing disturbances in Stellenbosch. The anti-tot lobby opposed the tot system and canteens selling liquor to farm workers. The canteens also supplied an alternative site where sub-standard liquor could be sold; allowing farmers to sell poor quality liquor to workers and increase their profit margin. In turn, this liquor addiction created farm workers who were compelled to work on farms to sustain their alcohol addiction (Ibid, 1992, p.63). Even though the Innes Liquor Law (Act 28 of 1898) prohibited Blacks from procuring or producing alcohol except for those employed by White people, the trade of second-rate wine was an essential source of income for the farmers. Thus the regime did not attempt to restrict the trade of wine to the Coloured populace or to eradicate the tot system (Scully, 1992, p.63). The introduction of beer halls in Natal similarly sought to use liquor to control the non-white workforce albeit in a different province.

3.2.2) Beer halls and shebeens in Natal

The emergence of municipal beer halls and shebeens in Durban and legislation is interlinked with control of the labourers and women brewers. The Native Beer Act of 1909 allowed the legal drinking of utshwala (a home brewed traditional alcoholic drink) at municipal beer halls (La Hausse, 1992, p.79). Thereafter this legalized drinking allowed in municipal beer halls spread across Natal. It was named the “Durban system” it embodied a specific type of governance over the Black population and developed into a form of mistreatment of Black people residing and working in the country (Ibid, 1992, p.79). The expenses incurred by the Durban municipality from their Black workforce such as having to build houses in townships for them to leave in, was largely financed by the large profits from the beer halls. This in turn supported and provided the foundation of an oppressive urban system of

governance (Ibid, 1992, p.79). The fact that post 1909 beer hall proceeds were invested into the upkeep and founding of migrant labourer quarters, beer halls, inns, and breweries, plus into the expenses of police and Native Administration supports this statement. Durban was therefore the only city in the country with a self-sustained “Native Revenue Account” until 1929 when a large stay away from beer halls occurred in opposition to oppressive apartheid laws (Ibid, 1992, p.79).

Black rural women played a significant part in creating urban shebeens (Ibid, 1992, p.86). The colonial regime and white farmers believed that Black liquor brewing and drinking were inextricably related to the complexity of acquiring an adequate labour force. The brewing of utshwala (traditional beer) represented the immovable strength of Black agriculture and the capacity for Black people to oppose working on white farms and for government projects. This was because the excess grain produced by Blacks was used to produce the beer. Significant changes in Natal’s political economy occurred in the 1800’s leading to a stronger critique of Black financial autonomy as well as traditions and “political institutions” (Ibid, 1992, p.86). The escalating influence of white farmers became linked to strict laws which sought to control Black alcohol brewing and drinking. White farmers were particularly angry over the consumption of traditional beer as it was blamed for tardy workers and for causing difficulty in gaining workers.

According to la Hausse, the tension originating from alcohol was one part of a more comprehensive effort to change the “rural underclass” (la Hausse, 1992, p.87). The alarm surrounding Black liquor drinking and the importance of women in brewing exposed the conflicting character of this process of change. At the core of this change was a profound conflict as the Black social order had to be changed to match the needs of farmers and modern capitalism; however simultaneously parts of Black culture had to be protected to achieve the transformation. For example the brewing of traditional beer had to be preserved, this would allow the state to maintain the status quo and show black people that they were protecting their traditions. Act 36 of 1899 forbade the sale of liquor to Blacks. Nonetheless, Section 4 of it allowed Black women to brew and sell traditional beer according to custom but not as a lasting enterprise (la Hausse, 1992, p.87).

As a consequence 1902, saw the first real attempt to control the traditional beer trade by introducing licenses for traditional beer sellers via the Sale of Native Beer Regulation Bill.

The Bill was unsuccessful and produced urban shebeens. The beer industry grew and shebeens thrived. “In 1906 there were over a hundred shebeens in town, variously described as frightful dens which were hotbeds of immorality providing a rendezvous of native women of loose character” (Ibid,1992, p.89). A substantial part of the beer industry was controlled by Black women making it a unique enterprise since businesses were usually owned by white people.

In 1908, the Native Beer Act (No. 23) was passed and made Durban the first local authority in Natal to opt for a municipal beer monopoly. The beer hall system represented an advanced type of urban control. The beer halls undercut the business of Black business owners who were benefiting from revenues of beer sales. Beer halls also justified the exclusion of women from Durban since female traditional beer brewers were no longer needed in the area. Nonetheless illegal brewing persisted in the town and on the city’s fringes shebeens were booming and, the shebeen industry was born (la Hausse, 1992, p.90).

3.2.3) Shebeens and apartheid

Liquor was also used to control most of the general population in other provinces during the apartheid era (Cameron, 1999, p.14). After 1910, the manufacture, distribution, sale and use of liquor was regulated by the Liquor Act, 30 of 1928 and Native (Urban Areas) Act, 21 of 1923. These statutes prohibited the supply, delivery and possession of alcohol by Blacks, Coloureds and Indians. Liquor licensing also has a shameful history since only white people could trade liquor (Cameron, 1999, p.14). Black people could only drink at beer halls founded to fund the improvement of black areas. Unfortunately, the profits were not used to develop black areas as previously discussed (Freeman & Parry, 2006, p.4-5). Moreover, the regime ensured that liquor was more liberally obtainable to Indians and Coloureds, but not Black South Africans. Consequently, these constraints on liquor for Black people lead to the creation of shebeens as an act of resistance to apartheid-era exclusions (Singer, 2003, p.2). Thus, inequality and marginalization led to the creation of shebeens.

3.3) The South African context

The South African landscape with regards to attitudes towards shebeens shall be unpacked.

3.3.1) The Moral Regeneration Movement

Shebeens can potentially enter the formal economy if the barriers to formalization are lowered thereby, enhancing economic growth and employment. Marquez (1990) summary of De Soto's theory will later be discussed and will prove that if shebeens are formalized economic growth will occur. Indeed, while this was the initial thinking around the formalization of liquor after apartheid, in recent years moral and health arguments have pushed legislation in a different direction. Thus, in 1997, the Moral Regeneration Movement originated in a meeting between Nelson Mandela and key South African religious leaders after the President identified a breakdown in moral values. In 1998, The Moral Summit took place where Mandela discussed the moral problems which the moral regeneration campaign should address. Mandela requested that political and religious leaders attend a Moral Summit in Johannesburg to tackle moral restoration in South Africa. Notably, the ANC argued that a lack of morality was the cause of crime in the country (Rauch, 2005, p.16). Moral restoration workshops were held in 2000 and 2001 by the Deputy President (Jacob Zuma), Education Department, the South African Broadcasting Commission (SABC) and Faith Based Groups. This is when the resolution was made to launch the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM). On the 18th of April 2002, The MRM was unveiled in Pretoria. This program sought to change society and, re-establish its moral character. The MRM strives to encourage community-driven engagement and, dedication to a National Charter. This Charter has four core principles these include, family, youth, lobbying and advocacy (Parliament, n/d, no pg.).

When the MRM was founded it did not mention liquor or shebeens in any of its meetings or speeches (Rauch, 2005, p.16). Today the MRM calls for stricter controls on liquor and liquor policy including laws that restrict the issuing of liquor licenses in communities where shebeens are in close proximity to each other (Mdhladhla, 2012, p.5). This would obviously impact shebeeners especially those in poorer areas where it is commonly known that shebeens are grouped closely together. The MRM also requested that shebeens that break the laws should be permanently closed. They also called for community projects to be implemented. These projects would provide people with options to partake in activities other than drinking. Plus people should be supplied with information on how to earn a livelihood, through community projects. Licenses should not be reissued if a shebeen has gone out of business. In addition infrastructure, expansion is needed which includes leisure amenities and programs (Mdhladhla, 2012, p.5).

3.3.2) The Western Cape Liquor Bill

In 2008, there was a realistic worry surrounding ineffective liquor law given that just 20 percent of liquor vendors possessed licenses (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.5). Thus, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape drafted the Western Cape Liquor Bill that looked to (1) incorporate shebeens into the formal market by permitting shebeens which complied with specific conditions such as location to apply for a liquor license; (2) amend land-use rules in order to restrict licenses in residential districts and (3) facilitate community participation in the licensing system (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.4). This in turn, led to four sessions where public discussions were conducted (Ibid, 2013, p.4-13). According to newscasts, these discussions were dominated by local officials who contested the decriminalization of shebeens. The majority of news bulletins also reported that communities were afraid of the intended decriminalization of shebeens. The then ANC provincial government sought to legalize shebeens in residential areas, to gain compliance of shebeen owners to license stipulations (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.9-10).

From the onset, the DA criticized and opposed the bill introduced by the ANC. Helen Zille, who was the DA party leader at the time announced that the DA was deeply concerned over the alcohol law and, indicated that decriminalizing shebeens would amplify shebeen numbers (Ibid, 2010, p.8-9). The DA's unease with regards to shebeens echoed their broader political standpoint against substance abuse. In fact Helen Zille was arrested for allegedly supporting a "vigilante group the People's Anti-Drug and Liquor Action Committee" by marching with them in 2007 (Ibid, 2013, p.8). Moreover, in 2008, she also led an anti-drugs protest in Johannesburg. Cedric Thomas of the DA also voiced his anger over the possible moral breakdown which the proposed bill would cause if implemented. As a result the DA requested that the Western Cape's citizens rally against the bill and, write letters in opposition to the bill (Ibid, 2013, p.8).

In contrast, to this rhetoric, the ANC's National Drug Master Plan of 2009 focused mainly on drugs not liquor and, only devoted one line to the issue of underage drinking (ANC, 2009, no.pg). Traditionally the ANC has not grouped alcohol and drugs together. The National Drug Master Plan supports this claim. However for the DA drugs and alcohol were treated as one category of health and moral risk. The DA and ANC therefore held different views on how to deal with the shebeen issue during 2007 to 2008.

Moral panic has influenced the way liquor and, shebeens are viewed in the Western Cape. This moral panic has in turn influenced how liquor policy is created; moral arguments are used to support the creation of liquor policy which criminalises shebeens. According to Young who is cited by Marsh and Melville, moral panics gain the attention of the press and the enlistment of the police force, judiciary and other bureaus of social control. Their development involves a 'pervasive stigmatization' of a particular group that is different. This expands over time resulting in a 'development of deviance intensification and myth becomes reality' (Marsh & Melville, 2011, p.145). Newspaper reports such as Meyer's report which claims that Helen Zille wants to reduce the amount of shebeens to lessen crime in Cape Town appear to fit this pattern (Meyer, 2012, no pg.). The DA often publishes articles on its website which call for more regulation of shebeens such as a segment entitled, 'DA welcomes proposed clampdown on illegal shebeens' (DA, 2011, no pg.). The media reports and rhetoric of the DA both suggest that a moralistic frame has influenced how the party sees both liquor and shebeens. Herrick and Lawhon also reported that the DA's call for the community to mobilize against shebeens occurred whilst the DA was preparing for the 2009 provincial elections (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.9). The DA therefore may have used their anti-drug and liquor stance to gain voter support.

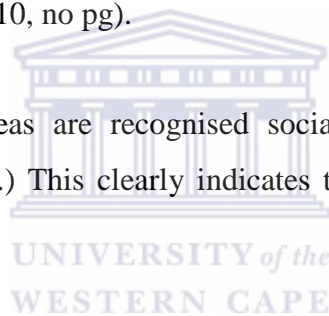
The ANC responded to the DA's critique of the bill. The opposing argument of the ANC arose in 2008 and was led by Garth Strachan, Chairman of the Provincial Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Development. He claimed that the bill and its potential outcomes had been intentionally misrepresented. In addition, he stated that the optimal solution to the shebeen problem was to regulate the not to eradicate them. Consequently, the DA called for adjustments to the bill. In particular, the bill stated that shebeens in residential neighbourhoods needed to obtain a rezoning license or they had to be relocated. The ANC agreed to this adjustment and, thereafter both parties supported the bill. This claim is supported by Strachan's articles entitled "Liquor Bill's aim is to protect communities" and "Liquor Bill will help to crack down on illegal trade and curb abuse" (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013,p.11).This argument indicated the ANC's practical need for grassroots backing when the party was in danger of "losing its provincial seat" in the Western Cape (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013,p.11).

Furthermore, both Strachan and Mariette du Toit-Helmbold (Cape Town's Tourism Chief Executive) argued that by-laws which criminalized champagne breakfasts and, the serving of

alcohol after 11pm at hotels would harm the tourism industry. Strachan complained that the by-law would make the city the butt of jokes amongst overseas tourism organizations. Du Toit-Helmbold avowed that the by-law would not resolve pressing problems such as abuse, destitution and joblessness. The bill therefore, moved away from only targeting shebeens but, started focusing on bars located in the city's central district and tourists. The Federated Hospitality Association of Southern Africa (Fedhasa) responded to the by-law as they argued that it penalized the sector for the transgressions of the minority. The by-law was subsequently amended an extract from the City's website declared that:

The amendments will allow hotels in residential areas to open their bar facilities until 02,00am, enable wineries to sell their product on Sundays to visitors and tourists, and legalise the concept of champagne breakfasts. A special category has also been added for wineries on wine estates to allow them to sell their products on a Sunday from 09, 00 to 18, 00" (Pollack, 2010, no pg).

De Lillie stated that "some areas are recognised social spots with minimal disruptive potential" (Ndenze, 2012, no pg.) This clearly indicates that the bill targeted certain areas only.



The dispute between the DA which governed the City of Cape Town and the ANC ruled province intensified as the election day drew closer. The Western Cape Liquor Bill and, its changes to the municipality's by-laws became interweaved with this argument. The authors assert that the initial series of articles evidently dominant framing in this first phase of articles thus, clearly describe shebeens as troublesome. Nevertheless, the reports are inconsistent as the particular problem caused by shebeens is not pinpointed. Numerous articles cite children, women and families are identified as innocent victims suffering because of shebeens (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013, p.11). A few reports utilized unclear language by mentioning the adverse effect of selling liquor. Other reports criticized shebeens for adding to the annihilation of the social structure of neighbourhoods.

In recent times, the ANC has adopted a tougher stance with regards to shebeens. The ANC Youth League called for a crackdown on illegal shebeens and, for a ban on all liquor advertising (Shivambu, 2009, no pg.) It also proposes that South Africa should adopt a national policy which will regulate liquor in all the provinces (Ibid, 2009, no.pg). Liquor and

drug abuse are seen as counter-revolutionary by the ANC Youth League. They also claim that substance abuse needs to be stopped as it may reverse the gains achieved by the ANC government and, by democracy in South Africa (Ibid, 2009, no pg.). Alcohol is perceived as the source of many social ills including crime, HIV/AIDS, poor health and poor levels of success in education, sports and work (Ibid, 2009, no pg). Masiwa agrees that the ANCYL call to impose stricter liquor laws has been based on the fact that the it believes that liquor abuse of youth is causing moral breakdown of society in general (Masiwa,2009,p.1). Similarly, Cape Townians have voiced anxieties regarding substance abuse and, public drunkenness in residential communities which they believe has added to diminishing the city's morals. "The concern about the effects of abusing liquor is not unique to Cape Town – it seems to be a national and social ill. Arguably it goes beyond just an alcohol abuse issue but also becomes a moral issue" (Ibid, 2009, p.1). Masiwa does cite that the act may help eradicate the perceived social ills which are a consequence of liquor. However, the masses had inadequate information regarding the by-law and its public participation process. Conversely monetary worries over reduced liquor sales have dominated the debate but, Masiwa argues that these complaints are mostly made by businesses (Ibid, 2009, p.2).

In 2011, the chief whip of the ANC Mathole Motshekga stated that the moral deterioration in South Africa is caused by the abuse of drugs and liquor. Motshekga also reported that a group of women from the Cape Flats claimed that shebeens were selling liquor to school children on a daily basis (Motshekga, 2011,p.1-2). This shows that at least some members of the ANC are now also coupling liquor and drugs together, and that shebeens are also now viewed as a social ill by some members of the party. Liquor policy and morality are intertwined in South Africa. This could indeed be important for voting in the Western Cape. Disgruntled shebeeners who were previously DA supporters may choose to abstain from voting or they may vote for another party in order to punish the DA. The ANC could possibly gain the votes of unhappy shebeeners and, communities who do not support the liquor law. Even if this debate does not cause voters to change their party allegiances, it could affect the degree of affinity people have for the DA and ANC.

3.3.3) The barriers to formalization

There are similarities between shebeen owners and, waste pickers and the difficulties they experience whilst trying to formalize will be discussed. According to Medina in most instances laws aim to eradicate waste picking by outlawing it and,, attempting to

locate different work for people occupied in the waste picking industry (Medina, 2007, p.18). He believes that seldom is an assessment of the disadvantages and, advantages of waste picking executed. Moreover, endeavours to purge waste foraging and, to persuade refuse pickers to take on other professions are often unsuccessful. In addition authorities habitually disregard the views of scavengers (Ibid, 2007, p.18).

According to Medina a significant proportion of waste pickers would be incapable of locating employment in the formal economy, owing to their inadequate education, their age and, to the complexity for mothers to carry out a waged activity while caring for children. Furthermore, he argues that if a few waste pickers get formal sector work or a different livelihood, other poor persons are still expected to replace them. This is due to the prevalent paucity and joblessness ubiquitous in developing states (Ibid, 2007, p.18). This push to criminalize and, eradicate waste picking exists because of the negative associations people make with picking. Hence, “their occupation is generally ascribed the lowest status in society” (Ibid, 2007, p.9). The formalization of this industry may change the negative perception which society holds regarding waste pickers. But, formalization may not be the answer to these problems.

There are striking similarities between waste picking and, shebeens in the Western Cape. The informal liquor retail industry in the Western Cape has been criminalized by the legislation introduced by the provincial government. So similarly, to the waste scavengers, there has been an attempt made to institute laws which ban informal alcohol retailers. However, attempts to get rid of illegal alcohol retail have remained ineffective. One of the reasons for the expansion of the informal sector is that it is an oppositional response to the government’s regulation of the economy. The most apparent exemplar is South Africa’s alcohol industry, where unlawful shebeens surfaced since the previous apartheid state criminalized the sale of alcohol to black South Africans. While it has been decriminalized in the post-apartheid era, shebeen proprietors frequently oppose registering it as the registration process is complex and, it is difficult for them to adhere to the set criteria (Webster, Benya, Dilata, Joynt, Ngoepe & Tsoeu, 2008, p.11). The views of these retailers are normally not taken into cognisance by authorities (as shown by the lack of governmental research on the significance of shebeens) and, they too would be unable to gain access to formal jobs. Furthermore, South Africa suffers from high unemployment and inequality. The country’s conditions are therefore, not

conducive, to eradicating informal economic activity. This argument shows that although the law in the Western Cape, bans illegal shebeens, shebeens will continue to operate .

In this regard, it is notable that the licence application process is also expensive, with application fees to the Liquor Board amounting to a total of R360. Nonetheless, this is only a tiny portion of the costs that shebeeners have to pay (Department of Community Safety Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, no pg). The consultation costs are much larger. The deficit of knowledge of the application procedures, therefore, forces many shebeeners either to utilize consultants, or for them to remain illegal business owners (Ibid,2010, no pg). Consultant fees range between R5000 and R11000 for both the liquor licence and zoning application and, between R3800 and R5000 for a licence application.. Town planning consultants' fees for a rezoning application will costs an average of R7000. Most shebeeners cannot afford to pay these charges. Obtaining zoning certification is also complex (Ibid,2010,pg.).

Furthermore, obtaining a rezoning certificate cannot be assured. This is because, the negative beliefs of communities and, of sanctioning boards are important. These negative views are usually used to determine if a shebeen will be granted zoning approval. “Many of shebeen owners are wary of the negative perceptions held in respect of shebeens by members of the community. These outlets are especially in the Coloured communities, usually associated with crime, drug peddling and other anti-social behaviour. Seeking public approval for your operation in an environment where the community seems to have no desire to objectively consider each application on its merits is considered not worth the effort” (Department of Community Safety Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, no pg).

The process is also time consuming and very slow (Ibid,2010, no pg). It is, therefore, difficult for illegal shebeen owners to become legal traders. The international context shall now be discussed in order to compare and contrast the 2008 Western Cape Liquor Act to the legislation of other states. This is because in some countries almost all the barriers to the liquor trade have been removed, whilst other states have similar liquor regulations when compared to the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008.

3.4) The international context

In order to compare and contrast the 2008 Western Cape Liquor Act and the politics surrounding it, the liquor policy of three states will be unpacked. New Zealand, United Kingdom and the United States are the states which will be discussed. The reason for choosing these particular cases is because New Zealand also transformed its liquor policy in order to reduce liquor harm (Malpass,2011), similarly to the situation in the Western Cape. In contrast, the United Kingdom allows liquor retailers to operate 24/7(Ward, 2010). Conversely, the United States legislative framework allows states to draft their own liquor laws. Cities and counties within a state can also have their own unique liquor policy (Scalen & Payen, 2011). In South Africa, it is the responsibility of each province to create its own liquor policy, which is similar to the United States situation. Nonetheless, liquor policy is very complicated in the United States.

3.4.1) Morality and liquor policy in New Zealand

Malpass stresses that New Zealand's government should not increase control over liquor in order to satisfy the public's alarm over liquor. He recognises that the state considers itself liable for trying to lessen the negative impacts of alcohol. However, he argues that the majority of responsible drinkers should not be punished for the actions of liquor abusers. In his view governments, attempts at lessening liquor harm will always punish responsible drinkers. What is more, state regulation of liquor to reduce alcohol harm also goes against "free trade and free consumption" (Malpass, 2011, p.vii). Evidence shows that amplified control and constraints do not decrease alcohol abuse harms. Additionally ,individual liability is shunned in favour of using "society-wide" controls, which in Malpass's view is a poor foundation for law (Ibid, 2011, p.vii). In his opinion there is an escalating movement which uses fact as a rationale for taking action even if the action is ineffective. This trend is present in the modern alcohol controversy.

Additionally for Malpass liquor control is a legal, normative and social matter. He criticizes the Prime Minister Clark's administration choice to re-evaluate the legal structure for liquor control, instead of examining the entire context within which liquor is consumed. President Helen Clark was New Zealand's Prime Minister from 1999 to 2008 (UNDP, 2016, no.pg.). Malpass, therefore, asks "what is the role of the state in protecting people from themselves and others from the outcomes of those who drink in excess?"(Ibid, 2011, p.1). The Western Cape the Liquor Act of 2008 was also passed to reduce liquor harm. However, no other

measures were put in place to support the implementation of the act. Thus, more police officers have not been employed to help police shebeens. Viable work alternatives have also not been created for shebeen owners. Emotionally charged words and, condemnation of certain actions are routine in this dispute. This blurs the valid fears concerning the monetary and societal costs of liquor abuse.

The importance of individual choice is also not taken into account. For instance declaring that liquor is detrimental and must be controlled as those drinking it may partake in deplorable actions, and claiming that liquor tax should fund the adverse health expenses and social expenses (expenses accepted by taxpayers) are two different matters. As shown by Herrick and Lawhon (2013) in the section above, shebeens in South Africa are also described by those who oppose them with emotionally charged words. Individual responsibility is not emphasized as well and the law impacts everyone, even responsible drinkers, as well as shebeen owners who trade responsibly. The former is interested in individual and ethical judgements and this kind of judgements are normally not regarded as part of public laws. Malpass indicates that there is a “resurgent voyeurism dressed up as health concern” with regards to liquor (Malpass, 2011, p.1).

New Zealand’s Laking Committee, a research body in New Zealand also found that liquor law amendments had a minimal impact on reducing the misuse of liquor. It found that public education programs were the best solution. The Palmer commission established after the Laking Committee focused on its new belief in the capability of law to manage alcohol abuse. The Palmer Commission was a research body employed after the Laking committee amidst public outcry regarding liquor harm (Malpass,2011,p.1).

The Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 also seeks to reduce access to liquor to reduce alcohol harm but, the actual factors surrounding liquor abuse have not been targeted. It can, for instance, be argued that poverty and socialization also leads to alcohol abuse. The best method for tackling liquor abuse would be to deal with the very controversial cultural milieu of liquor consumption in New Zealand. The drinking culture of South Africans who choose to abuse liquor should be addressed. However, the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 does not deal with changing attitudes of liquor abusers. This method would be difficult to implement it would be costly and, it would not gain enough political support. It is much easier to transform laws which can have verifiable results, even if these results are moderate.

The widely accepted argument claims that the state should restrict alcohol drinking because of the following, 1) the social and economic expenses of liquor 2) the interim problems such as drunk driving and 3) long-standing problems such as domestic violence (Ibid, 2011, p.19). Similar attitudes and approaches to liquor policy have been adopted by the Western Cape's provincial government. Herrick and Lawhon (2013) discuss how liquor policy and shebeens are linked to domestic violence and other social ills in the media.

Problems such as domestic violence, alcoholism, divorce, the breakdown of families and relationships are multifaceted issues. Alcohol itself is just one component of the issue. Besides will limitations and taxes on liquor ward off these issues and is it really the job of the state to solve these problems? The majority of the literature strongly “says yes to both questions” (Ibid, 2011, p.19). Nonetheless, research suggests that legal restrictions often have a minimal impact. For instance, heavy drinkers tend to continue their normal drinking patterns despite changes in the price of liquor. Thus, Australia's taxation on beer mostly resulted in replacement as drinkers started consuming spirits instead (Malpass, 2011, p.19).

In New Zealand the what commission calls for the following measures to be implemented,

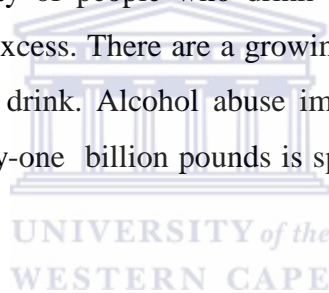
- “regulating the physical availability of alcohol through restrictions on times, place and density of outlets
- regulating conduct in commercial drinking establishments
- taxing alcohol and imposing controls on price
- regulating advertising, promotions and marketing
- imposing penalties for alcohol-related anti-social behaviour such as drunk driving education and persuasion with the provision of information, and
- increased availability of treatment programmes with screening and brief interventions in health care” (Malpass, 2011, p.16-17).

The closing down of shebeens was supposed to limit the availability of liquor. Time restrictions have also been put into place in the Western Cape. Advertising liquor to minors is also a criminal offence under the act and rightfully so liquor should not be advertised to target minors. There are also new procedures in the act regarding how shebeens should operate regulating the conduct of all people who visit liquor establishments (Western Cape Liquor Act, 2008). The above points are strikingly similar to the rhetoric and, aims of the

Western Cape Liquor Act. This shows that the act is likely to fail, given that the liquor policy in New Zealand has not stopped liquor abuse. Shebeens continue to operate in the Western Cape even though the aim of the act was to close down all residential shebeens and move a few shebeens to main streets. In Atlantis shebeens continue to operate in residential areas without zoning permits or liquor licenses.

3.4.2) The United Kingdom

On the other end of the liquor policy spectrum is the United Kingdom as it has few restrictions on liquor outlets which are allowed to operate twenty-four hours a day. This has led to multiple problems. The United Kingdom's liquor policy of 2003, brought an end to fixed licensing hours. This means that licensed liquor outlets can now be open twenty-four hours a day. Ward claims that some fear that this has resulted in some city centres becoming no-go zones at night (Ward, 2010, p.70). The Home Office has noted the following points, in the United Kingdom the majority of people who drink do so responsibly but, there is a minority which drinks liquor in excess. There are a growing number of children aged eleven to fifteen years old who "binge drink. Alcohol abuse impacts crime, health, children and young people. In addition, twenty-one billion pounds is spent yearly on liquor related harm (UK Parliament, 2012, p.3).



The availability of inexpensive liquor is a major factor to liquor related problems and, the government has therefore, tabled a new draft liquor policy. The draft policy seeks to end access to cheap liquor as well as reckless liquor promotions (Ward, 2012, p.3). Liquor outlets which operate late at night will be charged a levy and, this money will be used to police areas where late night liquor outlets operate (Ibid, 2012, p.12). The draft law also aims to make it easier to shut down liquor outlets which do not comply with the law (UK Parliament, 2012, p.11). Interestingly, although alcohol advertising has been cited as not having a dramatic impact on drinking patterns, the United Kingdom already has laws which regulate such advertising. It also does not allow any liquor advertisements to target the youth (Ibid, 2012, p.8). Thus, the Western Cape Liquor policy is very different from the situation in the United Kingdom. This case shows that overturning trading hours would most likely lead to a similar situation in the province.

3.4.3) The United States

The United States has a more complex manner of regulating liquor. Each state is responsible for drafting its own liquor laws, and different counties and cities within a state can also have their own liquor laws if they so choose. There are 'dry' counties where liquor may not be sold, but some cities within dry counties have chosen to allow the sale of alcohol. Scalen and Payne conducted a study in Angelina County, Texas, which transitioned from a dry to a wet county. They reported that the switch from dry to wet county did not increase the amount of arrests for drunk driving (Scalen & Payen, 2011, p.59-66). However, some authors argue that in dry counties there are increased road accidents. This is because people need to drive further distances to get to liquor outlets. Accidents also occur more when these dry county residents drink at on consumption liquor outlets (Baughamn, Conlin, Dickert Conlin & Pepper, 2009, p.3).

In addition, unlike in South Africa the legal drinking age in the United States is twenty-one years old. The supporters of this drinking age claim it reduces alcohol-related harm. On the other hand, critics claim that young people often break this law. This situation therefore, creates mass criminality. Miron and Tetelbaum argue that raising the legal drinking age to twenty-one has had no impact on alcohol-related road accidents (Miron & Tetelbaum, 2009, p.14-13). Raising the age of consumption of liquor may therefore, not help resolve South Africa's alcohol harm problem. In certain states the liquor outlets are owned by the state itself, making it easier for the government to regulate the sale of liquor. In South Africa the state does not own any liquor outlets. Allowing liquor outlets to become state-owned might help control liquor consumption in South Africa. Nonetheless, South Africa should be careful of implementing complicated liquor laws, which the United States implements. This is a issue because complex laws are difficult to implement and follow. If the South African state owns liquor outlets, all liquor outlets will become formal businesses. At the moment however, the vast majority of shebeens continue to operate informally. Thus, informal economy debates will be discussed as shebeens form part of the informal economy. These debates are important as many people in Atlantis rely on shebeens to survive. Given that the act essentially bans informal shebeens this could impact party allegiance in Atlantis. Informality is, therefore, central to the way of life of many people residing in Atlantis.

3.5) Conclusion

In conclusion, the history of liquor policy, current context and international responses to liquor policy shows that policy makers tend to use moral judgements when deciding on how

to formulate liquor law. Moreover, it proves that there is a lack of literature which focuses on how liquor policy and shebeens in particular impact politics. Politics and, shebeens are connected to each other as can be shown by the historical inequality of pre- democratic South Africa's liquor laws. History is also repeating itself as liquor policy remains unequal as shown by Herrick and Lawhon (2013). Plus moral issues are impacting the creation of liquor law in South Africa. This situation is in line with the New Zealand case as discussed by Malpass (2011). The next section will provide a framework which will be linked to the analysis chapters. It will discuss the economic and political implications of informality in Atlantis given that shebeens and the people of Atlantis operate within the informal economy and, therefore, partake in informal politics. Key informality literature is therefore, discussed as informality is a crucial part of daily life in Atlantis.





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CHAPTER 4: INFORMALITY, GENDER AND POLITICS

4.1) Introduction

Informality is important in Atlantis thus, two frameworks will be provided in this chapter which will help explain the meaning of informality in the community. Most shebeens are informal businesses thus, informality is important for the community of Atlantis. Firstly economic theories thereafter theories which deal with both informal politics and party politics will be examined. These theories will be compared and contrasted to the situation of the Atlantis shebeens.

4.2) Informal economy debates

The key debates surrounding informal businesses will be provided to supply a theoretical context for this study, given that shebeens operate in the informal economy. According to Castells and Portes (1989), the informal economy is not regulated in the way the formal economy is. It is unregulated and usually operates outside of the law (Castells & Portes, 1989, p.12). Thus, shebeens are considered to be part of the informal economy. As most shebeens do not have licenses they operate illegally. Shebeens are mostly informal businesses and, are not regulated in the same way that other businesses are. They therefore, do not pay tax for instance and, do not comply with zoning law. In order to outline the informal economy debates the marginalist, structuralist, legalist and epistemologist theories shall be explained. The marginalists argue that informality operates on the periphery of the formal economy. However, structuralists claim that informality is a reaction to the inadequacies of the formal market. They believe that if the formal economy cannot provide people with what they need. People will turn to informality to provide for their own needs. In contrast, to this view legalists argue that informal businesses should gain legal recognition. Informal businesses should therefore, become part of the formal economy. Despite this view epistemologists maintain that informality is not a separate economy. They also claim that informality is used to achieve urbanization. Thus, the right to partake in the market economy informally is crucial for epistemologists. Legalists, however believe that property rights are more important.. This section will show how both the formal and informal economy are linked to each other. It will also prove that neoliberalism may lead to increased levels of informality. In addition, the role of women in relation to informality shall be addressed as a significant amount of shebeen owners are women.

4.2.1) The marginalist view

Modernist authors of the 1950s and 1960s, and Marxist authors of the 1970s, collectively considered the informal economy as comprising of survivalist activities. They challenged the notion that the formal sector was the answer to or reason for informal economy destitution. Moreover, none of them believed that the informal economy could possibly create autonomous development. This marginalist theory was founded on 3 postulations:

- 1) The informal sector will change and become modern capital.
- 2) It is solely comprised of survivalist activities.
- 3) It is a characteristic of marginal economies.

Thus, during the international fiscal crisis Marxists proposed that the informal sector was not a sector at all. Instead, Marxists believed it was a social-historical process. It reduced labour laws and was perceived to be created in reaction to rising liability and rivalry with newly developed nations. It was also viewed as a method for capital to attain inexpensive labour, lessen operational costs and to dodge social security duties (Meagher, 1995, p.262).

This marginalist view was critiqued in two ways. Firstly, the majority of Third World states which implemented government driven growth policies produced effective formal economies. Nonetheless, informality remained as formality flourished in these states. Informality was therefore, not eliminated by economic growth. In fact informality is still expanding in developing and developed nations (Ibid, 1995, p.261) . Therefore, this led to the emergence of the new neoliberal approach of the early 1970s. Opposing the previous marginalist stance, neo-liberals like De Soto found that the informal sector contained a localized entrepreneurial dynamism signifying possible job creation. Instead of it being viewed as an unfinished government intervention, informality was branded as a response to unnecessary state interference. States were viewed as bodies which controlled resources to the advantage of a minute and ineffective formal economy. This in turn compelled the majority of citizens to work in the informal sector.

4.2.2) The structuralists approach

The approach of the structuralists will be examined in this section. Since the 1980s, the structuralist approach shifted the focus of informality. Informality was no longer depicted as a marginalised sector, but as a reaction to economic emergency. The informalisation theory then popularized by Portes and, cited by Meagher critiqued standard informal economy texts.

Portes cited by Meagher claimed that informality was based on theories, which did not grapple properly with changing social processes involved in the creation of informality (Meagher, 1995, p.259-260). The formalization viewpoint stated that informality should not be examined as a result of poor government policy, but as a new way to create wealth within the economic crises context (Ibid, 1995, p.259-260)

Informality was viewed as an endeavour by formal businesses, supported by the regime to lessen the cost of labour and improve flexibility by utilizing unprotected informal labourers (Ibid, 1995, p.260). Castells and Portes (1989), wrote extensively on this issue. They also support the notion that the reason why the informal economy is used by both European and African countries is because in Africa informal settlements are a substitute for housing. Moreover, in Europe informality diminishes the exposed rate of joblessness (Castells and Portes, 1989, p.198).

However, they believe that the informal economy is a method of creating revenue. Most importantly informal work is exemplified by one key characteristic; it is not controlled by the state institutions in a lawful and social milieu. The formal economy has an institutional structure which directs its economic actions and without the informal economy the formal economy would cease to exist. This is because both the informal and formal economies rely on each other (Castells & Portes, 1989, p.12). Castells and Portes report that the working conditions of informal workers are often poor (Ibid, 1989, p.13). However, in some cases informal traders produce high earnings. They sometimes also earn more than formal economy labourers. The informal economy and poverty are therefore, not necessarily interlinked (Ibid, 1989, p.14). According to Meagher, the 1980s Marxists changed their views regarding the informal sector to make room for the transforming economic context of the informal economy. The Marxists progressed away from the theoretically encumbered but pragmatically feeble nature of the 1970s studies. Marxists of the 1980s therefore, sought to create a more practical theory. They tried to make Marxist studies and theories more effectual for practical research of the informal sector (Meagher, 1995, p.263).

4.2.3) The legalists

Two basic strands of the neo-liberal stance have since emerged, one backed by the World Bank and made famous by De Soto's, *The Other Path* (1989), and a more reformist outlook depicted in reports by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (Ibid, 1995, p.262). De

Soto's view shall be discussed for the purposes of this study as his theory directly relates to shebeens in Atlantis. De Soto's views are incorporated in Marquez's writings and shall be highlighted. De Soto states that impoverished people create substitutes to an economy which excludes them. This therefore, leads to the poor creating the informal economy so that they can survive (Marquez, 1990, p.205). De Soto also defines the informal economy by declaring that it functions outside the formal economy. In De Soto's opinion, the informal market does not comply with the laws and policies of the government. However, informal economic actions are present in the entire social system. In other words, formal businesses can also partake in informality, in order to simplify their business dealings (Ibid, 1990, p.205). A clothes manufacturer can, for example, outsource some of its work to informal labourers. These informal workers can be women who sew clothes from home. This leads to cutting costs, since the company does not have to pay informal workers the same wages as formal staff. This in turn, allows formal businesses to save time, and or to cut operational costs and, increase their revenue (Marquez, 1990, p.205)

For De Soto informality has a more positive impact and minimal negative effects. De Soto believes that informal settlements are the product of both violent and gradual land incursion (Ibid, 1990, p.206). De Soto believes that people, therefore, establish informal settlements in order to have their basic rights upheld (Ibid, 1990, p.206-207). The provision of housing is an immense problem in developing countries which governments of these countries are unable to resolve. He claims that informality eventually produces formality. De Soto uses street traders as an example he states that street traders have a low level of production since they proffer a narrow collection of products and services. Moreover, street hawkers' trade is also constrained by their inability to provide consumer services or credit. They also do not have any suitable storage spaces or safety arrangements. These limitations have created the informal sector (Ibid, 1990, p.208). Traders are, therefore, unable to partake in formal practices as they do not have the means to do so. Thus, executing their enterprise via creating the informal sector is a means for traders who aim to attain protected private land, which permits them to conduct trade in propitious surroundings (Ibid, 1990, p.208).

Lastly, De Soto purports that state laws have neither restored the economy nor achieved development of the formal economy. Instead, in his view, it has impeded the development of the formal economy, by shutting out the profitability of the informal market. As an alternative of reproving the offensiveness of informality, the state should accept informality. The

slackening of limitations in De Soto's opinion will lead to the enlargement of the informal business and the informal marketplace. Moreover, the eventual assimilation of the informal economy into the formal economy will benefit the entire economy (Ibid, 1990, p.209). De Soto, therefore, holds a very positive view of informality. His writings have been critiqued; however it states that he overemphasises the value of land, since owning property does not automatically eradicate poverty.

4.2.4) The epistemologists perspective

Roy agrees with De Soto that the informal residences led to formal housing being built; thereby urbanization occurs integrating the rural into the city. But for her informality is a method which must be used for urbanization it is not a separate economy (Roy, n/d ,p.149). In her opinion De Soto believes that property ownership leads to food security and political stability. Nevertheless no one person can lay claim to land as there is often male ownership so gender divisions, class power and patriarchy impacts land ownership. She therefore, explains that De Soto is demanding that the poor should be able to partake in the market not necessarily hold property rights (Roy, n/d, p.149-155). Although the various schools of thought view informality differently most of them agree that both the informal and formal economy is interrelated, this interlinked relationship shall consequently be proven.

4.3) The interlinked formal and informal sector

According to Castells and Portes both the formal and the informal economy are interconnected (Castells & Portes, 1989, p.12). The operations of South African Breweries Limited (SAB) demonstrate this. SAB is the principal actor in the beer marketplace within South Africa. It possesses 95 percent of the beer market share. This astonishing domination of the beer market is closely tied to informality. According to Tsoeu more than 82 percent of SAB produced beers are consumed in unlawful shebeens. Throughout the pinnacle of apartheid, SAB opposed the apartheid alcohol policy framework and formulated illicit bonds with township shebeeners to facilitate an enlargement of their market. Hence, SAB was influential in the extension of the informal retail of beer in shebeens. SAB also developed because of this informality. The staying power of SAB is in the informal township market. Even today SAB utilizes shebeens to enlarge its share of the market.

This situation clearly proves that, an obvious connection between the formal and the informal economy exists. The central *raison d'être* that SAB started dealings with shebeens was

because these businesses formed the most vital component of its value chain (Tsoeu, 2009, p.ii). Additionally, SAB's products are purchased from accredited wholesalers such as Makro or Trading Centres and liquor stores by customers who purchase mass volumes in order to illicitly sell it at shebeens (Webster, Benya, Dilata, Joynt, Ngoepe & Tsoeu, 2008, p.24). This case relates to shebeens in Atlantis and clearly demonstrates the mutually beneficial link between formality and informality for the community of Atlantis.

4.4) Neoliberalism and informality

Harvey claims that neo liberalism calls for restricted state interference in the economy, and supports the progression of capitalism (Harvey, 2007, p.21). Neoliberalism, therefore, is embodied by free market practices. However, neoliberalism may cause increased informality. In the South African textile industry, this has been the case as this industry is dominated by women. Textile, clothing and footwear industries were subsidised during apartheid. As pre mentioned factories in Atlantis were also subsidised (Stafford, 2005, p.63). After apartheid trade barriers were reduced, leading to exports inundating the economy. Jobs and manufacturing in the footwear industry declined and indeed this also occurred in the textile, clothing and leather industries. Work rotation, subcontracting and outsourcing occurred and, certain retrenched labourers were encouraged to set up at home. These women have had to turn to informal economic activities such as street trading in order to survive. The state claims that it has aided small and medium businesses but, there is no financial assistance from the national government (UNRISD, 2005, p.81-82). Davies and Thurlow claim that trade liberalization minimises tariffs on South Africa's foreign imports, which lessens the cost of imports and increases the demand for imports. In 2002, the largest tariffs were on textiles and clothing. These industries therefore, faced the biggest rise in import competition leading to less production (Davies & Thurlow, 2009, p.18). Women in Atlantis have also been retrenched as will be shown later in the findings section. Thus neoliberalism has impacted Atlantis and led them to the creation of informal businesses.

4.5) Women and informality

Gender may be a contributing factor as to why people choose informality. For women in sub-Saharan Africa; the informal economy represents 92 percent of the total jobs outside of farming in contrast to 71 percent for men. Nearly 95 percent of these jobs are executed by women as self-employed labourers and only 5 percent as wage earning workers (Flodman Becker, 2004, p.18). It was found that men shift more between informal and formal work

than women. Women also underwent many changes in employment and probably underwent more income level fluctuations than men. Women are starting to enter previously male-dominated industries under the apartheid state, such as metals and machinery. Women's employment in manufacturing is thereby increasing. However, fewer women than men are employed in crucial sectors. Normally wholesale, retail, and manufacturing sectors provide significant work for women. Men and women have acquired new job opportunities in these sectors, but men are progressively benefiting more than women. In manufacturing, women's job development is less than men's work growth. More females 44 percent work in micro or very tiny businesses in contrast with 37 percent of males. The employment of men in bigger businesses has grown faster than that of women. Labourers in large firms are normally paid more than workers in smaller businesses. Men also own double the amount of formal businesses compared to women. All these factors may be why women have increased rates of enterprise ownership in the informal economy (Velia & Valodia, 2009, p. 2-3). This shows that women shebeen owners are more vulnerable, as they stand less of a chance to gain work in the formal market than their male counterparts if their shebeens are closed down.

It has been advocated that informality is a means of income creation and accrual for women, who customarily endured limited admission to formal education and formal job opportunities. Unfortunately a lot of the same issues that inconvenience women in the formal economy, especially access to funding plus low skills and education levels are also present in the informal sector. Consequently, in African towns, these problems along with stringent division of work within the informal sector are inclined to push women in low-earning enterprises. These include enterprises such as, dressmaking, hairdressing, and cooking. This predilection has become more prominent under structural adjustment, as decreasing real earnings and high joblessness in the formal economy compel women into informality to complement or bring in, the household income (Meagher, 1995, p.270).

Moreover, poverty and inadequate education are adding to the elevated levels of manufacturing, drinking and accessibility of liquor in South Africa. The trading of alcohol in the informal economy supplies work to numerous citizens. Traditionally women traded liquor to earn money, and this continues as women dominate the shebeen industry (Pithey & Morojele, 2002, p.8). Thus women may enter the informal sector due to various reasons.

The informal economy debates have been discussed, and these informal economic practices lead to the creation of informal politics. This paper shall now present debates surrounding informal politics as the community of Atlantis partakes in informal politics.

4.6) Informal politics

The following section will discuss informal politics. This shall be done by looking at networks, civil society and Bayat's (2000) quiet encroachment theory. Networks help facilitate informal economic practices and often informality is seen as being practiced by the poor. However this is not always true and networks can also be used to enable socialising. Networks are therefore not solely utilized for economic gain. Chatterjee (2004) claims that civil society serves as a mouth piece for the interests of the elite. Thus, people continue to break the law in order to survive since civil society is inadequate. Quiet encroachment theory also vows that the poor will break laws in order to survive. No clear leadership, a large opposition and unsuccessful crack downs of widespread law breakers are all markers of this politics.

4.6.1) Networks

For some theorists, the existence of and access to networks is pivotal to informal economic activity Lindell (2010), Meagher (2009) and Neves & Du Toit (2012). Lindell maintains that in the political elite are concerned with the swift increase of informality. Lindell does not elaborate on his belief that elites fear a rapid rise in informality, but he does mention that informal networks have political power and that some informal networks are now operating on a global scale (Lindell, 2010, p.218). He does argue that often elites recognise this immense informality as a political danger and in many areas the elites resort to forceful measures to reduce informality. Elites frequently use informality for their own gain or view it as a source of votes as well (Ibid, 2010, p.208). Because informality has been historically equated with poverty informal politics has been identified with class politics. Although informal economic activity is linked to poverty and inequality and is possibly associated with class politics, linking informal governance to class politics is problematic. Different social classes inhabit the informal economy making the alignment of informal politics with class politics inaccurate (Ibid, 2010, p.210).

Informality is executed not only for economic gain but for social reasons as well (Du Toit & Neves, 2012, p.134-135). Networks founded on trust and principles formed within the socio-cultural landscape facilitate economic activity by steadying the social eventuality innate in trading. This is most important in environments where formal governance does not exist or is feeble. Economic informal activities rarely function without governing systems or organizations; regulation is performed via networks, normally beyond government control. Informality can thereby promote interconnected social relations (Ibid, 2012, p.136-137).

4.6.2) Politics of the marginalised

In *The Politics of the Governed* (2004) Chatterjee aims to explain what he calls popular politics in the developing world. Popular politics is carried out by the poor as they are excluded from modernity. Chatterjee argues that capitalist workers do not all adopt capitalism as the theory they believe in. Modernity is therefore varied for example “...one could show industrial capitalists delaying the closing of a businesses deal because they hadn’t yet heard from their respective astrologers...” (Chatterjee, 2004, p.7).

The poor however often do not have the means to partake in modernity as they do not have the resources to do so. Thus, the poor tend to be part of patronage politics mediated by political parties. This is what Chatterjee (2004), calls ‘political society’. The poor are classified as populations instead of citizens with rights this allows the state to provide these populations with certain basic services and social goods. The poor cannot solely rely on the state for their welfare. This is due to the fact that the state argues that it cannot provide goods and services to the entire country. The state also claims it lacks the resources to provide equal goods and services to all. The poor therefore, engage in informal and normally illegal activities to provide for themselves (Chaterjee, 2004, p.40).

These activities which increase informality, obviously threatens modernity and most states seek to achieve modernity. However, the state allows this informality given that it is easier for the state to allow these people now classified as populations to provide goods and services for themselves. Moreover, these populations have voting power and the state seeks to gain popular legitimacy through them (Ibid, 2004, p.41). This is achieved by firstly allowing the informality which they carry out to continue and secondly by partaking in patronage politics where the state provides some goods and services to the poor in order to gain votes (Ibid, 2004, p.41). Thus, although Chatterjee claims that civil society is elitist. He claims that in

India there are fluctuating negotiations between “modernity” and “popular demands”. Hence, the state has to compromise when it comes to modernity. It, therefore, must cooperate with political society, to gain popular legitimacy by proving that the state cares for the wellbeing of people.

Chatterjee, therefore, claims that popular politics is usually different from normal urban life. This is because middle-class citizens usually operate within the law and are part of the modern capitalist state. Moreover, popular politics is also demanding in nature. In other words, illegal street traders can demand the right to trade even though they are illegally occupying the streets. In Chatterjee’s opinion politics is open to goal directed mobilization and leadership (Ibid, 2004, p.xi). It is also mostly shaped by the operations and actions of modern governments, termed ‘governance’ these actions have become a normal component of states all over the world. These established operations and anticipations have resulted in a specific form of state relations with citizens. Lastly popular politics applies to states which do not form part of the West. Chatterjee, does however, indicate that developing states have been influenced by the West (Chatterjee, 2004.p.3).

Chatterjee also looks at concepts such as democracy, civil society and citizenship (Ibid, 2004 p.4). “Civil society for instance, will appear as the closed association of modern elite groups, sequestered from the wider popular life of the communities, walled up within enclaves of civic freedom and rational law”. Civil society can be used by informal labourers to assert their rights and gain substantial citizenship. However, the reality is that the marginalized normally cannot access civil society. Rather, the powerful elite groups seek to further its agenda via civil society (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 4). Citizenship, in this reading, is defined in two ways. One form is rooted in the law of the country and the other form is real. Thus, rights which every citizen is entitled to as enshrined in the constitution do not apply equally to all citizens in practice. Moreover, democracy is defined as the politics of people who are governed, it is not defined as the government which is elected by the people and serves the people (Chatterjee, 2004, p.4).

Chatterjee goes on to discuss how the modern states authority is securely rooted in popular sovereignty, and modern democracy is founded on popular sovereignty. This means that even undemocratic states need to claim their right to rule. All states must therefore, proclaim that it governs, because it is the will of the people (Ibid, 2004, p.27). Thus, the modern state is

worldwide and specific. Sovereignty is accepted worldwide and, this is shown by the fact that people are the primary focus of sovereignty in the modern state. In addition, all human beings are entitled to rights. These worldwide norms were accomplished by the creation of the nation state (Chatterjee, 2004, p.29). The state must appease the people residing within it, by allowing informality and providing populations with goods to gain popular legitimacy and, thereby maintaining its sovereignty.

Citizens and populations are two different concepts. Populations can be recognised categorized and explained by using facts or behavioural criteria and are agreeable to numerical measurement tools such as census and sample surveys (Chatterjee, 2004, p.34). Citizenship is distinct as it also carries an ethical connotation of participation in sovereignty of the state. Defining people as populations allows the state to use targeted policies. These policies are directed at the population and justified by claiming it will secure the well-being of the population. Participation in politics therefore, becomes less important (Chatterjee, 2004, p.34). Indian citizens, for example, do not hold the same rights in practice as afforded by the constitution. The cast system has created this inequality and exclusion (Chatterjee, 2004, p.38) as mentioned above. All these factors lead to the creation of patronage of political parties when relating to the poor. The poor are often promised goods and services for votes, or they receive food aid before the vote as will be briefly shown later in this thesis.

These population groups also form associations however; these associations cannot be treated similarly as legal public organizations. The state and non-governmental organizations cannot ignore the associations which represent groups of the population involved in unlawful activities. These groups also acknowledge that their behaviour breaks the law and is against good civic actions. But they claim that if viable alternatives were provided they would cease their law breaking activities. The government therefore, agrees that these groups have a right to demand these rights. However, the state claims that it does not have the capacity to provide these rights to all. Thus, the demands of these underprivileged groups become a political issue. This is because governments have a duty to help their poor population but, population groups are helped according to their political expediency (Ibid, 2004, p.40). This creates a dilemma. This argument would then suggest that the act may have a great impact on political perception, given that the poor could see it as a threat to their livelihoods. the poor would view the state as uncaring and not providing for their needs. This in turn, would make the political parties involved with the creation and implementation of the act, lose popular

support in Atlantis. This situation will be addressed in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Bayat's quiet encroachment theory will now be discussed.

4.6.3) Quiet Encroachment

In Bayat's account of popular politics in the global south, he advances the notion of "quiet encroachment". This politics is characterized by silent, greatly atomized and protracted mobilization with periodically united activities. Street walkers therefore, set up trading stalls by stealth and then mobilise collectively to defend their stall when the state tries to move them. This is similar to Chatterjee's views. Popular politics however, also includes obvious, short-lived resistance, without clear leadership, ideology or organization. It is distinctive from survivalist stratagems or everyday struggles as the resistance of these players are directed at the wealthy and the state (Bayat, 2000, p.545-546). These actors execute their resistance not as intentional political activities but are motivated by the need to survive and enhance their lives. Necessity therefore, excuses their normally illegal actions. The impoverished seek to function outside the state as much as they possibly can. Their everyday functioning becomes a political contestation once political establishments threaten their everyday advances. This is when collaborative and audible or silent non-compliance occurs. So they continue not to protest in the streets or in any visible manner, but they continue with their illegal activities. They ignore the law and the state and in so doing are protesting. They do this to protect previously obtained gains. The encroachers' activities continue and seem harmless but grow so much that their opposition becomes sizeable. The regime onslaught occurs once the vast development of the actor's actions exceeds a reasonable point. Crackdowns are generally futile as they are implemented late. These crackdowns occur when encroachers are widespread and are noticeable (Bayat, 2000, p.547-549).

Thus, Chatterjee and Bayat provide different theories as to why people partake in informality. The motivations of shebeen owners will later be discussed by utilizing these theories. The next section of this chapter will deal with how policy choices might influence party allegiance and voting, given that the act could impact party allegiance.

4.7) Race, money and mobilization

There are a number of factors which influence which party a citizen will choose to support. The views from various authors will be discussed, in order to explain how people form their perception of political parties. Given that Atlantis is a predominately coloured community, as

stated previously 98 percent of the population is Coloured race might place a role in party support and political views (Atlantis Inter Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.4). The area is also plagued by high levels of unemployment; hence economic considerations may be very important for this community (Ibid, 2011, p.4). A party which is seen as creating jobs and managing the economy well might receive increased support. In addition the Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team also state that only 0, 3 percent of residents have tertiary education beyond grade 12 (Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.5). Dalton's model will be discussed showing that the majority of voters in Atlantis are probably not cognitively mobilized voters, partly owing to this low level of education (Ibid, 2011, p.5).

4.7.1) Race

García-Rivero asserts that party support refers to people's deep-seated emotional attitude beliefs and feelings towards political parties (García-Rivero, 2006, p.58). Moreover research states that party support is attained during the initial phase of enculturation via key groups', such as relatives and friends and this rarely changes. Some voters choose to vote for the party their parents supported for example as they grew up with their parents and attain similar political views. But party support can alter if upward mobility, marriage or related events take place. Party support also reacts to a vast range of political affairs, financial, emotive and demographic factors. This includes the overall economic situation of the state such as the rate of joblessness, price increases and the opinions of the electorate regarding the national economy and their personal financial situation. Furthermore social and fiscal aspects which impact party support includes social class, salary, expenditure, profession, job standing and the localities of the manufacturing industry within a country.

However, other writers believe that in extremely divided states, party support is established by the factors that segregate the populace. So if race is a key social divide then party support will mirror the racial make-up of the state. Clearly party support or identification profoundly shapes the actual vote. This means that citizens in highly developed "democracies vote for the political party they feel the closest to" (Ibid, 2006, p.58). Researchers are divided over what drives the vote in SA. One school of thought avows that race guides how the electorate votes. Another school of thought however, believes that social class concerns and groups which exchange knowledge are the key issues determining the vote. "This latter group of researchers argues that although there may be a correlation between race and the vote, there is no causal relationship In other words black people may vote for the ANC because of policy,

information, class or interest, but not simply because they belong to a particular group” (García-Rivero,2006,p.58). In advanced democracies deep seated and unwavering party support is often probable but this is not the case in SA. In South Africa “The ANC’s partisan support has declined but its share of the vote has increased in elections” (Ibid, 2006, p.59).

Schulz-Herzenberg agrees and postulates that race is not a crucial determining factor for party support. Research conducted during the period of 1994 and 2008 demonstrated that the race has less of an impact on voting in SA than anticipated. Race influences citizens in a roundabout manner via their logical evaluation of political party images. Therefore, this means that if a party looks inclusive and displays an image of inclusiveness citizens will vote for it (Schulz-Herzenberg: 2009, no pg.). The period of 1994 to 2008, also saw a drop in party identification by the electorate in other words fewer voters reported that “they felt close to a specific party” Party identification was found to be highest amongst black African voters when compared to other races. However, the ANC’s backing from the black populace has steadily decreased. In spite of this 44 percent of Black Africans report that they are independents (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, no pg).

By 2008, 40 percent of the voters were not excessively dedicated to a specific party and, therefore, did not have long-term partisan ties during the election time. Thus, short-range issues impacted party support (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, p.4-5). Citizens who identify themselves as partisans are also additionally categorized by Schulz-Herzenberg (2009) as ANC partisans or opposition partisans. Even though the preponderance of partisans are ANC supporters, both opposition political parties and the ANC have lost partisan voters to the independent group. Nonetheless the opposition is losing much more partisans to the independent category than the ANC. During the period of 1995 till 2008 the voting public comprised of non-partisans the amount of partisans varied between 36 percent and 55 percent. Approximately a third to half of the voters are non-partisans voters (Ibid, 2009, p.5).

Fewer than half of voters are ANC partisans. 60 percent of citizens stated that they were ANC partisans in 1994. However in 2008 only 48 percent of citizens claimed that they were ANC partisans. Secondly there has been a drop in partisan support across the racial spectrum. This proves that black African citizens are not incontestably dedicated to the ANC. Black voters normally support the ANC, not because of partisan ties but because they view opposition parties as unfeasible (Ibid, 2009, p.6).

According to Schulz-Herzenberg in South Africa a political party which is viewed as inclusive draws in the electorate. Thus a citizen, who is uncertain regarding a political party's inclusiveness, will usually not back the party. Consequently, Schulz-Herzenberg argues that citizens, who have become discontented with parties they support, do not shift their support to other parties if these parties are perceived as exclusive. This poses a problem for numerous opposition parties that have not been able to change the non-inclusive party impressions they portray (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, p.187). Parties must therefore, embrace a conscientious and reactive attitude towards subtle changes in political identities to appear inclusive. "Undoubtedly, representative candidate selection of its visible political leadership remains a crucial election tool for any party" (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, no page). In 2009, the DA gained a 4 percent increase of the national votes. However the party was unable to gain mass support from Black African voters "Much of its new support came from within the Western Cape" It came from Coloured voters (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, no page).

The ANC may be unknowingly sending exclusionary images to Coloured voters. The ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe, for example, stated that Coloured people should not be ashamed to be black (Whittles, 2015, no.pg). This could be perceived as racist for some Coloured people, as it denies their own cultural differences and identity. Jimmy Manyi of the ANC stated that there is an over supply of Coloured people in the Western Cape. He was the director general of labour when he made the comment (Author Unknown, 2011, no.pg). These kinds of comments may lead to Coloured voters choosing to vote for the DA instead of for the ANC.

The Western Cape is the also the province that has experienced the greatest rotation of parties since 1994 with the previous National Party (NP), ANC and DA all in office at some point. The following factors influence the results of elections. The Western Cape is demographically distinct to all provinces (other than the Northern Cape) in that the majority of the populations are Coloured people (Africa, 2002, p.7). The Western Cape and Northern Cape are the only two provinces where the Black population does not make up 70 percent of the population in the province according to the 2011 Census (Stats SA, 2011, p.14). In addition in the Western Cape 48.8 percent of the population is Coloured, 32.9 percent Black, 1.0 percent Indians, 15.7 percent White and 1.6 percent Other (Ibid, 2011, p.14). The Western Cape is also the province with the highest voter turnout in addition, where in 2008, 60 percent

of South African voters 'felt close to a political party' only 48 percent of voters in the Western Cape claimed the same. In short, voters are less obviously party loyal (Africa, 2002, p.7). Africa believes that these non-aligned voters are more receptive to being swayed during the election campaigning period.

Race is a factor for Coloured voters but voting is not only dependent on race (Ibid, 2002). Moreover national political incidents have a significant impact on Coloured voters. Thus Africa asserts that 'parties are responsible for their own gains and losses' in the Western Cape (Ibid, 2002, p.24). She also says that 'In the Western Cape it appears that voters reviewed evolving political developments and then rewarded and or punished contesting parties by granting or withholding their votes' (Africa, 2002, p.25). Therefore, the Western Cape Liquor Act, and its impact on a key community livelihood may influence the voting behaviour of people, especially in communities where both support for the DA, and the reliance on shebeens as a source of livelihood, is high. Voters in the Western Cape Province change their vote in response to events which impact them and the issue of shebeen legislation might impact voting patterns. This does not mean that race is not important at all or that other factors do not influence party allegiance and in turn, voting. This thesis will show that the act only had a minimal impact on party allegiance.

4.7.2) The impact of the economy on party support

According to Christopher Anderson, the poor financial standing of a country can cause the ruling party to lose the support of its citizenry. However, there is no definite proof supporting this claim (Christopher Anderson, 2000, p.152). In some states economic conditions can help forecast the level of political party backing and government backing during certain epochs. Nonetheless, this is not always the case in various nations across the world. Thus, the question then is "How do voters assign responsibility to incumbents for managing the economy?" (Ibid, 2000, p.153)

Anderson (2009, p.168) argues that the financial evaluations of the electorate have a greater impact on government backing when it is evident who the responsible political party is. If the political party to blame is a large party and, also if there is a small number of viable opposition political parties. Political parties who have a larger share in the policy development ought to be kept more to account for the effects of their choices. This includes their financial functioning (Ibid, 2009, p.154). It can thereby, be argued that citizens simply

need to be aware of which political party has the greatest strength in the government, so that they can compensate or penalize this party to a larger extent (Ibid, 2009, p.155). Nonetheless, if there are a large number of efficacious parties in a political system, financial impacts become diminished. In a state where voters have several smaller parties to choose from financial factors are more ineffectual (Ibid, 2009, p.164-166). Thus economic outcomes are more important in countries where voters have less political parties to allot liability to and fewer opposition parties to praise (Ibid, 2009, p.168). In South Africa however although there are many parties the ANC and DA are the only two major parties thus responsibility for financial decisions is increased in South Africa. Schulz- Herzenberg (2009) puts forth a more complex model though to explain how economic performance impact voting.

According to Schulz-Herzenberg, there are three aspects which make up economic assessment namely, egocentric versus sociotropic reviews, retrospective versus prospective economic judgments and simple versus mediated retrospective economic considerations. The first dimension of economic voting is egocentric versus sociotropic review, which refers to if citizens differentiate between their own financial situation and the broader economic situation of the country as a whole. Certain theorists claim voters' asses their own financial standing and vote according to that assessment whilst other theorists claim that voters do look at the broader national economy as a whole to guide their vote. Schulz-Herzenberg (2009) postulates that South African voters assess the national economic situation, they then vote according to that evaluation. Thus, the electorate does not hold the ANC liable for their individual financial difficulties. This could partially account for why the ANC continues to retain backing despite South Africa's increased economic issues (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, p.8). But she also finds that the poor are more equipped to link their financial hardships to state policy than those citizens who are not poor (Ibid, 2009, p.9). Therefore, the poor shebeen owners and the community of Atlantis could possible link their hardship to the policies of the ANC which rules on a national level or to the DA which rules on a provincial level, and is responsible for implementing the act.

The second dimension of economic voting is retrospective economic reviews which refer to whether the electorate uses past financial performance or how the economy has performed in the past. Conversely voters may look at prospective factors in other words how the economy will progress in the future when making economic judgments. South Africans use retrospective factors to review the economy. However, prospective evaluations are utilized

more by partisans when compared to retrospective assessments. Furthermore, partisans tend to perform prospective sociotropic evaluations in other words they make judgments based on how they think the national economy will do in the future. In general South Africans evaluate the economy by using the sociotropic prospective model. Nonetheless voters do also look at past economic performance. Therefore, South Africans are sensitive to retrospective and prospective economic results (Schulz- Herzenberg, 2009, p.9-10).

The third aspect of voting based on financial judgments differentiates between simple and mediated reviews (Ibid, 2009, p.10). Simple economic assessment occurs when a citizen uses one factor such as joblessness to determine the economic situation and make a vote based on economic performance. Mediated reviews however, entail looking at joblessness and how incumbents have dealt with the issue or the economy and the affect that has on the financial standing of the individual citizen. Mediated assessment is greater in South Africa than present sociotropic and retrospective assessments. In particular mediated evaluations are also higher amongst the black African citizens of South Africa. During 2002 to 2006, it was proven that mediated judgments are most popular in South Africa amongst partisans. This proves that voters use economic performance to assess government's performance but, they do look at the wider country wide situation when choosing which party to vote for (Ibid, 2009, p.10). Thus, policy choices are important for voting in the Western Cape Province and therefore, in Atlantis as voters vote in reaction to policies and performance of political parties. Policy is not the sole determiner of how people vote in the Western Cape but, it does have an impact on political allegiance and voting. All voters also may not react in the same way as all voters are not cognitively mobilized. Voters do not all have a high set of political skills and sound knowledge of politics to makes choices. Dalton's typology will be discussed to show that in Atlantis cognitive mobilization might be low.

4.7.3) Mobilization

Russell Dalton mobilization typology discusses how and why voters choose to be active in politics by utilizing his mobilization typology. He claims that the voting patterns and political support of partisans compared to cognitively mobilized voters are very different from each other. Dalton's typology will now be presented. The vote in the majority of democratic nations is normally a partisan competition. Partisanship subsequently supplies unambiguous and inexpensive guides on how to vote to citizens who are less equipped to make political choices. In fact political matters are normally explained in a partisan manner. Political parties

for example adopt views on political issues and provide their views to citizens in a partisan manner (Dalton, 1984, p.264). Plus partisanship can encourage citizens to get involved in politics. The bond shared between a voter and a political party can motivate voters to become politically active. Party identification is therefore, associated with how citizens vote, their concern regarding politics, partaking in campaigning plus other types of contributions (Ibid, 1984, p.264).

Even though numerous citizens maintain their dependence on partisan ties to guide their political choices, this dependence has diminished as citizens are becoming more equipped to make their own political decisions. This is due to increased access to information and education. Due to “cognitive mobilization” citizens are able to make political choices independently. Thus the usefulness of partisanship is declining (Dalton, 1984, p.265). Dalton goes on to define cognitive mobilization he claims that it occurs when a voter has the ability and means which is required to become active in politics. Voters who are cognitively mobilized also barely rely on prompts and are concerned about political matters. Citizens who are “highly mobilized” have the ability to make their own political choices without political party guidance (Ibid, 1984, p.267-269)

The four different kinds of voters described by Dalton’s model will be reviewed. Apoliticals are voters who do not have party affiliations and are not as concerned about political matters as other types of voters. They are not as active in political activities and are politically inexperienced; they do not have the skills to make good political choices. Voters who are ritual partisans are driven to become active in politics by their sound party ties. They are in favour of “party politics” and partake in party matters such as lobbying and elections. The backing they provide to their party is a routine action and it’s doubtful that political activity will spread to places where prompts from the political party are not provided (Ibid, 1984, p.270). Citizens who are identified as cognitive partisans are highly mobilized; they have strong party attachments and are knowledgeable plus skilled enough to make political decisions. Thus they remain active and interested in politics even if the party they share a link with does not provide them with prompts to aid decision making (Ibid, 1984, p.271). A partisan citizen does not hold strong party alliances. However, they are active in politics. They usually have the ability and sources to partake in politics without political party support. They are not as accommodating towards party politics. But it is possible that they

might partake in party activities and their participation surpasses partisan endeavours (Ibid, 1984, p.271).

Mobilization typology has been applied to SA by Schulz-Herzenberg (2009). As pre mentioned cognitive mobilization depends on education and access to information. Predictably there are important differences in the cognitive mobilization levels in an unequal nation like South Africa. Education and media accessibility remains unequal (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, p.12). Thus cognitive mobilization levels remain low. As Atlantis has a low education rate. The community is similar to the rest of South Africa in this case. It is probable that most South Africans utilize partisan cues and other guides to make political choices or remain politically inactive. Thus partisans tend to listen to the information the party the support provides them with as they are loyalists, and make their political choices based on these cues (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009, p.12). When Dalton's model is applied to South Africa only 3 percent of citizens are categorized as apartisans (Ibid, 2009, p.12). Apoliticals who usually do not vote make up 40 percent of voters (Ibid, 2009, p.13). In contrast half of the populace falls into the ritual partisan group. Ritual partisans are citizens whose firm party ties encourage them to be politically active, however, they are not "cognitively mobilized" (Ibid, 2009, p.13). The preponderance of partisans continues to be guided by partisan prompts, "they are not cognitively mobilized" (Ibid, 2009, p.13). Therefore, cognitive mobilization is not eliminating the need for partisan decisional prompts in Atlantis this shows that the act may have a limited impact on political alliegance and how people vote.

4.8) Conclusion

In conclusion, the informal economic and politics theories, and party support theories relating to this case were discussed. Various debates surrounding the informal economy were outlined proving that the informal and formal sector is related and that various reasons exist for why women choose to enter the later. However marginalization is present and people tend to start informal businesses because the formal market shuts them out. Informal politics theories were provided as the people of Atlantis are affected by informal politics. Lastly, theories around voter choice were unpacked as this thesis will determine whether the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 will have an impact on the political perceptions of shebeen owners and the community of Atlantis in general. The next two chapters will present the findings of this study by incorporating the frameworks provided by the theories discussed above. Informality

is threatened though by the act and has had an impact on party allegiance although it is minimal. The act has added to the pre-existing sense of disillusionment towards the DA and ANC.



CHAPTER FIVE: ECONOMIC MARGINALITY IN ATLANTIS

5.1 Introduction

The research question “Has the Western Cape Liquor Act impacted the DA and ANC party allegiances of the residents of Atlantis” will be answered. This section will prove that shebeens have been created as a result of economic marginalisation. The community agrees that the main reason why shebeens have been opened is because of poverty. This argument will be supported by linking the economic theories discussed previously to this case.

5.1.1) Shebeens and livelihoods

Shebeens are seen by many residing in Atlantis as the only source of income for many impoverished and unemployed residents of the community. Many of the respondents discussed the high unemployment rate in the community. 35 percent of the residents were unemployed in 2011, as shown before (Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.5). This is higher than the unemployment rate of Cape Town as a whole which is 23, 9 percent (Statistics SA, n/d, no pg.). As previously discussed the area faces relatively low levels of education and a high unemployment rate (Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.5). Thus, shebeens are the most practical business to operate in the area, because the low levels of education and lack of work opportunities. The implementation of the Western Cape Liquor Act has therefore, further pressurised the poor given that the act requires closing all residential shebeens which are not operating in main streets. This could have an impact on how the DA is perceived by shebeen owners and the community at large. The DA could be perceived as a political party which is closing down the businesses of the poor, despite poor communities often taking an anti liquor stance as shown by Herrick and Lawhon (2010).

The subsequent quotes show how shebeens and livelihoods are interwoven in Atlantis. A DA ward councillor Nicole stated that “...this community is definitely unemployed...what the community is doing is that they want to put a piece of bread on the table” (Nicole personal communication, 16 May, 2012). , a licensed shebeen owner, also said “In Cape Town there is a lot of work, not here in Atlantis. Here you must take a bus or a taxi to look for work” (Gill, personal communication, 17th May, 2012). Carly of World Vision a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) operating in the area similarly claimed “Let me tell you what. We are opposed against these smokkel houses hey, but as a result of unemployment that is high we

allow it. I wouldn't say we allow it but because the unemployment rate is high our people benefit from it" (Carly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). As Charlene put, shebeening is about 'smokkel for the pot':

Look, a shebeen you can fight it as much as you want, but it has been there all the years... a smokkel yard. Some people apply for a liquor license but then there's others who continue to smokkel to keep the pot cooking for their children. They call it smokkel for the pot. Then there is children in that house and they don't have an income then the people see this is the only way they can make an income to have a shebeen at their house without a license" (Charlene, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

'Smokkel for the pot. is a saying used by the Coloured community where 'smokkel' literally means 'smuggle' but covers arrange of illicit activities. This therefore, indicates that shebeening is occurring in order to ensure survival, and that residents understand it is both illegal and even morally problematic. An assistant to the ward sectary of the ANC said that people usually open up shebeens in order to survive since there are no other options in the area (Trent, personal communication, May 16, 2012). Similarly Lilly a shebeen owner also said "People have needs and the government must understand that there isn't work, people here don't have a lot of money" (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

However, another DA ward councillor Linda indicated that there is more to shebeening than survival. She stated that:

"If people are poor why are there so many shebeens? This shows that they have business, that's why the shebeens can prosper, there is a lot of money. So people can say whether there is a lot of work or not; I think if there is a lot of work then more people will have money to buy liquor. Our people need education we must go back to the basics of your basic human rights and self-respect. We don't have a spirit, no one takes responsibility. That shebeen owner is not worried, he is safe, his children is safe and as time goes on he buys another house and his children runs the shebeen. He has 3,4,5 houses. What laws is there against that? Nothing! This is how things are being done especially here in South Africa. That's why I say our laws must be more

progressive to meet the needs of the people and also to hold them accountable. That accountability is missing” (Linda, personal communication, May 16, 2012).

Her views correspond with the DA’s stance against shebeens, alcohol abuse and drugs which has been discussed in the literature. Herrick and Lawhon (2013) point out that the DA’s stance against shebeens is set in a moralistic framework. According to the DA shebeens are responsible for a variety of social ills within poor communities such as crime, domestic abuse and alcoholism to name a few. The media reports and DA public statements all focus on how shebeens are crime producers which are, in turn, leading to the moral breakdown of society (Meyer,2012, no pg.). In our interview, Linda went on to discuss how shebeens lead to social problems in Atlantis:

“In my ward there was a young girl she was killed and raped and she was last seen at two shebeens. And on the way back it happened also and that makes it impossible for the police to make a proper arrest because no one know what happened after she left the shebeen”(Linda, personal communication, May 16, 2012).

Apostle Campbell who preaches in the area also stated that a shebeen owner who is running a profitable business would not want to close down their shebeen in order to work for a boss.

“For some, especially single mothers, it’s about survival but for most shebeeners it’s about profit so even if you create other work for them they won’t stop shebeening. It makes no economic sense why will you give up a profitable business to work for a boss who pays you less we live in a capitalistic society after all”(Apostle Campbell , personal communication, May 10, 2012).

5.1.2) Shebeen queens

In South Africa more women own shebeens than men. As previously mentioned, Velia and Valodia (2009, p.23) found that more women work in or own micro or very tiny businesses when compared to men. Men also own double the number of formal enterprises compared to women. According to Meagher a high unemployment rate in the formal economy forces females into the informal economy to provide for their families (Meagher, 1995, p.270). Moreover, poor levels of education add to the production, drinking and accessibility of liquor in South Africa. Additionally, selling liquor supplies work to South Africans. In the past

women sold liquor in order to earn money, and this continues since women dominate the shebeen sector, including in Atlantis.

Thus only 70 percent of residents in Atlantis completed secondary education between grades 8-12 and 0,3 percent have tertiary education beyond grade 12 (Atlantis Inter-Governmental Task Team, 2011, p.5). The poor levels of education have added to unemployment levels. It is estimated that the area has a 35 percent unemployment rate (Ibid, 2011, p.5). The unemployment rate of the Western Cape as a whole was 21,4 percent in 2011 (Census 2011 Municipal Report Western Cape, 2011, p.11). These factors are all taken into consideration by the community.

As previously shown Stafford (2005) reports that during the 1980s retrenchments became widespread in Atlantis. There were many textile factories in the area and these factories closed down. In 1982 Atlantis based textile manufactures began losing subsidies which they had received previously. Thus, many manufacturers lost their competitive edge given that Atlantis is located far away from the central transportation system, commercial hubs and quality residences for higher level workers (Stafford, 2005, p.63). Thus, this situation is in line with the argument that neoliberalism has led to retrenchments and increased informality. The main reason is that the reduction of trade barriers led to imports inundating the market, and the decline of the South African textile industry (Davies& Thurlow, 2009, p.18). Mrs. April said “I worked at a wholesaler and before that at a factory. The factory closed down and the wholesaler retrenched me”(Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2013). To which Brenda replied “ I don’t even know which factories are still open”. Charlene also claims “Look there is work but in Atlantis generally factories are closed you can see factories are closed they are white elephants”(Charlene, personal communication, May 6, 2012). Thus women who used to work in factories in Atlantis now have to partake in informality to survive. Thus as van der Westhuizen states:

Moreover, women’s employment loss can be devastating in poor communities as the effects are felt beyond the individual worker who loses her job. Studies in developing countries have shown women to be essential for the maintenance of livelihoods in poor families given that they are more likely to spend their income on the needs of other family members and children in particular (van der Westhuizen, 2006,p.13).

People in Atlantis possess low skills and education levels due to poverty and inaccessibility to education facilities. Atlantis is isolated as well and located far away from tertiary education institutions. This makes it difficult for residents to pursue education and, become better skilled in order to become more employable. In addition, they often have children who depend on them. Women often need to work from home in order to run households, cook, clean and take care of their children in addition to earning money making full time jobs in a formal industry impossible. Brenda reported “I am a single parent, that’s why I opened up a shebeen. I needed the income and I have to be at home for my children” (Brenda, personal communication, April 28, 2013). Women in Atlantis are therefore, struggling to survive and have to open shebeens.

5.1.3) It is not all about poverty

The informal economy and poverty are not necessarily interlinked as stated by Castells and Portes (1989), this is shown by the shebeens in Atlantis (Ibid, 1989, p.14).

Grant stated that there are other livelihood opportunities he argues that:

“People shouldn’t stand in the way of shebeens. There are alternatives to shebeens but it’s about demand and supply. There is a market for shebeens. It is a relatively cheap business it needs little capital to start up and low operating cost it also makes a low profit. It is located in the immediate vicinity it’s better for people to go to as they must walk to pubs and nightclubs. Legal shebeens they are often strict they adhere to rules and stick to it to them” (Grant, personal communication, May 15, 2012).

The differences in opinion can be attributed to the fact that shebeens do have varying characteristics. Some shebeens are low profit, micro businesses however there are shebeens which make a large profit margin which are prospering in the area.

A licensed shebeen owner confirms this. “Sometimes I’m poor, but other times I make good money...”(Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). However, while there are shebeens that do generate large profits, the majority of respondents agreed that shebeens are a means of economic survival of the poor, rather than the most profitable career choice, since there are no other viable jobs in Atlantis.

5.1.4) Marginalized by the law

As discussed before De Soto and other legalists call for legal recognition and claim that informal businesses should gain legal status and should become part of the formal economy. All the respondents who do not have a license stated they would want a license. Similarly all of the respondents who do not have licensed have applied for a licence several times. This is most likely due to the problems which arise from police raids all the unlicensed shebeeners complained about fines and having their liquor confiscated. One of the few legal shebeen owners, Gill reported that she was fined as well she stated that the designated liquor officer fined her “He himself personally brought me a fine of R500. Because a guy that drank at my shebeen took a girl to a dam and raped her” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Brenda stated “...My liquor was carried out 4 times. The fine was R250 so I went to SA Breweries to get my permit and show I did apply for a license. I went to try and get a rezoning certificate”(Brenda, personal communication, April 28,2013).

For De Soto informality leads to formality. This is true in the case of a few shebeen owners like for instance who started as an informal shebeener and got a license after many years of operating informally. However, the majority of shebeen owners who partook in this study did not have a license. Shebeens face the same issues that the street hawkers which De Soto uses as an example faces; as they are also constrained by their informality. For instance they cannot make a loan with the bank as Brenda stated “...we can’t get loans. (Brenda personal communication, April 28, 2013).They also do not have premises suitable to regulations many do not have fire extinguishers for example.

However, the following quotes show that obtaining a liquor license is difficult. Brenda said “I go every week to the liquor board”(Brenda, April 28,2013). And Mrs. April replied and said “People that I know about they wait long periods for licenses. I can’t be selfish I started only 2010, so they already applied”(Mrs April, April 28,2013). Shebeen owners are faced with the following obstacles when applying for a license: The license application is very costly. As discussed the application is only R360. However shebeen owners often don’t know how to apply for the licenses. They often need to use consultants which charge between R5000 and R11000 for the liquor licence and zoning application and between R3800 and R5000 for a licence application. Town planning consultants’ fees cost R7000 usually. Most shebeeners cannot afford to pay these charges. Plus the zoning certificate process is difficult,

shebeen owners have to often make structural changes to their premises which is expensive. Moreover the community, liquor board, ward councillor and neighbours all have to give their approval before a shebeen owner can obtain a license (Department of Provincial Safety Western Cape, 2010, no pg.). This proves that shebeen owners do not have the ability to become formal businesses as they cannot comply with the law.

According to De Soto these types of regulations shut out the informal economy from the formal economy. Instead he calls for the slackening of limitations so that informal businesses can thrive and become formal eventually. Moreover the eventual assimilation of the informal economy into the formal economy will benefit the entire economy (Marquez, 1990, p.209). Shebeeners like traders discussed by De Soto, cannot conduct formal businesses as they do not have the financial ability and resources to be part of the formal economy. Thus, shebeen owners in Atlantis are being marginalized economically.

5.1.5) Determination of community support for the act

My research revealed that many respondents had heard about the Western Cape Liquor Act but did not have in depth knowledge regarding the act. They were aware of the implementation of the act. They knew that the act would criminalize most shebeens but, were of the view that the act had not impacted the community yet and, most felt that it would only have a minimal impact. This is because many respondents felt that the police would be unable to enforce the act and, hence, that shebeeners would continue to trade illegally. Andrew for example said that shebeens will continue as it is a means of survival in Atlantis. The law will be ignored in his view

“But if you close down one shebeen another one will pop up. Yes it might contribute to a reduction in the violence related to shebeens but it can also contribute to an increase of unlawful activities, in the context of people now disregarding law. And begin to deal with the illegal distribution of alcohol”(Andrew, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

Bill also stated that the act is not effective and people continue to break the law:

“ No, at the moment crime is still the same. The new liquor law criminalizes shebeeners. They must now sell skelm (sell secretly). They sell late hours, late nights

then we must close them down. So you see they can't be that times open, so they make it worse" (Bill, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

Pastor Brown agreed that the liquor law will not reduce issues related to shebeens:

"Simply put there must not be a new liquor law it won't work. Other options must be looked into to help combat crime here not stricter regulations which amount to nothing. People will ignore the law they won't stop drinking" (Pastor Brown, personal communication, May 9, 2012)

Captain Dicks believes that the act will impact the community, when asked if the act will reduce crime he claimed that "It will impact Atlantis, it will have a strong definite impact" He did however report that it is a difficult process to shut down illegal shebeens "But it takes 3-4 years of us fining them before we can close them down. The case must go through the state and the courts. Excessive drinking is a crime generator; people swear, fight and stab each other". Captain Dicks also believes that shebeens continue to operate because of the fact that the families and friends of the operators protect them:

"It is a very negative thing. The community is against it in the broad, general sense. But, they won't give us information because their families are impacted by it. This aunty, uncle, brother, sister, friend has a shebeen their own friends and family members in order to make a living" (Captain Dicks, personal communication, May 7, 2012).

My research suggests that the act does not have widespread community support and, indeed there was only one respondent Carly who stated that the act is a very positive thing. Carly resides next to a shebeen feels that the act is a very positive thing. Aside from her, the authorities tended to support the act. Thus, Sergeant Loch stated that Atlantis will be a safer place as a result of the act:

"The new liquor act is much better I think so. According to what Officer Hendricks said how I understand it, is that there are more stipulations which will protect the community. And the person must work within the law they must follow the rules" (Loch, personal communication, May 9, 2012)

Sergeant Loch also claimed that the act is supported by the community "... a lot of members of the public want change, they want less smokkel houses" (Sergeant Loch, personal communication, May 9, 2012). Officer Hendricks, the designated liquor officer, said that according to him the new law will lock up the buyers of liquor not only the smokkler. He added, "things are going to better for the community. Drunk people do a lot of stupid things and commit crime a lot of the crime here is alcohol related" (Sergeant Loch, personal communication, May 9, 2012). The rest of the respondents reported that they felt that the local government officials should have consulted with them first instead of simply implementing an act. They often felt strongly opposed to the fact that widespread community consultation did not occur prior to implementing the act. A few respondents stated that they did not know all the information contained in the act so they could not answer the question.

5.1.6) The Electoral Data

This section will present and discuss the electoral data for Atlantis. The 2014, 2009 and 2004 National Elections and provincial elections data for the same period will be discussed. The most recent results namely that of 2014 will be presented first then the results from 2009 and 2004. This will show that people of Atlantis are involved in the voting process even though the respondents mainly held negative beliefs with regards to shebeens in Atlantis, politics and politicians. This proves that although the community is sceptical with regards to the success of the act people of Atlantis do vote. There is however, a decline in the voter turnout which indicates dissatisfaction of voters in the community.

5.1.6.1) The 2014 National Elections

During the 2014 National elections Atlantis has a lower voter turnout when compared to the Western Cape Province's voter turnout. Moreover when compared to other provinces average voter turnout, Atlantis's voter turnout is also lower. There was an average voter turnout of 69.86 percent in Atlantis for the 2014 national elections (IEC, 2014, p.1). The voter turnout for the Western Cape was 72.76 percent, it was therefore, higher than the average of Atlantis. Moreover the voter turnout nationally was 71.18 percent (Ibid, 2014, p.1). The voter turnout is however not that low in Atlantis proving that people did partake in the elections. The DA received its most votes in the Western Cape, during the 2014 elections as it gained 57.26 percent of the votes. The DA's national average was 22.23 percent much lower than its vote share in the Western Cape. However the ANC only received 17 percent of the vote in the

province and 57 percent of the votes nationally. The DA easily won the Western Cape Province in the 2014 national elections.

The 2014 Elections table below provides a detailed overview of the electoral data.

Voting District Number	Voting Station Name	Registered Population in Voting District	Registered Voters in Voting District	Total Votes Cast	Voter Turnout
97120201	Rebecca Van Amsterdam Hall	2,928	2,928	1,897	64.79%
97120212	Wesfleur Primary School	1,085	1,085	678	62.49%
97120267	Parkview Primary School	2,014	2,014	1,356	67.33 %
97120256	Avondale Civic Centre	2,136	2,136	1,498	70.13%
97120223	Robinvale High School	1,967	1,967	1,259	64.01%
97120199	Camphill Village	615	615	498	80.98%
97120447	Grosvenor Primary School	1,325	1,325	828	62.49%
97120458	Robinhill Special School (Dawn School)	420	420	463	110.24%
97120290	Mount View Crèche	2,081	2,081	1,240	59.59 %
9712028	Methodist Church of SA Atlantis	1,379	1,379	812	58.88%
97120188	Saxon Sea Civic Centre	2,118	2,118	1,424	67.23%
97120245	Protea Park Primary	2,310	2,310	1,552	67.19%

97120234	School Dura Youth Centre	1,594	1,594	1,051	65.93%
97120278	Emmanuel Day Care Centre	2,539	2,539	1,663	65.50%
97120559	Masakhana Educare Centre	885	885	718	81.13%
Total		25,396	25,396	16,937	1047.91%

5.1.6.2) The 2009 National Elections

In Atlantis the average voter turnout for the 2009 National Elections was 76.30%. The voter turnout average in the Western Cape was 75.45 %. This was higher than the national turnout of 75.45 percent . Atlantis had a higher turnout than the national and provincial average. The ANC gained 32.86 percent of the vote in the Western Cape and the DA gained 48.78 percent of the votes (IEC, 2013, p.1). The DA won control of the Western Cape, but the ANC won the national vote.

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The 2009 National Elections data can be found in the table below

Voting District Number	Voting Station Name	Registered Population in Voting District	Registered Voters in Voting District	Total Votes Cast	Voter Turnout
97120201	Rebecca Van Amsterdam Hall	2,621	2,621	2,074	79.13%
97120212	V G Kerk Avondale	1,002	1,002	802	80.04%
97120267	Orion Organization	1,740	1,740	1,316	75.63%
97120256	Avondale Civic Centre	1,934	1,934	1,354	70.01%

97120223	Uniting Reformed Church Robinvale	1,847	1,847	1,032	55.87%
97120199	Camphill Village	531	531	565	106.40%
97120447	Grosvenor Primary School	957	957	501	52.35%
97120458	Dawn School	287	287	413	143.90%
97120290	Mount View Crèche	2,003	2,003	1,131	56.47%
97120289	Lutheran Church	1,431	1,431	919	64.22%
97120188	Saxon Sea Civic Centre	1,986	1,986	1,294	65.16%
97120245	Christ Gospel Church	2,062	2,062	1,107	53.69%
97120234	Dura Youth Centre	1,471	1,471	1,033	70.22%
97120278	Thusang Centre	2,478	2,478	1,669	67.35%
97120559	Masakhana Educare Centre	522	522	543	104.02%
Total		22872	22872	15753	1144.46%

5.1.6.3) The 2004 National Elections

In the 2004 National Elections there was a voter turnout of 72.30 percent in Atlantis. The voter turnout for the Western Cape was higher at 73.05 percent. Moreover, the national average was 76.73 percent . Atlantis's voter turnout was not much less when compared to the

provincial and national voter turn out levels. The ANC had more votes in the Western Cape Province with 46.28 percent of votes, and the DA gained 26.92 percent of the votes.

The table below outlines the Atlantis electoral data for 2004

Voting District Number	Voting District Name	Registered Population	Registered Voters in Completed VDs	Total Votes Cast	Voter Turnout
97120201	Rebecca Van Amsterdam Hall	2206	2206	1223	55.44%
97120212	United Reform Church Avondale	913	913	498	54.55%
97120267	Orion Organization	1670	1670	895	53.59%
97120256	Avondale Civic Centre	1689	1689	1071	63.41%
97102023	Uniting Reformed Church	1728	1728	926	53.59%
97120199	Camphill Village	540	540	407	75.37%
97120447	Temporary voting station (Montezuma)	819	819	695	84.86%
97120458	Dawn School	63	63	150	238.10%
97120290	Mount View Crèche	2218	2218	1242	56.00%
97120289	Lutheran Church	1387	1387	791	57.03%
97120188	Saxon Sea Civic Centre	1659	1659	1 181	71.19%
97120245	Christ Gospel Church	1 914	1 914	1 068	55.80%
97120234	Monex Crèche	1 431	1 431	847	59.19%
97120278	Hartebeskraal Multipurpose Centre	2 364	2 364	1192	50.42%
97120290	Mount View Crèche	2,218	2,218	1,242	56.00 %
Total		20 601	20 601	13428	1084.54%

5.1.6.3) The 2014 Provincial Elections

The average voter turnout was 69.29 percent in Atlantis (IEC, 2014, p.1). In the Western Cape the average voter turnout stood at 72.76 percent, whilst the voter turnout nationally was 71.18 percent (Ibid, 2014, p.1). Atlantis had a lower voter average when compared to the provincial and national turnout figures (Ibid, 2014, p.1). 59.38 percent of the votes went to the DA, and nationally 22.92 percent of the votes were won by the DA. The ANC gained 10 percent of the votes in the province; however its national average was much higher at 55 percent (Ibid, 2014, p.1).

The table below contains the electoral data for the 2014 Provincial Elections

Voting District Number	Voting District Name	Registered Population	Registered Voters in Completed VDs	Total Votes Cast	Voter Turnout
97120201	Rebecca Van Amsterdam Hall	2,928	2,928	1,921	65.61 %
97120212	Wesfleur Primary School	1,085	1,085	665	61.29 %
97120267	Parkview Primary School	2,014	2,014	1,350	67.03 %
97120256	Avondale Civic Centre	2,136	2,136	1,477	69.15 %
97120223	Robinvale High School	1,967	1,967	1,371	69.70 %
97120199	Camphill Village	615	615	502	81.63 %
97120447	Grosvenor Primary School	1,325	1,325	824	62.19 %
97120458	Robinhill Special School(Dawn School)	420	420	461	109.76 %

97120290	Mount View Crèche	2,081	2,081	1,231	59.15 %
97120289	Methodist Church of SA Atlantis	1,379	1,379	825	59.83 %
97120188	Saxon Sea Civic Centre	2,118	2,118	1,414	66.76 %
97120245	Protea Park Primary School	2,310	2,310	1,549	67.06 %
97120234	Dura Youth Centre	1,594	1,594	1,020	63.99 %
97120278	Emmanuel Day Care Centre	2,539	2,539	1,672	65.85 %
97120290	Mount View Crèche	2,081	2,081	1,231	59.15 %
97120559	Masakhana Educare Centre	885	885	712	80.45 %
Total		27 477	27 477	18225	1108.60 %

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5.1.6.4) The 2009 Provincial elections

The average voter turnout was 76.98% for Atlantis in the 2009 provincial elections (IEC,2014,p.1). For the Western Cape the average was 75.45 percent, and the country wide voter turnout average was 75.01 percent. Atlantis therefore, had the highest turnout of voters. The DA won the provincial elections in the Western Cape with 53.79 percent of the votes, whilst the ANC gained 31.30 percent of the votes (Ibid, 2014,p.1)

The table below contains the electoral data for the 2009 Provincial Elections

Voting District Number	Voting District Name	Registered Population	Registered Voters in Completed VDs	Total Votes Cast	Voter Turnout
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97120201	Rebecca Van Amsterdam Hall	2,621	2,621	2,052	78.29 %
97120212	V G Kerk Avondale	1,002	1,002	787	78.54 %
97120267	Orion Organisation	1,740	1,740	1,316	75.63 %
97120256	Avondale Civic Centre	1,934	1,934	1,347	69.65 %
97120223	Uniting Reformed Church Robinvale	1,847	1,847	1,133	61.34 %
97120199	Camphill Village	531	531	565	106.40 %
97120447	Grosvenor Primary School	957	957	495	51.72 %
97120458	Dawn School	287	287	400	139.37 %
97120290	Mount View Crèche	2,003	2,003	1,117	55.77 %
97120289	Methodist Church of SA Atlantis	1,431	1,431	936	65.41 %
97120188	Saxon Sea Civic Centre	1,986	1,986	1,304	65.66 %
97120245	Christ Gospel Church	2,062	2,062	1,343	65.13 %
97120234	Dura Youth Centre	1,471	1,471	1,021	69.41 %
97120278	Thusang Centre	2,478	2,478	1,669	67.35 %
97120290	Mount View	2,003	2,003	1,117	55,77 %

97120559	Crèche				
	Masakhana Educare Centre	522	522	548	104.98 %
	Total		248	24875	17150

5.1.6.5) The 2004 Provincial elections

According to the IEC 72.76 percent was the average voter turnout for Atlantis, for the 2004 Provincial elections. 71.27 percent was the average turnout for the Western Cape Province and 75.05 percent of voters, voted nationally. The ANC gained more votes with 44.09 percent of votes whilst the DA gained 27.20 percent of the votes. The ANC won 45.25 percent, and the DA won fewer votes with 27.11 percent .(IEC,2014,p.1).

The table contains the electoral data for the 2004 Provincial Elections

Voting District Number	Voting District Name	Registered Population	Registered Voters in Completed VDs	Total Cast	Votes	Voter Turnout
97120201	Rebecca Van Amsterdam Hall	2,206	2,206	1,213		54.99 %
97120212	Uniting Reformed Church Avondale	913	913	497		54.44 %
97120267	Orion Organisation	1,670	1,670	891		53.35 %
97120256	Avondale Civic Centre	1,689	1,689	1,067		63.17 %
97120223	Uniting Reformed Church Robinvale	1,728	1,728	920		53.24 %
97120199	Camphill Village	540	540	397		73.52 %
97120447	Temporary voting station	819	819	692		84.49 %

	(Montezuma)				
97120458	Dawn School	63	63	147	233.33 %
97120290	Mount View Crèche	2,218	2,218	1,235	55.68 %
97120289	Lutheran Church	1,387	1,387	790	56.96 %
97120188	Saxon Sea Civic Centre	1,659	1,659	1,174	70.77 %
97120245	Christ Gospel Church	1,914	1,914	1,069	55.85 %
97120278	Hartebeeskraal Multipurpose Centre	2,364	2,364	1,185	50.13 %
97120290	MountView Crèche	1,431	1,431	841	58.77 %
Total		20601	20601	12118	1018.69 %

These election results were presented in detail because no other publication has included election results in this manner. It shows that although the respondents I spoke to were not willing to discuss their political allegiances in an indepth manner, people living in the area are actively voting. The voting data shows that people are involved in politics via elections. They may not want to openly discuss who they support politically or express positive views towards the DA and ANC but, the data shows that the community is not apathetic. They are voting in elections and are therefore, politically active.

5.1.7) Residents views regarding alcohol and shebeens

Notably, despite the largely negative attitudes towards the liquor act, respondents' views regarding alcohol and shebeens in Atlantis were also overwhelmingly negative. Shebeens were identified as crime hot spots and alcohol as an important cause of crime. The following quotes will provide an indication of the views towards shebeens and liquor. According to Sergeant Loch "Smokkel houses are a negative thing for the community. The joblessness figures are high in Atlantis. Fathers spend their money on liquor and they could've used it on their children's basic needs" (Sergeant Loch, personal communication, May 9, 2012). The

fact that alcoholics spend much needed money on alcohol was a recurring topic: Bill said that “...but now the household that doesn’t have work now the man gets a few cents, then that man spends the money at the shebeen leaving his house hungry. His house is hungry, so what is the benefit is that” (Bill, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

Captain Dicks also had negative views towards liquor: “This thing is a massive problem, and the thing is they don’t just sell liquor other things are sold, because alcohol and drugs go together. Alcohol itself is a drug. You can’t really have profitable business just selling liquor, drugs is a cash cow” (Captain Dicks, personal communication, May 7, 2012).

Carly agreed with this view “I will say the majority they are dealers hey, and they look at how they can make a profit. If I can sell you a beer and a straw why must you go somewhere else” (Carly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Nicole added, “the shebeen is running at a house shop, at the front is the shop at the back the shebeen. And at that area there is also drugs, but you can’t put a finger on the pulse. But it is there so we want to minimize that” (Nicole, personal communication, May 16, 2012).

Moreover Officer Hendricks stated: “The Atlantis people are bad people. The people don’t want to testify in the court against the shebeens opening, and we have these public hearings but they don’t attend. The community supports shebeens. Our people are a lot of sick people in this area. They are alcoholics. They just want to drink and use drugs” (Officer Hendricks, personal communication, May 7, 2012).

As noted above, Captain Dicks also pointed out that people tend to protect their friends and families, and are thus unwilling to aid the police in shutting down shebeens:

“It is a very negative thing. The community is against it in the broad, general sense. But, they won’t give us information because their families are impacted by it. This aunty, uncle, brother, sister, friend has a shebeen their own friends and family members in order to make a living” (Captain Dicks, personal communication, May 7, 2012).

Shebeens were seen as contributing to liquor abuse by most of the respondents. Liquor itself was also viewed badly as it contributed to social problems which are rife in the area.

For their part, the shebeeners disagree with this view as they believe it is drug addicts who are mostly responsible for crimes and the majority of social issues. According to Brenda “It’s not alcohol its drugs that causes crime” (Brenda, personal communication, April 28, 2013). Brenda also stated that her daughter was addicted to drugs “I know drugs exist, my daughter comes out of it” (Brenda, personal communication, April 28,2013).

Candice, another illegal shebeen owner, pointed out that shebeen owners do not kill each other:“We never shoot each other, but the tik dealers kill each other. More children and young people tik, look at the age groups... It’s the tik addicts they walk around and sell stolen stuff. They take the stuff to the dealers. I don’t have a license but I don’t take stolen stuff for beer” (Candice, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

When asked what her feelings are towards the ward councillors in Atlantis Belinda said “For them beer is a problem but what about the tik and the dagga. They drive with four by four’s and mini coopers” (Belinda, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Lilly also feels that the community tends to focus on shebeens but not on drug dealing. “The people are evil. Tajoodien ask him, in the last CPF meeting no one spoke about tik. But the shebeens are talked about” (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Mr. Tajoodien is the head of the community police forum in the area, and Lilly is referring to him. Thus it is evident that shebeen owners feel that drug dealing is the real cause of crime in Atlantis. These are only a few quotes from the two focus groups which indicate that shebeen owners believe that drug dealing is ignored by officials and the community, yet shebeens are heavily criticized.

Many of the respondents, both the shebeeners and the community members, stated that there is a lack of socializing activities and venues for people to visit in Atlantis. Sergeant Loch claims that shebeens are the only way people can provide for themselves. “Yes definitely it’s the only thing they can do now at the moment, and the young people have nowhere to go to. What else can they do? There’s no socializing facilities” (Sergeant Loch, personal communication, May 9, 2012). Bill agrees “Yes look there isn’t a lot, how can I say, for young people, maybe activities like sports and this type of things (pointing to a craft item). There isn’t a lot of those things that they can do” (Bill, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

The ward secretaries of the ANC both pointed out that shebeens are not solely alcohol vendors but are also spaces for socializing: Grant said that “The shebeens have nice pool boards, big screen TVs, often more than one at the same shebeen. During soccer season and the rugby season you must see the crowd. People can’t all afford DSTV, and live in cramped up flats they want to get out of that environment. People were there during the 2010 World Cup, watching the soccer” (Grant, personal communication, May 15, 2012).

Kyle believes that shebeens contribute to creating a sense of community in the area “That is an interesting way of looking at it, but yes shebeens are building the community. It’s a place where discussion can take place” (Kyle, personal communication, May 15, 2012).

Andrew, who works as an assistant to the party leader of the ANC, agreed: “To take away an illegal shebeen like in Avondale... there is a legal store but nothing else, there is no leisure facilities if you take that away what do people do. Because now in our townships as you know Nicole in Mitchells Plain too shebeens are used for watching TV there’s sports, sports on TV per se. There’s pool clubs, dart clubs, dominoes clubs if you take that away you take a lot away from the community” (Andrew, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

The residents also claimed that shebeens are important economically as many people rely on the money generated by shebeens as previously mentioned. In addition to this the shebeeners reported that they provide financial assistance when a neighbour passes away, for school raffle lists, to support school children field trips and Christmas goodie bags and soup kitchens. Mrs April does contribute to charity: “When the winter comes in we give soup, especially to the children and at the end of the year. So the school went on sport so this small child looked for a donation. So I gave her, she didn’t ask directly for cash. She asked for toothpaste, soap, spray” (Mrs April, personal communication, April 28, 2013).

Gill stated that she also supports charity events in the community “Every year I give out packets at the end of the year”. I gave money for a firemen expedition. They run to the smokkel houses if the library needs something for school funds then it’s the smokkel houses, for a lot of things, they run to smokkel houses. If someone dies then the smokkel houses make food for them” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

Nicole a ward councillor for the DA also indicated that there are shebeen owners who support charitable endeavours “under the leadership of the CPF the exec and the police they actually had workshops, and also ploughed back to the people that really need a little packet food whatever. So there is really, really good shebeen owners also that really go that extra mile to contribute to the poorest of the poor” (Nicole, personal communication, May 16, 2012).

Shebeen owners also provide work to people, as stated by Molly “I give the customers work sometimes. I pay them if they deliver for me” (Molly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Belinda also provides work to the community “...And we give work to others” (Belinda, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Lilly also provides work “A smokkel house always provides work” (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012 and so does Rose “I also give work to people” (Rose, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Thus jobs are created by shebeen owners, for the rest of the community as well.

It is however, evident that debates regarding alcohol policy have become interwoven with moral judgements, as suggested by the literature. For example, the Moral Regeneration Movement, specifically formed to help rebuild the moral character of SA, now demands stricter liquor control. The movement has called for limiting the issuing of liquor licences in areas where many liquor outlets are situated closely to one another. In poorer areas such as Atlantis, the density of settlement means that shebeens are invariably situated close to each other (Mdhladhla, 2012). Herrick and Lawhon (2013) also argue that the DA opposition to shebeens is based on moral arguments. Hence, Cedric Thomas of the DA expressed anger over potential moral breakdown which the proposed liquor bill would cause, since the bill aimed to legalize all shebeens. The speeches and website postings of the DA all prove the parties moral stance towards shebeens (Herrick & Lawhon, 2013). This is not the first time that moral arguments have been made in relation to liquor. The anti-tot system movement of Stellenbosch stated that canteens were troublesome as they supported disruptive and sinful behaviour (Scully, 1992, p.63). The moral argument against the canteens is the same argument which is being made against shebeens.

Nonetheless, there were many more negative views voiced against shebeens. Linda said “The only thing that is positive about a shebeen is that only one person gets rich, the shebeen owner and his family. That’s the only positive it’s for them a job creation” (Linda, May 16, personal communication, 2012). However Barbra does acknowledge the employment

potential of shebeens for others “But if the laws are correct. And they have a security system, health system in place. And they have a safety plan for the people who buy there or leave. Then I can say it’s a profitable business; because they create jobs for others for others (Linda, personal communication, May 16, 2012). One of the ex-shebeen owners Mrs. April even said that she would not want to see her mother sitting in a shebeen. “Now that’s the thing. And I don’t like a yard (on consumption shebeen). It’s not good, you must buy and go. I wouldn’t want my mother to sit on a yard and drink” (Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2013). This shows that the community holds a negative view towards liquor and shebeens.

5.1.8) Mobilization and organizational solidarity

The shebeen owners in Atlantis do not have a shebeen organization. According to Molly, a shebeener, “We must establish something, because we belong to no one” (Molly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). “Everyone doesn’t work with you in organizations in Atlantis organizations break up. Last time there was only 6 people in the organization. The CPF [Community Policing Forum] doesn’t talk to the shebeeners anymore” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). However Lilly pointed out that the CPF is willing to work with shebeen owners “The CPF is waiting for us, the problem is they are waiting for us shebeeners” (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). According to Brenda organizations representing shebeen owners have not been able to last, “You know Nicolette let me tell you now we had organisations, 2 or 3 times and it all failed” (Brenda, personal communication, April 28, 2013). In response to Brenda, Mrs. April said “I don’t know where it disappeared to” (Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2013).

Brenda went on to explain why organizations representing shebeen owners do not endure over time: “I am now taking it from myself when I got my license, so I didn’t worry anymore about the others who are struggling. So I didn’t worry, and so we started an organisation again, now every time if 1 or 2 people get a license then it falls away” (Brenda, personal communication, April, 28, 2013). Shebeen owners without license also cannot talk in meetings : “We had one meeting, a community meeting those with licenses could speak but those without licenses couldn’t speak in the meeting. The police was there also. Then someone without license got up and started speaking and everyone said he should sit down. But that isn’t right” (Gill, personal communication, 17th May, 2012).

Given that there is no organizational solidarity amongst shebeeners there is no mobilized opposition toward the Act in Atlantis. Plus unlicensed shebeeners are silenced in community meetings; their opinions are therefore, not listened to in the community.

These findings correspond with Chatterjee's (2004) argument that the rules of 'civil society' only serve middle class and elite interests given that the oppressed usually cannot access civil society and thus their views are not expressed. In fact mediators, usually political parties, tend to speak in the name of the poor in via civil society. To my mind the shebeen owners of Atlantis views are not heard in the formal political system, even my mediators. This is due to the health and moral panic arguments which are made against shebeens. The reality is that alcohol does contribute to crime in Atlantis and various social problems, even though it is not the sole cause of these problems. There are contributing factors such as poverty, joblessness, drug addiction and low education levels. Illegal shebeen owners are thus often blamed by residents for problems caused by alcohol abuse instead of blame being targeted at the consumers of the alcohol. Individual responsibility is also usually not considered by respondents. This is similar to Malpass's (2011) view, which is stated in the literature that law is applied to the entire population, in order to punish the individuals who transgress.

In the literature Bayat (2008) claims that the poor seek to operate outside of the state as much as they possibly can. Thus, many shebeen operators continue to run illegal businesses. Their everyday lives became a political contestation when political establishments seek to threaten their everyday functioning. Thus, collaborative and audible or silent non compliance to the law occurs. Thus Bill stated that shebeens continue to operate normally dispute the stricter regulations of the act "No the shebeens are still open and it's not working" (Bill, personal communication, May 8, 2012). Charlene made a similar statement: "...the new liquor law is there but if you go outside you will see how many shebeens there still are. You see the police carrying their liquor out but they pay the fine and tomorrow. They will smokkel again... You see people get a fine they pay the fine then they just go on, because it's for their children that they do it"(Charlene, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

According to the friend who I stayed with there is an after hours delivery service for liquor. This is obviously an illegal activity and Grant also indicated that the service is operating "There is a delivery service for liquor as well so illegal liquor trading won't end" (Grant,

personal communication, May 15, 2012). Most of the respondents agreed that the illegal sale of liquor will continue in the area despite the implementation of the act.

There has been no response to the act by shebeeners or community members in Atlantis. No petitions or protests have occurred. On the other hand there is no organized mobilization against shebeens in Atlantis. Indeed Captain Dicks stated “As I said there won’t be protests and residents here don’t normally do that sort of thing” (Captain Dicks, personal communication, May 7, 2012). I specifically asked if any homes used as shebeens or drug dens were burnt by protestors in the second focus group conducted with shebeen owners. Both participants said no (Brenda & Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2013). Mrs. April explained why shebeens are not subject to violent protests: “I think that because the unemployment figures are so high people won’t just try to close down the shebeens, because maybe they know that one’s circumstances. This man doesn’t work and that woman is at home, and they have so many children. I’m just making an example understand. There can’t be fighting or arguing” (Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2012).

I wanted to interview members of the anti-drug, crime and shebeens group, namely People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD). However, everyone I spoke to responded that the group does not exist in Atlantis. This may be because PAGAD is traditionally an Islamic group and Atlantis is a predominantly Christian area, as noted in the introduction of this thesis. It may also be because shebeens are seen by many as a business which is run by impoverished residents as a means of survival plus a lot of the members of the community benefit from shebeens in various ways, as shown in the arguments above. Further, as discussed previously, community members also feel disgruntled that widespread consultation did not occur before implementation. In addition many respondents believe the act will fail to reach its goals as there are not enough resources to implement the act, and there are no viable job alternatives for people who operate illegal shebeens. This situation, forces people to continue running illegal shebeens in the community.

5.1.9) Communication, community participation and shebeens

The respondents had complaints about communication issues, stating that the community does not work together to help each other resolve community wide problems: According to Linda “Policies and laws must be always be reviewed and the public must always come and participate. But that is where the weakness are in the communities they want

change but they don't come to the meetings or they don't want to participate because there is a time when you can make submissions" (Linda, personal communication, May 16, 2012).

A similar point was made by Nicole : "A big part of the problems, it's so sad that our community they blow the whistle but when they must take action then everyone is quiet. So I really want to motivate how people must to blow the whistle. But the thing is in this township where we stay we are so familiar hey Nikki" (Nicole, personal communication, May 16, 2012).

There is also a lack of community spirit according to Linda "...we don't have a spirit no one takes responsibility" (Linda, personal communication, May 16,2012). This lack of community participation may also be worsened by the fact that people feel their opinions are not taken seriously by policy makers.

There are incidences of miscommunication which people discussed for example Pastor Links complained about the act since the Captain of the police station, Captain Dicks, told another pastor that any person without a criminal record is allowed to open a shebeen. The following quote highlights this miscommunication:

"...Another pastor Pickering met with Captain Dicks his head of the police station here in Atlantis. This pastor met with Captain Dicks and head of the liquor board. But the pastor ended up being so angry because he was told that anyone that wants to open up a shebeen in the area which has a clean criminal record and who the community cannot point a finger to and who is righteous can now open a shebeen according to the new liquor law. This Pastor Pickering does not want a shebeen opening right next to his house. We were all very angry when he told us. But this is what he Captain Dicks said to Pickering. Captain Dicks also told him that a license will be granted to that person" (Pastor Links, personal communication, May 9, 2012).

This misunderstanding endures despite the fact that community wide meetings were held in order to explain the regulations of the act. Charlene claims that the Chairperson of the CPF attended two workshops which explained the act with the Provincial Liquor Board.

“Yes, yes with the liquor board. We did have in February month, we did have a person here a Mr. Windvoegel also from the liquor board was here. And spoke to the community to explain to them how the license works. And how the liquor board works and what hours are allowed and what hours are not”(Charlene, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

I also asked Officer Hendricks if people know about the new liquor act he said that “People know about it they say they don’t but they do. Officer Dicks speaks about the liquor law on the community radio all the time he has spoken a lot about it” (Officer Hendricks, personal communication, May 7, 2012).Therefore, there is a lot of miscommunication leading to frustration from shebeen owners and the community regarding the act.

5.1.7) Conclusion

In conclusion, economic marginalisation and shebeens are interlinked as people turn to shebeens out of economic necessity. This has implications for social relations and the act political views and the views towards liquor of the residents living in Atlantis intersect. The shebeeners were already disillusioned by politics before the act was implemented. To a certain extent the implementation of the act has caused shebeeners to feel anger since their livelihoods are threatened. They also feel marginalized since they identify themselves as poor and they have claimed that politicians, political parties and government do not value their views.

Shebeeners themselves dislike liquor and only sell it since it is a necessary evil. They do not have any other means for survival and are forced to sell alcohol. This has been proven by pointing out Mrs. April’s attitude towards shebeens and the fact that all the women stated they have no other choice but to operate shebeens. The participants who are community key role players also agree that liquor in general has a negative impact on Atlantis it is the cause of many social ills such as domestic abuse. The overwhelmingly negative views have been shown above. However, the community officials continuously indicated that women who own shebeens in particular are forced to do so as previously stated. Since they are poor and there are no work opportunities in Atlantis. They agree with the women that selling liquor is not ideal and that shebeen owners are stigmatized.



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CHAPTER SIX: THE POLITICS OF INFORMALITY IN ATLANTIS

6.1) Introduction

As shown by this thesis informality impacts the community greatly. This chapter will look at the political implications of informality in Atlantis. It will focus on the community and shebeen owner politics and how it is shaped by informality to show that the act has not impacted party allegiance to a great extent. In order to substantiate this finding the politics of informality in Atlantis, the party allegiance towards the ANC and DA will be examined. There after informal networks the inclusiveness theory and Bayat and Chatterjee's theories shall be applied to the Atlantis case.

6.2) Networks

As mentioned previously the political elite are concerned with the swift increase of informality. Lindell does argue that often elites recognise this immense informality as a political danger and in many locales resort to forceful measures to reduce it. Elites frequently use informality for their own gain or view it as a source of votes as well (Ibid, 2010, p.208).

Du Toit & Neves argue that informal businesses not only created for economic gain but for social reasons as well (Du Toit & Neves, 2012, p.134-135). All the shebeen owners I spoke to knew each other. The community is not that large however shebeen owners know each other from fundraising events and due to partaking in meetings with the Communtiy Police Forum. Du Toit and Neves claim also that informal businesses rarely function without governing systems or organizations; regulation is performed via networks, normally beyond government control (Ibid, 2012, p.136-137). In Atlantis there is no formal or informal organization which regulates shebeeners amongst themselves. However, all of the shebeens sell their beer for the same price, I found this out by accident as it was not part of my research through informal discussions and when visiting shebeens in the area. Thus amongst the respondents I spoke to though there is some social relations which have developed amongst shebeen owners.

6.3) The views of the community towards the DA and ANC

The views in Atlantis regarding political parties, government and political officials tend to be negative. The shebeen owners tended to be more vocal in their responses when compared to

the broader community. However there are dissenting views as some respondents felt that the DA is attempting to improve Atlantis. Many respondents felt that no development has taken place in Atlantis.

In reference to the DA a licensed shebeener claimed that “They reason and talk and talk but there is no action” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). She went on to say that a meeting between shebeeners, the Western Cape Liquor Board and the DA has not resulted in job creation even though the matter was discussed. “At the last meeting with the liquor board, the police and the Western Cape government the DA said they are going to provide work. But people’s circumstances in Atlantis is bad they are not educated what work can they do” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Bill a member of the CPF believes that the DA does not do anything in Atlantis and no change has occurred in the community. His views are represented by the following quote “No nothing has happened they have done nothing there are no changes in the area. Nothing is better it is still the same” He went on to say that he does not view the DA differently because of the act as shown by the quote “No they have done absolutely nothing they are not better at all. They are worth nothing. The new liquor act that they implemented is something that the ANC had on the table long ago now they just come and implement it” (Bill, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

A party secretary of the ANC Grant, argues that the Western Cape Liquor Act will take away the rights of the impoverished and feels that the DA is not working for the people “This is part of the politics of the Western Cape. The Western Cape government is pushing for this too takes away the rights of the poor. The police must police and follow the law but how can you punish and close down someone who sells alcohol. Who is not doing anything wrong? They don’t do anything for the people”(Grant, personal communication, May 15, 2012). Gill a shebeen owner however believes that the ANC does help her, and that it is the liquor board which opposes shebeens. “The commissioners don’t work right. But if I call the ANC they help me. They help me the board (liquor board) is opposed to us” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). However a fellow shebeen owner Lilly disagreed with Janet “No I don’t agree with that. They just make promises” (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). This view was shared by another shebeen owner named Rose “They are all worthless. They do nothing for us or the people of Atlantis” (Rose, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

Pastor Brown who has a congregation in Atlantis is opposed to the act. According to him no consultation occurred during the creation of the act, he opposes the act. He said "...now with the new government both the local and national if they wanted to solve problems in the community then the churches was consulted to help solve the problem. But this new people keep them clever they ask friends for advice not us as churches" He clearly he feels excluded from decisions made by politicians in his community (Pastor Brown , personal communication, May 9, 2012). Charlene added that she does not follow politics "No changes have occurred Atlantis is still a grey small town. There is still no changes the last thing I saw was in May. Changes occurred when we had a youthful councillor Leibad. There was a lot of development, because you could send him everywhere and he would go there to look. The councillor in this ward now, I am not opposed to her. But there is here and there when something is done" (Charlene, personal communication, May 8, 2012).

Sergeant Loch also stated that she does not follow politics, but she thinks that maybe the DA is trying to improve Atlantis by implementing the act. When asked whether the act will increase community support for the DA she replied "I don't really know I don't follow politics but maybe they are trying to make things better here" (Sergeant Loch, personal communication, May 9, 2012). Whilst Mrs April an ex illegal shebeen owner reported that "I don't vote for the DA, it isn't about a party. If I look at myself I see my old small house and I feel they don't help people. Just in the moment before the vote then they help" (Mrs April, personal communication, April 28, 2013). She feels that politicians are not helping her or her community, and when they do it is in order to gain votes. Dorothy another shebeen owner felt the same way "I don't like the ANC or DA they do nothing" (Dorothy, personal communication, April 28, 2013).

Nonetheless, there are people who have a more positive view of the DA. Elise believes the act is a good attempt at reducing the issues caused by shebeens "I think it's something good that they are trying. I stay next to a smokkel house, I came across it already where the bottles are thrown there and the condoms lay there, for me it's a good idea that they have" (Carly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Nicole a ward councillor of the DA in Atlantis reported that the act will result in more support for the DA. "I think there will be a difference according to the act because, the DA is only reacting to the crime in Atlantis the complaints

of the community. What can we do, so it is by time that we must react too? And act on the challenges we have in this community” (Nicole, personal communication, May 16, 2012).

Officer Hendricks (who is the designated liquor officer of Atlantis) said that the national liquor act is a positive law , when asked about the ANC’s stance towards shebeens he replied “They are trying to tackle the issue the national liquor act they implemented is a good thing”(Officer Hendricks, personal communication, May 7, 2012). However he feels that the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 will only result in the legalization of shebeens “The act is only dealing with legalizing shebeens they will be legal but they won’t be better they just going to pay taxes. It won’t solve the problem. But let me say we are neutral. I may not declare that I am pro this or pro that we apply the law as it is supposed to be applied. People who don’t drink alcohol and don’t like it will think the act is good. But people who drink will think they are being mistreated and disadvantaged by the act because now they can’t drink after certain hours” (Officer Hendricks, personal communication, May 7, 2012).

Moreover, most of the respondents claimed that neither the DA nor the ANC has done anything to help uplift people in Atlantis. They stated that there is no sustainable visible change in Atlantis. Many of the respondent also stated that they are tired of election promises which are not fulfilled. In addition to these negative views, it was fairly difficult to get respondents talking about their political attitudes. Many of them would state that they do not follow politics or are not interested in politics, and required further prompting to reply to the questions.

In addition residents often pointed out that their views are not heard by the DA or ANC and that politicians do not consult with the community. The Western Cape government targeted only certain areas with the liquor act. Pollock 2010 points out that hotels located in residential communities can remain open till 2:00 am, wine estates may sell liquor on Sundays from 9:00am to 18:00pm and champagne breakfasts are legal. As shown in the literature review by Ndenze (2012) De Lille stated that “some areas are recognised social spots with minimal disruptive potential” (Ndenze, 2012, no pg.). Shebeens are seen as crime hotspots and are regulated in a different manner. However, this proves that the law is not treating all people equally. A shebeen owner Lilly said in the first focus group with shebeen owners that “White people are used to different distribution of liquor we come from it. They are not used to shebeening to houses in residential areas but we are. I think they are scared it might spread to

there areas” (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Grant the ANC ward secretary similarly reported “... its white people who now see shebeens they don’t like it. They are afraid it will spread to their areas, they oppose shebeens...” (Grant, personal communication, May 15, 2012). The poor are required to abide by a different set of rules, since all residential shebeens are supposed to be shut down by the act. This is because the rezoning of land is a costly and cumbersome process, which most shebeen owners in Atlantis cannot comply with.

Gill a licensed shebeen owner said that she feels that the DA does not implement solutions faced by the community “They reason and talk and talk but there is no action. At the last meeting the police and the Western Cape government the DA said they are going to provide work. But peoples in Atlantis circumstances is bad they are not educated what work can they do” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

However, this resentment existed before the implementation of the act. Nonetheless the situation has worsened this situation creating a sense of being marginalized by the state amongst the shebeen owners and the wider community. When asked about their views towards the ward councillors in the area Candice said “They drive big vans, new vans. I sell 10 cases and then I pay R1000 for it I make only R200. I can’t buy a car” (Candice, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Whilst Molly replied and said “The electricity is so expensive, we can almost not afford it. But them they live comfortably” (Molly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Belinda also commented on the councillors “They drive with four by four’s and mini coopers”(Belinda, personal communication, May 17, 2012). In addition to this Lilly pointed out the unemployment issues “Where we must get decent work? What are the councillors thinking they know there isn’t work in Atlantis” (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012).

Community officials who were not political officials such as ward councillors mostly reported that they dislike politics and political processes. They no longer have faith in politicians, political parties or government, similarly to the shebeen owners. The community feels marginalized they complain about lack of development lack of services and jobs, this is in line with arguments made by shebeen owners. Both the community and shebeen owners therefore feel despondent when it comes to politicians. However ,they are ambivalent towards liquor and politicians since they need the income from selling liquor or identify why others

must sell liquor but dislike the practice. Moreover the community and shebeeners understand that politicians are needed and government has to run the area and country, but they dislike government as well. This attitude provides insight into why the voter turnout of Atlantis is not that much lower when compared to the provincial and national voter turnout averages. Thus, the attitude adopted by shebeeners and the community towards shebeens and political parties are the same; in other words shebeen owners and community members are ambivalent towards shebeens and political parties.

Shebeen owners feel that it is the general attitude of government both the ANC and DA government towards shebeens, and the entire community of Atlantis that has caused many issues in the community. As previously mentioned the DA governs Atlantis and the act was implemented by the DA, but the community continues to vote the DA in to power as seen in the electoral data. This further proves that political parties are seen as needed, but are not viewed as a positive force for change in the community. Liquor policy and politics therefore, intersect and both create increased ambivalence towards political parties. The legal impact of liquor policy has been marginal. Shebeen owners continue their illegal businesses. The general public of Atlantis also continues with their daily lives and report that the act has not changed anything in Atlantis. Moreover, due to the pre-existing disillusionment with politics and government officials the act has impacted the community.. It is difficult to state to what extent but it had a minimal impact on political allegiance. Bill for example when asked about the DA stated “No they have done absolutely nothing they are not better at all. They are worth nothing. The new liquor act that they implemented is something that the ANC had on the table long ago now they just come and implement it” (Bill, personal communication, May 8, 2012). The views of shebeeners and key role players of the Atlantis community have therefore, been discussed proving that there has been long standing dissatisfaction with politics and politicians in the community. The act only had a minimal impact on political allegiance.

6.4) Inclusiveness theory

Shulz-Herzenberg’s (2009) views on inclusiveness and how the voters are drawn to parties which they deem inclusive have been outlined above. Most of the respondents felt that both the DA and ANC are not inclusive. Naturally, the political officials all felt positively about their respective parties, but the overwhelming majority of people interviewed and who

attended the focus groups had negative views of the ANC and DA because they felt excluded by the parties. They complained about poor service delivery, a continued lack of development and socio-economic challenges which are not being addressed by either party. There was a sense of discontent with political officials and the political system across the board. In addition people also made mention of empty promises from politicians especially during the election campaigning period used to garner voter support. The poor are usually targeted by these politicians and are given or promised things in order to secure their votes. Most of the respondents said that they do not follow politics and that they do not care about politics. There were also respondents which stated that politicians are disconnected from poor citizens as they do not know what it is like to live in poverty and that they are unable to help improve their condition as a result.

The theory suggests that voters use partisan ties to make their political choices. However, my research in Atlantis reveals that most of the respondents do not have partisan ties, suggesting that their party identification is low. Moreover cognitive mobilization levels in SA are low as shown by Schulz-Herzenberg's (2009). Atlantis has a low education rate, only 0.3 percent of the populace has a tertiary level education. Apoliticals who are uninterested in politics and therefore, do not vote make up the majority of South African voters and in Atlantis amongst the respondents there is a similar trend. Thus, many respondents claimed that they do not vote and that they never will since all political parties are inadequate and do not deliver on their promises. For instance both Lilly and Mrs. April believe that political parties only try to gain votes before the election campaign, and therefore they make false promises to the electorate. Lilly reported that "They hand out dry Weetbix to the children and people. And then the people fight over it. There isn't even a little milk with the Weetbix. But when you must vote just before then, then they do a lot for the people" (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). "I don't vote for the DA. It isn't about a party. If I look at myself I see my old small house and I feel they don't help people. Just in the moment before the vote then they help" (Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2013). The other shebeen owners in this focus group did not want to comment.

The political views expressed by the shebeen owners were therefore, mostly negative. Only one shebeen owner had a positive view of the ANC, Gill said "The commissioners don't work right. But if I call the ANC they help me" (Gill, personal communication, May 17,

2012). This dissatisfaction stems from the fact that realistically the standard of living in the area has decreased and crime has become a major problem in the area. The area is also not attracting enough new investors since its location is far away from the central business and manufacturing districts of Cape Town. These views prove that although shebeen owners and some community members view the act as a government intervention imposed on them without proper consultation, the act has not had a dramatic impact on party alligence. The voters of Atlantis were unhappy with politics, politicians and political parties before the act was implemented. The act is therefore, just another form of marginalization according to most of the respondents

6.5) Interaction with politics

This section will discuss how people of Atlantis relate to informal politics by using the theories of Bayat, the silent encroachment theory (2000) and Chatterjee, the politics of the governed theory (2004). It will illustrate how the community interacts with politicians and politics.

6.5.1) Bayat and Atlantis

Bayat's (2000) argument is particularly relevant to the findings of this thesis. According to Bayat, poor people in the cities of the global South have to depend on themselves; they cannot follow the rules established by their governments. Bayat uses cases from the Middle East to show that poor people use stealth in order to survive, so for example an informal trader operating illegally will hide their stall when police raids occur. Unemployment is usually high in places where informality is high and people lack the skill and knowledge needed to enter the formal work force. They therefore, do not have another choice but are forced to partake in the informal economy. As shown in the previous chapter, the illegal shebeen owners of Atlantis consciously break the law in order to survive. Thus, after the police raid they will continue to sell their goods. With government unwilling or unable to meet everyone's needs, for example with employment, there is insufficient spending on social programs which in turn has reduced the access to decent education, health care services, progress and government housing (Bayat, 2000, p.534). Moreover, unemployment figures have increased in the Global South.

Bayat seeks to discuss how the urban poor have responded to this situation (Ibid, 2000, p.535). He asks how the poor partake in city life given that they now have to provide for themselves. Bayat says that people first 'encroach', that is, they silently break the law in order to survive without letting the authorities see their activities. Land invasion is an example of people silently encroaching. This happens because people do not have houses, or cannot afford to rent accommodation but must live somewhere. Hence, they erect informal structures on empty tracts of land. Moreover, land invaders do not let the authorities know that they are illegally moving onto state or privately owned land. The state must then either accept the squatters and if the state tries to evict them, only then does organized protest from the illegal occupants manifest. In this case shebeen owners open up shebeens without informing authorities; most of them started their businesses before trying to obtain a license. However, they all sought to obtain a license afterwards.

The state could however, allow the squatters to live on the land and supply them with electricity for example. The state therefore, sometimes accommodates citizens who partake in illegal, informal practices. Thus shebeen owners have operated in residential areas in townships for years as shown by La Hausse (1992) writings. Bayat defines quiet encroachment as "non-collective but prolonged direct action by individuals and families to acquire the basic necessities of their lives (land for shelter, urban collective consumption, informal jobs, business opportunities and public space) in a quiet and non-assuming fashion" (Ibid, p.536). Bayat's theory will be linked to the findings of this thesis in order to prove that the shebeen owners and community at large fall within the surviving poor category and are partaking in quiet encroachment.

6.5.2) Passive Atlantis

Bayat discusses how the literature on the political behaviour of the urban poor has variously characterised these people as the passive poor, the surviving poor, the urban territorial movement and the daily resisting poor. These categories offer competing ways of understanding the poor, they cannot exist together. Bayat claims that many theorists still believe that the poor do not actively engage in the political sphere and that they merely focus on surviving resulting in a political passivity. Bayat (2000, p.538) cites Lewis on how the poor in America came to adopt a culture of "fatalism, rootlessness, unadaptability, traditionalism, criminality, lack of ambition and so on". Although Lewis sympathized with

the poor this analysis of a passive culture of poverty led to the development of policies in the USA which were effectively anti-poor. Bayat claims that this anti poor stance created by Lewis spread and was later adopted by elites residing in the global South (Bayat, 2000, p.538).

The shebeen owners of Atlantis are poor, but they are not part of the passive poor. Shebeen owners have shown adaptability to their circumstances. Many of them mentioned that they could not find other work in the area given the fact that factories are closing down in the area. For example, as previously shown Mrs. April stated that both her husband and she were retrenched. “The time when my husband and I was working we were both retrenched, so we decided to open up a shebeen. And it started when we first had a house mobile. We started that then we started selling liquor and our good sold well” (Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2012). They then opened up a tuck shop and thereafter sold alcohol because they were not making a viable profit from operating a tuck shop. “To give you my honest opinion a mobile, those who have mobiles don’t actually make money. It’s like as you get in it goes out again. This is what happens here. But it isn’t so with liquor” (Mrs Johnson, personal communication, April 28, 2012). Thus, Atlantis residents are trying to make a living for themselves.



6.5.3) Surviving Atlantis

The ‘surviving’ or ‘survivalist’ category of poor is characterized by Bayat as being active in guaranteeing their existence (Bayat, 2000, p.539). They aim to survive but they also later aim to gain from the state they therefore, start encroaching in order to live and later demand more services from the state. Thus, they gain services such as waste removal services provided to informal settlements (Ibid, 1997, p.56). Homeless people in South Africa might therefore, choose to construct informal settlements in order to have a place to stay. They will later demand access to water although they did not have access to water before. This all leads to the state having to formalise this informality as the state must now provide water to the informal settlement. According to Bayat (2000, p.38) they survive by using means which are not always authorized by the governments which rule them:

“...Thus, to counter unemployment or price increases, they often resort to theft, begging, prostitution or the reorientation of their consumption pattern; to respond to

famine and war, they choose to leave their home places even if emigration is discouraged by the authorities...”(Bayat,2000,p.38).

An example of this kind of politics applies to the residents of Witsands an informal settlement just outside of Atlantis, Mainly from the rural Eastern Cape; these migrants have created an informal settlement on the outskirts of Atlantis in hopes of providing a better future for themselves and their families. According to Stafford (2005) as discussed in the introduction, some of the first people to settle and erect shacks in the settlement were migrant workers from the Eastern Cape, whereas other early dwellers came from Atlantis after having lost their jobs as farmworkers, having been evicted from their houses or moved from backyard shacks in nearby residential townships (in Emanuelsen Bohlin, 2013, p.13).

But, Bayat also indicates that “... their survival is at the cost to themselves or their fellow humans”, he claims they break the law and the community has to accept their law breaking (Ibid, 2000, p.539). Thus, people who illegally use electricity tapped from electricity poles could die whilst connect the wires; the community also has to pay more for their legal electricity to cover the loss that the state incurs. Accordingly people who own shebeens in Atlantis are stigmatized by the community as previously discussed there is an anti- shebeen attitude that has been adopted by the many residents of Atlantis. The varied negative responses from the community show that the community is not happy with residential shebeens. Moreover, there are substance abuse issues and social problems widely associated with shebeens. Despite this, the community allows illegal shebeens to operate in recognition of a harsh economic reality. Thus, in Atlantis there has not been formalized opposition against the act of shebeens in the area. There are community based organizations operating in the area such as soup kitchens, an alcoholics anonymous support group, the community police forum, various flats committees and church activities to name a few. But, I did not find groups opposed to liquor or drug use which has conducted protests in the area. I searched news reports and could not find any reporting on anti-shebeen protests either.

It is therefore, evident by looking at the various community groups in Atlantis that the ‘survivalist’ theory is narrow in scope, and does not capture the full reality of social life in Atlantis. Bayat believes that this theory defines poor people as only participating in actions which ensure their survival. However, the poor also become politically engaged too.

Consequently Bayat states that they defend their encroachment and, thereby, become politically active. For instance by protesting their eviction from their shacks or protesting the closure of their illegal businesses (Bayat, 2000, p.539). In Atlantis the community is involved in various community based organizations. Such as the All stars NGO which I learnt about it the second focus group; they also do partake in elections showing that although they dislike politics they are involved in it.

6.5.4) Political Atlantis

Various theories linked to community based organization and mobilisation emerged to challenge beliefs that the poor were passive and that a culture of poverty existed. According to Bayat, Latin American authors purported that impoverished people are not marginal but are incorporated into the social order both economically and politically. Thus, Portes Castells (1989) contend that impoverished people were made to feel trivial, financially subjugated, oppressed in the political arena, shamed socially and barred culturally from an oppressive society model. Despite this poverty stricken individuals are politically engaged, they partake in party politics, voting and conventional monetary transactions too.

In Atlantis many respondents did not want to discuss their political views. There seemed to be a fear of discussing political views, and both the shebeeners and community members were reluctant to provide answers to certain questions. Nevertheless, they have founded their own community based organizations. Bayat indicates that in Latin America community based organizations are formed around location:

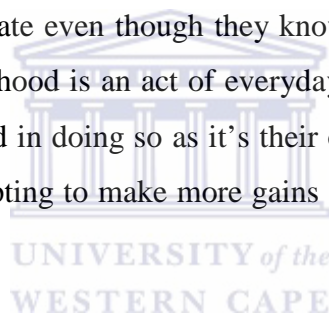
...community associations, barrios, consumer organizations, soup kitchens, squatter support groups, church activities and the like were understood as manifesting organized and territorially based movements of the poor...(Bayat, 2000, p.540).

Similarly to the case in Latin America there are social organizations in Atlantis based on geographic location. Atlantis has a community police forum, alcoholics anonymous support group, various flats committees, soup kitchens, a women and children's shelter etc. Moreover, Bayat indicates that the indigent may differ from each other. He claims the poor are not all poor in the same way, some are better off than others. As shown in the shebeen case in the previous chapter, some shebeen owners make profits which they are happy with at times. But, the poor share a mutual community as they live with each other. Hence, creating

and being active in social movements which are based on territory is a logical step for destitute persons. However, as previously mentioned shebeen owners in Atlantis do not form part of any shebeen association. They have created an informal network as many shebeen owners know each other and communicate with one another as shown above. But, they do not have a formal organization which represents their interests.

6.5.5) Resisting Atlantis

The residents of Atlantis also fall within the resisting poor category. This contradicts Bayat's views as he writes that the poor can only inhabit one category at a time. They can be either classified as surviving poor, or as resisting poor, but not both. For Bayat, the resisting poor group is characterized by various kinds of engagement and this can be individual, on a small scale and or community based. Thus "small-scale, every day, tiny activities which the agents could afford to articulate given their political constraints" (Bayat, 2000, p.541). The fact that shebeen owners continue to operate even though they know their actions are illegal because they have no other form of livelihood is an act of everyday resistance. They are consciously breaking the law but feel justified in doing so as it's their only means of survival. For Bayat defending gains made and attempting to make more gains are both forms of "encroachment" (Ibid, 2000, p.543).

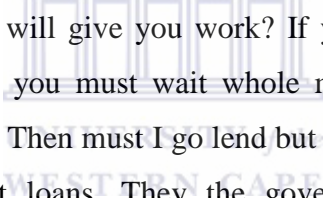


The gains in the case of shebeen owners are the income from the shebeens that they operate. Moreover, this form of everyday resistance does not usually dispute the dominance of the state plus the state generally encourage individuals to help themselves and supports community projects as long as these groups do not become an opposing force towards the states rule (Ibid, 2000, p. 545). In Atlantis shebeen owners have not openly opposed the local ruling government namely the DA or the national government, the ANC. They have kept under the radar politically, as is typical of 'quiet encroachment'.

As previously stated, the responses in both focus groups with shebeen owners do show however, that there is an overwhelmingly negative attitude towards politics and political parties. Shebeen owners have sought to provide themselves with work given that they believe the state has been unable to do so. Thus, they are not publicly protesting but their individual action is a form of protest. Bayat's argument is therefore mostly in line with shebeeners actions. The quote proves this argument:

“Consequently, in place of protest or publicity, these groups move directly to fulfil their needs by themselves, albeit individually and discreetly. In short, theirs is not a politics of protest, but redress, a struggle for an immediate outcome through individual direct action” (Bayat, 2000, p.548).

Bayat believes that this resistance occurs in order to accomplish two goals. Firstly, to gain reallocation of public goods and opportunities, thus for example illegal shebeen owners start shebeens and create their own jobs. Secondly, the poor seek to maintain their independence from state control – and perhaps this aligns with a reluctance to secure licenses by some shebeeners. They therefore, operate outside of the formal boundaries of society as much as possible (Ibid, 2000, p.548). Brenda a shebeen owner who partook in the second focus group mentioned how she cannot make a loan from a formal banking institution so she makes use of informal money lenders:



“If you are 50,60,65 who will give you work? If you get pension you get R1000 a month. Pension is R1200 you must wait whole month for that money. You have children who go to school. Then must I go lend but they charge me interest R200 on a R100. And we can't get loans. They the government doesn't check our food cupboards. Then you have to sell a case or 2 of beers to continue” (Brenda, personal communication, April 28, 2013).

Illegal shebeen owners also supply themselves with work, in order to generate an income. Nonetheless, all the illegal shebeen owners stated that they would prefer becoming formal licensed business owners. But, they reported that the law prevents them from becoming legal business owners. They do not choose informality but are forced to operate in the informal sphere as shown in the previous chapter. Thus, the poor are not anti- formalization or modernity but their living conditions force them to function in the informal sector (Bayat, 2000, p, 549). Bayat agrees and states that “...Poverty and vulnerability drive them to seek autonomy from the state and modern institutions” (Bayat, 1997, p.60). Only one shebeener stated that her shebeen was closed down in 2012. Mrs April said in the second focus group with shebeen owners stated “I am now closed down” (Mrs. April, personal communication,

April 28, 2013). To which Brenda replied “She didn’t close down on her own. The police closed her down (Brenda, personal communication, April 28, 2013).

As pointed out by the overwhelming majority of respondents. At the moment the cost of formality in the shebeens sector is too high. Gill said “The rezone thing, they are crazy. I’m not crazy. I paid for a license already now I must pay again” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). Whilst Margaret Swartz replied “Rezone is R5000. I’m also not crazy. Where must the money come from” (M. Swartz, personal communication, May 17, 2012). There was often debate surrounding regulations for example the discussion between Brenda and Mrs. April “You are allowed according to what I understand but you must have a separate entrance flat. We have a house mobile in the front and liquor at the back” (Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2013). Brenda however, disagreed and said “I spoke to Hendricks that was in the past. You must have a separate entrance for another business” (Brenda, personal communication, April 28, 2013). This shows that the shebeen owners themselves do not know all the regulations which they must adhere to, as this is just one example of shebeen owners disagreeing to stipulations in the act. The negative views towards shebeens and liquor of the Atlantis community have already been discussed.

Shebeen owners did not explicitly state why they wanted to become formalized, however, many of them complained about fines and police raids as discussed before. “You sit at the end of the day with almost nothing, because of the fines you must pay” (Lilly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). “Over the weekends they fine a lot” (Gill, personal communication, May 17, 2012). “I was recently fined R1500” (Molly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). “Monday they made a scandal at my house the police, but I am just smokkeling for the pot (shebeening to feed my family)” (Molly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). And Brenda said “My liquor was carried out 4 times. The fine was R250 so I went to SA Breweries to get my permit and show I did apply for a license. I went to try and get a rezoning certificate” (Brenda, personal communication, April 28, 2013). The fines and raiding may be why these women want to become legal liquor traders. However, despite the raids and fining these shebeen owners continue to trade. There is also a liquor service in Atlantis where people sell alcohol from a car after 12 pm at night; two ladies whom I spoke with who live in the area told me about this person who sells liquor from his car. One of the ladies I spoke to during an informal

discussion the other one I interviewed. This man who sells liquor from his car, customers call him and then he delivers the liquor to their homes. He only supplies to people whom he trusts given that his activities are illegal (Courtney, personal communication, May 16, 2012). The fact that this service exists indicates that the illegal sale of liquor is continuing in the area. Thus the informal liquor industry continues to function, even though the act has been implemented.

6.5.6) The Quiet Encroachment of Atlantis

The quiet encroachment of the ordinary is the quiet but nonetheless widespread progression of poor individuals upon the exclusions of the formal order. This is done so that the poor can ensure survival and enhance their living conditions (Bayat, 2000, p.545). Bayat argues that in “quiet encroachments, the struggles to achieve these unlawful goals are hardly planned or articulated” (Bayat, 1997, p.61). Thus, shebeen owners have just started shebeens without consulting the state or creating a plan. “This is marked by quiet, largely atomized and prolonged mobilization with episodic collective action-open and fleeting struggles without clear leadership, ideology or structured organization”(Bayat, 2000,p.546). The shebeen owners’ resistance to the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008 is not formally planned or expressed. They do not have a formal or informal organization representing them. But, despite the stricter regulations of the act most shebeen operators are continuing with shebeening. Thus they are not publicly articulating their demands but are simply running their illegal and informal businesses daily.

The shebeen owners and the community at large do justify the illegality of shebeens as they all believe that shebeens are a means of survival. Therefore illegality is seen as the only recourse which the poor has to survive. He adds:

In the Middle Eastern culture, the notion of necessity, the notion of ‘necessity’- the necessity of maintaining a ‘dignified life’- underlies the poor people’s sense of justice. This moral stance is normally are used by the poor to “justify their acts of transgression” (Bayat, 1997, p.60).

This stance has been adopted by the community of Atlantis as well. Mrs. April for instance replied to Brenda and said:

“Ignore your neighbours. I also found that. My thing is I have children and we must survive. If I now put my first son maybe he dearly wants to become a doctor through the University of Stellenbosch and I want to help him. If the first one is through then I think maybe. I mean it’s not a period of months, it’s a period of years and it’s going to cost money. And that’s what I’m striving for. I can’t now look at people who are going to bring me down. Cause why it’s going to keep me stand by my child” (Mrs. April, personal communication, April 28, 2013).

Molly said “Monday they made a scandal at my house the police, but I am just smokkeling for the pot”(Molly, personal communication, May 17, 2012). The poverty they experience and lack of alternatives is therefore used to justify their continued trading of liquor.

Notably, the quiet encroachment of the ordinary is not a social movement, but it is distinct from simply surviving or the daily opposition model as the wealthy and the government pays for the advancements of the penniless (Bayat, 2000, p.546). The rich have to pay for all their services. However the poor will tap electricity poles and use municipal electricity without paying for it. In Atlantis the residents of Witsands have done this. The impoverished in the area therefore gain electricity from municipal electricity connections, not from their poor neighbours.

This opposition from the poor contests key governmental aims, for example, how orderliness and management of communal space is defined. This includes how public and private resources are managed and the significance of modern institutions and practices (Bayat, 2000, p.546). In Atlantis there are various flea markets operating outside of the shopping centre in the middle of the community. There are also various fruit and vegetable stalls, people also sell braai meat, there are shoe repair stalls, informal taxis, tuckshops, hairdressers and barber shops as well. This is only some of the informal businesses operating in the community. These business people tend to use state owned land or private land to run their businesses. They operate without trading permits; they are redefining the space which they live in. Moreover as stated above Brenda, a shebeen owner sometimes makes loans at informal money lenders, given that banks do not want to grant her a loan. This community is therefore, struggling to survive and by doing, they are by passing the modern institutions such as banks which operate in the formal sector. They are partaking in informality in order to survive.

Usually the indigent steer clear of joint action. Thus, residents of informal settlements prevent other people deemed outsiders from erecting shacks in their community. Nonetheless the nature of the survival actions of the poor make them become a “social force” (Bayat, 2000, p.548). Therefore, Bayat’s arguments are in line with the situation of the residents of Atlantis and shebeen owners living in the area. The poor are not always able to hold demonstrations as they often function outside of the formal system through which they can articulate their complaints and insist on their requests. They do not have the ability to disrupt in the form of strikes for example (Bayat, 2000, p.548).

6.5.7) Atlantis Becoming Politically Active

The quiet encroachment of the poor is done without party political motives. In other words they break the law in order to survive, not in order to conduct political protests. However, the poor will usually become politically conscious once their way of life and advancements are threatened. This leads to them defending their advancements in a cooperative and visible manner (Bayat, 2000, p.549). However, they can also hold on to the progress which they have made by silent non-compliance, they do not need to use communal protesting. The poor tend to keep their actions concealed and make them seem limited once they are widespread it is often difficult for the state to stop their actions. Thus, crackdowns tend to fail as they are carried out too late (Ibid, 2000, p.550). This creates tension with the government as the cost of free goods and services puts strain on the state. Moreover, wealthy property holders, business people and shop owners lose land, brands and commercial opportunities. This creates a class conflict dimension to the problem.

Poor people often do not form part of formal organizations or networks. A passive network, established through daily routines of co-habitation, this provides a space for the poor to cooperate without functional or intentionally established networks. A threat can therefore, lead to individuals making use of a passive network to communicate and cooperate with each other (Bayat, 2000, p.552). However, usage of a passive network does not always occur. In Cairo for example, street vendors choose to hide away from police raids instead of using passive networks (Ibid, 2000, p.552). In Atlantis the passive network which the community has, has not lead to anti shebeen protests. The passive network amongst shebeen owners has also not lead to marches.

Shebeen owners report that they have long felt oppressed by the community, police and politicians. The act itself is just another form of oppression and is a normal part of living according to shebeeners as shown throughout this thesis. The community also report that they are unhappy with the act as community wide consultation did not occur prior to implementation of the act as previously shown. Bayat believes that poor people will collaborate and coordinate joint resistance once their way of life is threatened. He does however, point out that this does not always occur. Shebeen owners in Atlantis have not protested in their community against the act. Neither has community members protested against the act or shebeens operating in the community. However, the situation in Atlantis clearly aligns with Bayat's (2000) quiet encroachment of the ordinary.

Silent encroachment has therefore occurred amongst shebeen owners. They choose to quietly run their businesses breaking the law without drawing attention to themselves. Although the police have tried to enforce the act their actions have been unsuccessful thus far. This is substantiated by the fact that shebeens still operate in the area illegally. Visible signs are posted to show where shebeens are. Moreover, respondents such as Bill and Andrew stated that shebeens still operate in the area. The poor of Atlantis are therefore resisting and surviving poor. Many shebeen owners report that shebeening is not desirable but that they have to continue their businesses as there are no other viable alternatives. Shebeens are also not replacing the existing social order. Shebeen owners and the community of Atlantis are not replacing the existing order. They are seeking to use informality to generate an income. This case is therefore, clearly more aligned to Bayat's (2000) quiet encroachment of the ordinary theory. This thesis shows that the residents feel marginalized both politically and economically. They do not have trust or faith in politics and thus the act has not dramatically impacted political perception. Shebeeners are angry about the act but the feelings of dissatisfaction with politics existed before the implementation of the act as many of the respondents replied that they do not vote, and or that they do now follow politics. However, no opposition has occurred once the livelihoods of shebeen owners were threaten by the act, shebeen owners as well as other informal traders continue to break the law to survive thereby adopting the quiet encroachment theory of Bayat (2000) to an extent. Thus, the key point is that the act has not had a significant impact on political perception in Atlantis.

6.5.8) Chatterjee and Atlantis

Popular politics is carried out by the poor as they are unable to partake in formal modern institutions of the state. Thus, civil society the political and social order as outlined in the constitution, law and policy, exist in practice only for the middle-classes. The poor however engage the state as populations to be managed by the bureaucracy for their development. The poor also tend to be part of patronage politics mediated by political parties. This is what Chatterjee (2004) calls 'political society'. The poor are classified as populations instead of citizens with rights this allows the state to provide these populations with certain basic services, social goods. The poor cannot solely rely on the state for their welfare as the state argues that it cannot provide goods and services to the entire country as it lacks the resources to do so. Thus, the poor engage in informal and often times illegal activities to provide for themselves (Chaterjee, 2004, p.40).

Shebeen owners in Atlantis have chosen to use illegal businesses to provide for themselves. According to them the state has been unable to provide them with work. Shebeeners recognise that their actions are illegal; however they state that they are forced to operate illegal shebeens. This is in line with Chatterjee's argument as he claims that people who are marginalized and poor will break the law to ensure their survival (Chatterjee, 2004, p. 40). All the shebeen owners stated that if they had other business opportunities or decent work they would not be selling alcohol. Most of the shebeen owners and community members stated that selling liquor is undesirable. They reported that shebeen owners are stigmatized in the area as previously stated. Chatterjee writes that the poor claim that they will stop breaking the law if an alternative was provided. This is in line with the statements of all the shebeen owners that if viable alternatives were provided they would stop shebeening (Ibid, 2002, p.40). Thus, this thesis shows that shebeening is an act of survival and although the shebeeners are aware that they are breaking the law they are not doing so to make a political point. Shebeen owners are poor and need to continue there practices in order to survive.

Politics has however, developed from this situation. The DA government which rules Atlantis has stated that closure of shebeens will reduce health costs of liquor. It also claimed that new job opportunities will be created by the DA, in order to provide alternative work for shebeen owners in the Western Cape. Chatterjee claims that development law is geared towards certain groups and that politics has arisen from this situation. Moreover, the state then treats these groups as tools to run certain welfare policies, these people are not treated as citizens.

Patronage occurs in other words poor citizens receive goods from the state, so that the state can receive support from the poor (Ibid, 2004, p.40). Citizens are all supposed to hold the same equal rights however the poor and marginalized often do not have the ability to exercise their rights. In addition all citizens are formally part of civil society as previously demonstrated (Ibid, 2004, p.38).

Given that civil society only serves the elite according to Chatterjee (2004) whose theory is discussed in the literature. Chatterjee claims that civil society creates increased inequality instead of providing a channel where oppressed people can express themselves. Herrick and Lawhon concur as they claim that the act is specifically targeting impoverished areas (Herrick&Lawhon, 2010). The act makes allowances for champagne breakfast and wine tasting, as the hotel and tourism industry lobbied for this exclusion as these industries argued that their profitability would be harmed if they could not serve liquor before 11am. The previous regulation stated that liquor could only sell from 11am from on consumption establishments. The amended regulation allows for the serving of sparkling wine and wine tastings from 8am. Patricia De Lille of the DA claimed that the law was changed given that “certain areas are identified as having minimum disruptive potential” (Ndenze, 2012, no pg).

The lobbying of shebeen owners did not impact the regulations of the act but the lobbying of the tourism industry and hotel sector did. The trading hours have remained the same for shebeens and all the regulations which make it difficult for shebeen owners to become legal traders are still in place. Although the aim of the act is to regulate the entire liquor industry its regulations are stricter towards shebeens. However, in Atlantis illegal shebeens continue to operate the shebeen owners of shebeens which have been closed down did not link the act to the closure of their businesses. Popular groups tend to formulate organizations albeit informal ones in order to provide for themselves. Shebeen owners open shebeens and trade without licenses in residential areas in order to provide an income for themselves and their dependants. These law breakers continuously break the law and realize that they are. Chaterjee goes on to say “These populations recognise that they are breaking the law, however they argue that they need to do so to survive” (Chaterjee, 2004, p.40). Although the poor in Atlantis are marginalized the DA is more focused on health arguments as shown in the literature than using developmental policy to manage the people of Atlantis.

However, in Atlantis the shebeen owners and poor do not hold equal rights. For example in community meetings held by the community police forum illegal shebeen owners are not allowed to speak in meetings. This is because they run illegal businesses. This does however, violate the right of illegal shebeen owners to express themselves in their community. Many shebeen owners stated that laws are made by the rich, and that wealthy people often do not understand the problems of the poor. The Atlantis community also reported that law makers did not conduct proper consultation when creating the Western Cape Liquor Act and that law makers tend to make them feel excluded. As shown by the comments made by Pastor Brown, informal traders in Atlantis recognise that they are operating illegally. Moreover, as previously mentioned there is an illegal settlement just outside of Atlantis. It is hard for them to speak as an illegal occupier of land too. Impoverished and marginalized people need to gain support for their demands by forging links with elite groups. But, shebeen owners are often poor and do not have access to elites. They also fear collaboration as their work is illegal and by forging ties with elites they might expose themselves and lose their only way to survive economically.

The author mentions how people reside in informal settlements and use water and electricity in order to survive. He claims that the poor form associations and that these groups cannot and are not treated similarly to other public organizations by the state. The government cannot condone the actions of people who are breaking the law, but it cannot ignore them either. The state agrees that the poor have the right to call for these rights. In this case the DA claims that the shebeeners do not have the right to practice as the social and health costs of liquor abuse makes shebeening a destructive practice (Chatterjee, 2004, p.40)

6.5.9) Reflections

The similarities between Bayat and Chaterjee's theory shall now be presented. Both Bayat's quiet encroachment theory (1997, 2000) and Chatterjee's politics of the governed theory (2004) discuss the politics of the poor. Both theories argue that the poor are marginalized. Both state that governments of the global South do not have the capacity to provide for all its citizens. Thus, people living in the third world must provide for themselves. Moreover, the rules of the developing world tend to exclude the poor, thus the poor cannot operate within the formal structures of society. Both theories claim that

the state accepts this reality sometimes as it is unable to provide all its citizens with the same rights. The cost of operating in modern formalized institutions is too high for the poor. The poor hide their survival activities according to both the quiet encroachment and politics of the governed theories. Informal settlements are created by the poor and later demands for water, sanitation and electricity are made, and both theories discuss this. The theories also claim that the poor want to partake in formality and cease their illegal activities however their circumstances force them to be marginalized.

Chatterjee's theory claims that the poor are excluded from civil society and that they form part of political society. Civil society thereby serves the elite. The theory also claims that developmental policy is directed at the poor in order to control the poor. Moreover, the poor are referred to as populations which need to be managed instead of rights bearing citizens. The poor in Atlantis are however, active in politics as shown by the voter participation levels. Plus there are many community based organisations operating in Atlantis as previously mentioned. The quiet encroachment of the ordinary theory applies more directly to this thesis. This is because the DA and the ANC are basing their arguments against shebeens not on the fact they have defined shebeeners as a population to manage but on health and safety concerns. This fact is shown in policy chapter of this thesis. The only part of the politics of the governed theory by Chatterjee which is in line with Atlantis is the fact that the poor will break the law to survive.

Moreover, in Atlantis patronage politics is not occurring to a large extent. Political parties have not been able to drastically improve the standard of living in the area; shown before the majority of the respondents complained about various issues in Atlantis. This includes the high unemployment rate, crime, teenage pregnancy, limited recreational activities etc. Political parties and the state need to be able to gain support from voters by portraying an image of caring by acceding to demands of voters. This has not happened in Atlantis this may be why the respondents held such negative views towards politics and politicians. Thus although Chatterjee's politics of the governed theory applies in some ways to the Atlantis community, it does not fit perfectly. The act has not been able to impact party allegiance in a drastic manner. The disillusionment towards politics existed before the act and remains despite the implementation of the act. The act is not seen as a caring gesture of the DA provincial government or of the ANC national government.

Instead it is seen as a law which will likely fail to be implemented correctly, or which has already failed. In addition is seen as a repressive law imposed on an already marginalized community by politicians which are disconnected from the community.

Therefore, both theories indicate that the poor will seek to provide for themselves if the state fails to do so. Both also claim that the poor will break the law to do so and that modernity tends to cost too much for the poor to practice it. Informality then becomes the only viable alternative as in Atlantis where formal work has been lost due to closure of factories in the community. Shebeen owners are therefore, taking part in illegality in order to survive. The community allows this to continue as they cite poverty as a major problem in Atlantis. Plus since politics and politics are already viewed negatively by the community the act does not impact the political perceptions of the Atlantis community. The community continues to partake in informality in order to survive and resist. Thus, proving that Bayat encroachment of the ordinary theory applies more to this case, plus the act has not impacted political perception in a substantial way.

6.6) Conclusion

In conclusion, the people residing in Atlantis are unhappy with political parties due to the perceived poor responsiveness of public officials and politicians in the area. However, this view is supported by facts as the area is economically depressed and crime ridden. Substantial development has not taken place in the area. Plus people feel that their views are ignored by policy makers. This attitude impacts their perception of the act. Many respondents therefore, claim that the act was imposed upon them without proper consultation and their suggestions regarding the Act have been ignored. Thus, there is a general lack of belief that the act will be successful. The act has increased the discontent which people feel towards politics and politicians not in a large way but the act has had a negative impact on party alligence. Despite this people in Atlantis are active in politics as show by their involvement in community based activities and the voting data. Politics is therefore, disliked but people partake in it. Shebeens are also disliked but continue to operate in the area, thus people have the same attitude towards shebeens and politics. Lastly the fact that shebeens continue to operate proves that Bayat's (2002) theory aligns closer to this case than Chatterjee's (2004). It has been demonstrated in Chapter 5 and 6 that economic marginalization has lead to

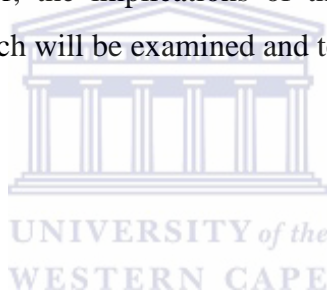
dissatisfaction with politics and this has been a longstanding issue in the community. The act has not created this situation or worsened it to a large extent.



CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The overriding purpose of this study was to uncover what the party allegiances are of the Atlantis community, given that the Western Cape 2008 Liquor Act was implemented in the Western Cape Province. This study has found that people residing in Atlantis feel subjugated by the Western Cape Liquor Act of 2008. The act has therefore created a sense of misgiving amongst the community towards political processes and politicians from both the DA and ANC. Thus the act has done little to prejudice the DA in particular. These findings were uncovered by achieving certain goals, such as creating an in depth literature review, conducting field research and analysing the data. The literature review therefore, had to provide a context for the research; it was then linked to the data collected in the field in the analysis chapters. A brief summary of how the research questions have been answered will therefore be provided. Thereafter, the implications of the findings of this thesis will be discussed; areas for further research will be examined and tentative recommendations shall be provided.



7.2) The summary

The history of liquor used as a mechanism to manage Black and Coloured people was presented. Hence, the tot system and how it created alcohol dependent workers on Western Cape farms was outlined, as was the development of the Beer Halls in Natal and subsequent resistance which led to the creation of illegal shebeens and apartheid era exclusions. The current South African context regarding shebeens was then outlined by looking at the Moral Regeneration Movement which now calls for fewer shebeens in poor areas. In addition, the development of the Western Cape Liquor Bill was summarized to show the political, media and community views of shebeens in the Western Cape Province. Thereafter three international countries namely New Zealand, the United Kingdom and United States liquor policies was discussed to show the differences and similarities to South Africa's liquor policies. This section demonstrated that there is a gap in the literature of studies which links shebeens and politics to each other.

Given that many people living in Atlantis partake in informal economic activities, particularly shebeen owners, debates surrounding the informal economy were considered.

These debates showed that informal economic practices have been viewed as activities of the marginalized but this view has changed. De Soto in Marquez (2010) therefore, shows that informality is used by the poor to provide goods and services to themselves. The poor thereby have taken the initiative to aid themselves as their governments have failed them. Nonetheless, although De Soto sees ownership of land by the poor as key to combating poverty Roy counters this argument. For Roy De Soto is indicating that the poor should be able to partake in the economy the land itself is therefore, a symbol not key to De Soto's argument. The literature review also demonstrates how informality and formality is linked to each other. The case of SAB supplying beer to shebeens is used to strengthen this claim. There is a lack of formal jobs due to marginalisation thus necessitating the operation of shebeens. Neoliberalism is shown to create more informality and women are forming the majority in the informal economy. The economics surrounding informality is therefore clearly demonstrated in the literature.

Informal politics was discussed, thus De Soto in Marquez (2010), Bayat (1997, 2000), Lindell (2010), Du Toit & Neves (2012) and Chatterjee's (2004) theories were presented. These theorists all argue that informal politics is important for the poor and that the poor are political active in an informal way. They do not practice politics in the same way that those who are not poor do. The politics practiced by people of Atlantis is a politics of people who are marginalised, a politics of semi- marginality. Only parts of Chatterjee's (2004) argument applied to Atlantis as people are part of political society they vote and are also part of civil society. They do partake in quite encroachment but also only to a limited extent. This was important in order to examine how people of Atlantis interact with politics, given that the community grapples with the issue of poverty and remain politically active albeit in a limited way.

A discussion of party support theories was also presented. Garcia-Rivero (2006) claims that party support stems from deeply engrained beliefs adopted through socialization. He goes on to say that these beliefs can change. He also states that race is not central to party support. Schulz-Herzenberg (2009) agrees and believes that a political party viewed as inclusive by the electorate will gain the vote of the electorate. Voting behaviour is discussed, and Africa (2002) demonstrates that Coloured voters in the Western Cape vote according to policy issues. Schulz-Herzenberg concurs with this view. Thus all these authors see race as not a key factor in party support. They believe race is a factor though and should be considered but, it

is not the only significant factor which determines party alligence. Christopher Anderson (2009) argues that the state of the economy can impact the vote, but he states that it will only impact party support if the party responsible for the poor economy can be easily identified. Thus, people in Atlantis could blame the DA for their economic hardship if the act becomes successful in the future. Schulz-Herzenberg (2011) demonstrates that the poor do link their hardship to government policy and performance more than those that are not poor. Moreover, Daltons (1984) typology was also discussed and shows how the different categories of voters, vote and when Schulz-Herzenberg (2009) applies the module to South Africa she finds that most South African probably still use partisanship in other words long standing emotional ties to political parties, to guide their political decisions. Once these fundamental steps were achieved, this research was able to go forward. The implications and recommendations that resulted from this study shall now be provided.

7.3) Implications

The rise of informal practices has resulted from the unemployment levels, the low level of education and the fact that many businesses have closed down in Atlantis. In addition Atlantis is located far away from Cape Town's business district; this makes it difficult for the community to seek work outside of Atlantis. This is why shebeen owners smokkel for the pot they are excluded from the formal economy and have no other alternative. The community of Atlantis, this includes the shebeen owners expressed their disapproval towards the DA and ANC. The charitable relief efforts of politicians were seen as election campaign tactics used to garner votes from the poor and vulnerable people residing in the community. The community is sceptic of all politicians and of politics. In particular the act has aggravated this situation, as now the community feels more subjugated by the state. Unfortunately this thesis could not determine if the act was key to party alligence but, it did impact party alligence in a minor way. Shebeeners assert that the act has reduced their earnings, in particular shorter trading hours was blamed for the loss of income. Nonetheless most of the shebeeners carry on operating. The community holds an ambiguous attitude towards shebeens; as they do not condone the presence of shebeens. However, they accept shebeens as part of their daily lives, as no other viable work exists for underprivileged people living in the community. Hence, this thesis found that the act has not been able to eradicate illegal shebeens in Atlantis. These circumstances are similar to the arguments made by Bayat (2000), Chatterjee (2004) and De Soto (1990), which states that people will contravene the law in order to survive if they are

poverty-stricken Moreover, shebeen owners and the community members were both reluctant to share political views.

Despite this dislike of politics shebeen owners are involved in politics, but they are not politically aware. In other words they do not know that their continued shebeening is in itself a form of political protest as shown by Bayat's (2000) argument. The views of shebeen owners have not been taken into account by the state as the socio-economic burden of alcoholism has been in the forefront of the debates directed at shebeens. It is a reality that shebeen owners would be unable to gain access to formal jobs. Furthermore, South Africa suffers from a high unemployment and inequality its conditions therefore, are not conducive to eradicating informal economic activity. This argument shows that although the law in the Western Cape might not be conducive to the informal sale of alcohol operators will continue to do so, as they have no other means of economic activity. This thesis found that at the moment the cost of formality in the shebeens sector is too high thus, informality is the only way the community can survive. De Soto (1990), Chatterjee (2004) and Bayat all argue that informality is the only way the poor can survive.

Moreover, the residents view alcohol as the cause of crime, violence and many other social issues; this is in line with the argument presented by Herrick and Lawhon (2013). It was interesting that although the community complains about the destructive nature of shebeens they largely did not support the act. This is because many respondents indicated that criminalizing shebeens will only worsen the shebeen problem in Atlantis. Plus the majority of members of the community also cited that extensive community participation did not occur before drafting the act. They also believe that transformation has not occurred as a consequence of the act. Although the Western Cape executed the act to reduce liquor misuse it has not been able to close down all shebeens.

7.4) Further research

This study was limited by the fact that shebeens have been studied but are often not linked to politics. There were therefore, not many previous studies which could be directly linked to this thesis. This was compounded by reality that shebeen owners tend to be afraid of sharing their experiences with researchers, as many of them think that they will lose their businesses as a result. This paper was therefore, limited in many aspects. Key areas for further research therefore include:

A study which focuses on the election data for Atlantis, given that the IEC does not provide information on which political parties the community voted for in the national and provincial elections. The IEC website is also not very user friendly, making it difficult to gain data from it. Unfortunately there are also very few studies which deal with Atlantis, the community's views are often not included in studies. This limited my study as I could not use previous studies and link them to my thesis.

Studies need to be conducted which focus on how shebeens impact politics and vice versa, given that most of the research on shebeens focuses on the history of shebeens and liquor abuse. I could also not find a single study which specifically details the extent of socio-economic problems caused by shebeens. The respondents cited that liquor abuse is a major issue in Atlantis and is the cause of crime yet no study has been conducted in this area. A nation wide study should be executed to determine the level of socio-economic issues created by shebeens; this information could then be used to resolve the issues which shebeens may be contributing to. It would have been helpful if I also had a historical background as to how shebeens started in Coloured communities. It would also have added this study if there was information available on whether liquor policy has impacted race relations in South Africa, as some respondents cited that white people do not want shebeens spreading to their areas and that is why the act was implemented. I however, had to limit my research and could not address these comments in the way I wanted to. The attitude of South Africans towards liquor and shebeens should also be examined as I could not find a national study which addressed this topic .Lastly more studies on informality and its role in South Africa should be carried out given that informality is such a key part of the lives of so many poor people.

7.5) Recommendations

A few tentative recommendations will be outlined. It should be noted that I am not a policy maker in this field thus these are merely suggestions which might help resolve the problems uncovered by this thesis.

All policies must target middle class and wealthy people, not just the poor. Alcohol abusers can and do purchase liquor from licensed liquor outlets, and the patrons of legal liquor sellers also become involved in negative activities. For example, it is less likely that poor people will cause car accidents as majority of South Africa's poor travel by public transport. So, in order

for liquor policy to reduce road accidents needs to target people who can afford to drive cars. Consequently shebeen owners would most likely feel less disgruntled if they realized that the act was targeting all liquor traders instead of mostly regulating shebeens.

The City of Cape Town's goal to create alternative economic opportunities is commendable, but no plan has been developed as to how this will be achieved. Shebeen owners need to be provided with other work alternatives to encourage them to close down their shebeens, if shebeens are the cause of social and economic problems in communities. Liquor policy and economic policy are closely related. An appropriate, high level provincial oversight structure should therefore be established and tasked with planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. It should also be noted that the majority of shebeen owners are poor, black women; the impact of liquor laws on them and on their families and communities needs to be considered before laws are implemented.

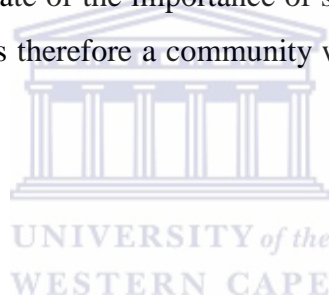
More widespread education programs should be implemented to explain the harm done by liquor to the youth and citizens in general. Liquor education should be continuously updated, and should suit the context of the participants. It needs to include life skills training in order to be effective. I found that there is a lack of recreational facilities and activities in Atlantis and this needs to change. The youth living in the area need to be able to partake in other social activities as well. Although shebeens can be used as a positive social space, people do need other options in the community. Increased treatment facilities for people suffering from alcohol addiction are needed. As previously discussed there is no rehabilitation facility in Atlantis, even though respondents discussed the damage caused by drug and liquor abuse.

An appropriate tax should be imposed on shebeens operating in residential areas, similar to the proposed tax on night time liquor traders in the UK. This tax could be used to police the communities where these shebeens are operating, and could also provide informal liquor industry patrons with safe transport after they are done drinking. The tax could also be shared by SAB as their products are being sold at shebeens, in order to help shebeen owners who are impoverished.

It is very important for policy makers to understand that the informal liquor trade is rooted in poverty; it is merely a symptom of the underlying economic inequality in South Africa. The gap between the poor and rich is increasing, and unemployment figures are high; as a result

of this economic hardship shebeens are for many a means of survival. Patrons of shebeens also choose to use alcohol to dull their senses, to forget about the problems they face. Clearly, shebeens which are managed in an irresponsible manner should be shut down, and no one should be allowed to sell liquor to minors or to cause disturbances in communities. But responsible traders should be allowed to enter the formal market by being granted licences. This would make it easier to police the industry, and would also boost South Africa's formal economy.

Although Atlantis is a community struggling with various problems, and some would call it the lost city of Atlantis, hopefully this thesis proves that the residents are trying to forge a better future for themselves and their community. The act may have led to increased dissatisfaction with politicians and political processes; however people are still very much involved in politics in the area. Informal politics and informal businesses play a key role in the area, thus opening up the debate of the importance of shebeens, liquor law and how they impact party allegiance. Atlantis is therefore a community which is surviving and resisting in spite of the challenges it faces.





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7.6) Caption: The Mosque in Atlantis



Informed Consent Form

With your signature at the bottom of this page you have agreed to partake in a study on shebeens in Atlantis. It also declares that all the information you provide will remain confidential. Kindly read it in full, and if you understand and agree, sign below. The purpose of this research is to explore what Atlantis thinks about politics and shebeens. The project is also looking specifically at women shebeen owners and their views kindly note that your participation is voluntary. You also have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative consequences. Responses will be treated with a great amount of respect and confidentially, to be used for references purposes and as examples. Confidentiality will be ensured unless you request to be named. Such a request is to be noted in your hand writing on this form and then signed accordingly. This research may also be used for articles to be published in academic publications. Research findings will also be available to all project participants upon request



Signature: _____ Date: _____

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Please note that the names of all the respondents have been changed in order to protect their identities. Except for the identity of the police Captain and Designated Liquor Officer.

Transkripsie

Datum: 7 Mei 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Onderhoud gevoer: Kaptein Russell

Plek: Atlantis Polisie stasie

Tyd: 11:00pm-11:40pm

Het u al gehoor van die 2008 Drankwet?

Ja, die een wat ek het 2008

Ek will oor daardie een met u praat. Wat is die standpunt van die gemeenskap aangaande shebeens?

In die onmiddellike omgewing mense ondersteun hulle. Maar daar is klaers wat kla oor argumente en gevegte. Maar shebiens het groot ondersteuning in Atlantis. Die alkohol is goedkoop en hulle drink na-ure.

Wat dink u oor die ANC se standpunt ten opsigte van shebeens?

Die ANC in die Wes-Kaap, ja nee ek het nie die hele weet nie. Dit is moeilik om te sê as die wet sal werk die grootste probleem is dat daar geen gevalle in die hof vertoon gewees was nie waat rondom die wet draai, om te sien hoe goed die wet is.

Sal die Wet misdaad verminder in Atlantis?

Net die tyd sal leer. Die mense wat misdaad pleeg, is normaalweg dronk misdaad word veroorsaak deur drank. Die ding is misdaad is 'n na-ure kwessie, as mense die shebeen verlaat drink hulle nog steeds na, dan swerf hulle rond en pleeg misdaad. Dit is onregverdig dat shebeens 'n slegte naam kry vir dit, maar hulle is deel van dit.

Wat dink u van die DA gedink voor die wet geslaag waas?

Ek kan regtig nie sê ons is nie veronderstel oor hierdie dinge te praat nie as polisiebeamptes. Ek is nie toegelaat om oor dit te praat nie. Maar ek dink die DA gee nie regtig om nie oor die probleem nie, want hulle is nie ernstig nie.

So dink u shebeens sal uitgeroei word?

Hulle (die DA) probeer om die probleem te benader, maar die wet is nou eers in die eerste fase is dit nou eers geïmplementeer vir 'n maand. Dit neem ten minste 3 maande om die impak daarvan te sien. Dit is moeilik om sy sukses te bepaal, maar ons kan nie wag en sien. As dit suksesvol is, sal die gemeenskap meer ondersteunend van hulle geword



Transcription

Date: 7th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Captain Russell

Venue: Atlantis Police Station

Time: 11:00pm-11:40pm

Have you heard of the 2008 liquor act?

Yes, the 2008 one I have

What are the community's views regarding shebeens?

In the immediate area people support them. But there are complainants who complain about arguments and fighting. But shebeens have major support in Atlantis. The alcohol is cheap and they drink after hours.

What do you think about the ANC's stance regarding shebeens?

The ANC in the Western Cape, ja nee I don't know the whole law. It's difficult to say if the act will work the biggest problem is that there are no cases in court revolving around the act which have been presented to see how good the act is.

Will the act reduce crime in Atlantis?

Only time will tell. The people, who commit crime, are normally intoxicated crime is liquor related. The thing is crime is a after hours issue once people leave the shebeen they continue drinking or roam around and commit crime. It is unfair that shebeens get a bad name for it but they are part of it

What did you think of the DA before the act was passed?

I can't really say we are not supposed to speak about these things as police officers I am not allowed to tell. But I think the DA doesn't really care about the problem they are not serious.

So do you think shebeens will be eradicated?

They (the DA) are trying to approach the problem, but the act is only now in its first phase it is only now implemented for a month. It takes at least 3 months to see its impact. It is

difficult to determine its success but we can wait and see. If it is successful the community will become more supportive of them



Datum: 7 Mei 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Onderhoud gevoer: Kaptein Dicks

Plek: Die Polisie stasie in Atlantis

Tyd: 11:50pm-12:50 pm

Het jy al gehoor van die Wes-Kaapse Drankwet?

Ja, ons weet daar van

Ek wil u onderhoud met u hou oor die wet en shebeens in die gebied

Wat is die standpunt van die gemeenskap aangaande shebeens?

Dit is 'n baie negatiewe ding. Die gemeenskap is daar teen in die breë, algemene. Maar, hulle sal nie vir ons inligting gee nie, want hul families is geraak deur dit. Die tannie, oom, broer, suster, vriend het 'n shebeen, hul eie vriende en familie lede om 'n bestaan te maak.

Dan dink u sal dit moontlik wees vir die polisie om die wet af te dwing?

Nee dit is nie moontlik vir die polisie om die wet vas te stel nie, want dit benodig die polisie, mense en sterk handhawing van die wette bepalings in die hof.

Sal die Wet misdaad verminder in Atlantis?

Dit sal Atlantis impak, dit sal 'n sterk definitiewe impak hê.

Wat dink u oor die DA voordat hulle geïmplementeer om die wet?

As 'n polisiebeampte kan ek nie daardie vraag beantwoord nie, as e 'n staatsamptenaar moet ek te alle tye neutraal bly.

Dink u die DA sal nou groter ondersteuning kry?

As die wet korrek toegepas word en as mense 'n meer positiewe uitslag sien van dit, dan sal mense hulle meer ondersteun. Mense wil sien dat dinge werk.

Dink u daar sal protes teen die wet in die area wees?

Nee die shebeeners is die inwoner se vriende en familie so ek gesê het. Daar sal geen protes teen shebeens wees nie en inwoners doen normaalweg nie daardie daardie soort van ding nie.

(algemene bespreking)

Ons het 'n paar suksesse gehad, maar die sluiting van 'n shebeen is 'n lang proses. Dit is nie 'n oornag ding nie van ons vind jy bedryf onwettig vanaand en sluit jou shebeen toe more nie. Soos ek gesê het ons het suksesse, maar dit is moeilik byvoorbeeld in 3 of 4 gevalle van onwettige shebeens gaan na asset forfeiture. Hul huise word verkoop onder hulle uit. Maar dit neem 3-4 jaar beboeting voor ons hulle kan toemaak. Die saak moet gaan deur die staat en die howe. Drankmisbruik is 'n misdaad kragopwekker mense vlok, veg en steek mekaar. Verkragting gebeur ook verlede naweek was 'n jong vrou verkrag, maar sy kon nie 'n verklaring aan die polisie gee nie. Die polisie het die saak namens haar oop gemaak.

En nou sal sy waarskynlik nie eens onthou wie dit gedoen het nie.

Nee kans is sy sal nie. Hierdie ding is 'n massiewe probleem en die ding is hulle verkoop nie net drank nie ander dinge word verkoop. Alkohol en dwelms gaan te saam. Alkohol self is 'n dwelm. Jy kan nie regtig 'n winsgewende besigheid net nie what net drank verkoop nie, dwelms is 'n kontant koei. Maar dit is baie moeilik om onwettige shebeeners oortuig omdat hulle word beskerm deur die gemeenskap, maar waneer mense argumenteer onder mekaar dan kom did besonderhede uit van wie 'n onwettige shebeen besit, aan ons gegee is die hele storie van A tot Z. Selfs dinge wat nie relevant is. Dan moet jy 'n lang storie van alles wat die ander persoon ooit verkeerd gedoen het aan luister.

Transcription

Date: 7th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Captain Dicks

Venue: Atlantis Police Station

Time: 11:50pm-12:35pm

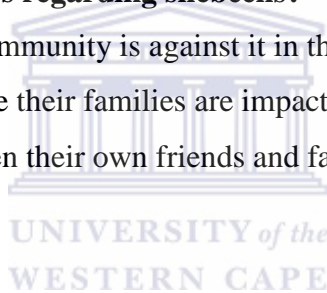
Have you heard of the 2008 Western Cape Liquor Act?

Yes we know about it

I would like to interview you about the act and shebeens in the area.

What are the community's views regarding shebeens?

It is a very negative thing. The community is against it in the broad, general sense. But, they won't give us information because their families are impacted by it. This aunty, uncle, brother, sister, friend has a shebeen their own friends and family members in order to make a living.



Then do you think it will be possible for the police to enforce the act

No it's not possible for the police to enact it needs police, people and strong enforcement of the acts stipulations in the court.

Will the act reduce crime in Atlantis?

It wil impact Atlantis, it will have a strong definite impact.

What did you think about the DA before they implemented the act?

As a police officer I may not answer that question as I am a public servant I must remain neutral at all times.

Do you think the DA will now get greater support?

If the law is applied correctly and people are seeing a more positive result from it people will support them more. People want to see that things work.

Do you think there will be protests against the act in the area?

No the shebeeners are the resident's friends and family as I said. There won't be protests and residents here don't normally do that sort of thing.

(general discussion)

We have had some successes but closing down a shebeen is a long process. Its not a overnight thing of we find you operating illegally tonight and close down your shebeen tomorrow. As I said we have successes but it's difficult for example 3 or 4 cases of illegal shebeens are going to asset forfeiture. Their houses are being sold underneath them. But it takes 3-4 years of us fining them before we can close them down. The case must go through the state and the courts. Excessive drinking is a crime generator people swear, fight and stab each other. Rape also occurs last weekend a young woman was raped but she couldn't give a statement to the police. The police opened the case on her behalf. **And now she probably won't even remember who did it.** No chances are she won't. This thing is a massive problem and the thing is they don't just sell liquor other things are sold because alcohol and drugs go together. Alcohol itself is a drug. You can't really have profitable business just selling liquor drugs is a cash cow. But it is very difficult to convict illegal shebeeners because they are protected by the community but when people argue amongst each other then the details of who owns an illegal shebeen is given to us the whole story from A-Z even things that are not relevant. Then you have to listen to a long story of everything the other person ever did wrong.

Thank you for your time

Transkripsie

Datum: 7 Mei 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Onderhoud gevoer: Lasbrief beampte Hendricks (aangewese drankbeampte)

Plek: Atlantis Polisie stasie

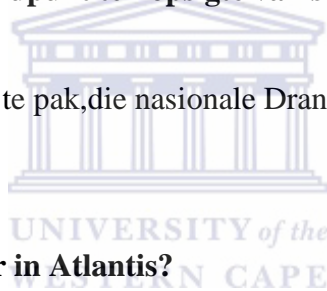
Tyd: 12:35 uur-13:39uur

Wat is die standpunt van die gemeenskap aangaande shebeens?

Die Atlantis mense is slegte mense. Die mense wil nie kom te getuig in die hof teen die shebeens opening en ons het hierdie openbare verhore, maar hulle by nie woon nie. Die gemeenskap ondersteun shebeens. Ons mense (kleurlinge) is baie siek mense in hierdie gebied. Hulle is alkoholiste. Hulle wil net drink en dwelms gebruik.

Wat dink u oor die ANC se standpunt ten opsigte van shebeens?

Hulle probeer om die kwessie aan te pak, die nasionale Drankwet wat hulle geïmplementeer het is 'n goeie ding



Sal die Wet misdaad verminder in Atlantis?

Die nuwe wet artikel 85 praat oor die onwettige shebeens, maar die nuwe wet handel hoofsaaklik met gelisensieerde shebeens. So dit sal nie 'n groot impak het nie. Die nuwe wet laat dit nie toe nie dat 'n motorhuis en 'n drankwinkel vanaf die dieselfde eiendom bedryf nie. As jy meer as 150 litre drank het, moet jy 'n permit het.

Hoeveel bottels beteken dit voeg tot 16 liters as iemand twaalf biere koop dan moet jy 'n permit het? Wat as die person 'n partytjie gou?

Dan moet aansoek gedoen word vir 'n permit vooraf.

Hoe dink u sal mense voel oor die DA nou dat die Wet geslaag is?

Die wet is hanter slegs met die wettiging van shebeens maar, maar hulle sal nie beter wees nie. Hulle gaan net belasting te betaal. Dit sal nie die probleem op los nie. Maar laat ek sê ons is neutraal. Ek kan nie verklaar dat ek pro hierdie of pro daardie ding is nie, ons pas die wet

toe in die maneer hoe die wet veronderstel is om toe te stel te word. Mense wat nie alkohol drink nie en wat nie hou alkohol nie sal dink dat die wet goed is. Maar mense wat drink, sal dink dat hulle mishandel word en benadeel word deur die wet, want nou kan hulle nie drink na sekere ure nie. Die ou wet het mense verbied om na sekere tye te drink. In 1980, ek is nie seker of dit so was nie maar ek dink. Die tyd dat beperkinge is weer in die nuwe wet. Dit sal lei tot 'n beter polisiëring van shebeens. Maar die wetlike shebeeners skop teen nakoming inspeksie. Hulle wil nie die reëls volg nie as hulle veronderstel is om toe te sluit by 05:00 hulle sluit hulle by 06:00. Hulle het miskien 'n binneverbruik lisensie, maar dan verkoop vir buite verbruik ook en mense gebruik die drank buite. Hulle moet nie verkoop en die mense laat gaan nie, die mense moet hulle sit en drink. Dit is buite die reëls wat hulle volg nie die voorwaardes van die lisensie. Maar dit is die publiek se skuld. Hulle gebruik groepsdruk om die eenaars drank aan hulle te verkoop na-ure en dit werk.

Sal die Wet misdaad verminder in Atlantis?

Nee die shebeens eenaars sal nie die wet volg nie. Hulle sluit wanneer hulle wil Die binnekant, moet sit shebeens sluit tussen 11-12. Maar polisiëring ná 12:00 is baie moeilik. Neem die voorbeeld van 47 gelisensieerde shebeens op verbruik shebeens en by 30 van daardie shebeens na 12:00 loop al die kliënte uit. Dit is nie moontlik vir beamptes om hulle almal te arresteer nie. Daar is eenvoudig nie genoeg polisiebeamptes, ons het nie die mannekrag om hierdie kwessies te hanteer nie.

(Algemene kommentaar)

Die meeste shebeens verkoop dwelms. Hulle is gelisensieer om nie dwelms te verkoop nie. Maar die winse uit die verkoop van drank is nie so goed nie. Die wins op 'n bier is 10cents op 'n bottel bier. Maar hierdie shebeeners ry fancy nuwe, blink karre, hoe kan hulle dit bekostig?. Die nuwe wet het 'n toestand wat sê geen dwelms moet op die persoon van 'n shebeen eenaar wees nie. Maar jy weet ons mense volg nie reëls nie. Maar weet die mense weet oor die wet? Mense weet hulle sê hulle weet nie wat hulle doen nit, maar weet wat hulle doen. Beampte Dicks praat oor die drank wet op die gemeenskap radio al die tyd, hy het baie daarvoor gepraat.

Transcription

Date: 7th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Warrant officer Hendricks (Designated liquor officer)

Venue: Atlantis Police Station

Time: 12:35pm- 1:39pm

What are the community's views regarding shebeens?

The Atlantis people are bad people. The people don't want to testify in the court against the shebeens opening and we have these public hearings but they don't attend. The community supports shebeens. Our people (Coloureds) are a lot of sick people in this area. They are alcoholics. They just want to drink and use drugs.

What do you think about the ANC's stance regarding shebeens?

They are trying to tackle the issue, the national liquor act they implemented is a good thing

Will the act reduce crime in Atlantis?

The new law article 85 deals with the illegal shebeens, but the new act mostly deals with licensed shebeens so it won't have a major impact. The new act doesn't allow a garage and a liquor store to operate from the same property. If you store more than 150 litres of liquor you must have a permit.

How much bottles does that add up to 16 bottles of liquor or twelve beers then you must have a permit? What if you are having a party?

Then you must apply for a permit beforehand.

How do you think people will feel about the DA now that the act has been passed?

The act is only dealing with legalizing shebeens they will be legal, but they won't be better they just going to pay taxes. It won't solve the problem. But let me say we are neutral. I may not declare that I am pro this or pro that, we apply the law as it is supposed to be applied. People who don't drink alcohol and don't like it will think the act is good. But people who drink will think they are being mistreated and disadvantaged by the act because now they can't drink after certain hours. The old law prohibited people from drinking after certain

times in 1980. I am not sure I think so, but then that was abolished now the time restrictions are reinstated in the new law. This will lead to better policing of shebeens. But the legal shebeeners don't want to undergo compliance inspection. They don't want to follow the rules if they are supposed to close at 5pm they close at 6pm. They maybe have an on consumption license but then they sell off consumption and people use the liquor outside. They mustn't sell and let the people go they must sit down and drink. This is outside of the rules they don't follow the conditions of the license. But it is the public's fault they use peer pressure to get the owners to sell to them after-hours and it works.

Will the act reduce crime in Atlantis?

No the shebeens owners won't follow the law they close anytime they want to. The inside, sit down shebeens must close between 11-12. But policing after 12 is very difficult. Take this example of 147 licensed shebeens on consumption shebeens and at 30 of those shebeens after 12pm all the customers walk out. It's not possible for officers to arrest them all. There are simply not enough police officers; we don't have the manpower to handle these issues.

(General comments)

Most shebeens sell drugs. They are licensed not to sell drugs. But the profits from selling liquor are not so good. The profit on a beer is 10cents on a bottle or a beer. But these shebeeners drive fancy, new, shiny cars how can they afford that. The new law has a condition that says no drugs must be on the person of a shebeen owner. But you know our people that don't follow rules. But do the people know about the law. People know about it they say they don't but they do. Officer Dicks speaks about the liquor law on the community radio all the time he has spoken a lot about it.

Transkripsie

Datum: 8 Mei 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Onderhoud gevoer: Bill (lid van GPF)

Het u al gehoor van die Wes-Kaapse Drankwet van 2008?

Ja

How voel die gemeenskap oor shebeens?

Ons voel sjebiens is die oorsaak van misdaad, is daar waar dit begin.

So dit is eintlik 'n baie negatiewe ding vir die gemeenskap?

Ja.

Maar dan dink u nie hulle sal sluit as mense nie daan toe gaan nie, want daar is baie van die mense in die gemeenskap wat na huise smokkel toe gaan?

Ja natuurlik 'n paar van hulle gaan, want daar is soms nie 'n buite verkoop drank winkel naby nie so hulle gaan daan toe.

So indien daar ander plekke vir mense was om na toe te gaan dink u dat mense nie soveel na shebeens toe so gaan nie?

Ja, kyk daar is nie baie hoe kan ek sê vir jong mense, dalk aktiwiteite soos sport en hierdie tipe van dinge (verwys na 'n handwerk item) dinge nie, Daar is nie baie van die dinge wat hulle kan doen nie.

So dan dink u dat die misdaad die area verminder sal word?

Geen op die oomblik misdaad is nog steeds dieselfde. Die nuwe drankwet kriminaliseer shebeeners, hulle moet nou skelm verkoop. Hulle verkoop laat ure laat nagte, dan moet ons hulle toemaak. So jy sien hulle kan nie daai tye oop wees nie, so dit maak die erger.

Is daar shebeens wat dwelms verkoop?

Ja daar is 'n paar van hulle verkoop dwelms

Maar sou jy sê dit is baie van hulle wat dit doen?

Nee net 'n paar

Hoe voel u oor die DA voel u hulle het verandering in die gemeenskap van Atlantis gebring?

Nee, hulle doen niks nie, daar is geen verandering hier nie.

En nou dat die Wet geïmplementeer is voel u anders oor die DA

Wat bedoel dame?

Kyk die DA het die wet gespits so is hulle beter in u sie oë ?

Nee, hulle het absoluut niks gedoen nie, ulle is glad nie better nie. Hulle is werd niks. Die nuwe Drankwet wat hulle geïmplementeer het is iets wat die ANC gehad het op die tafel lank gelede nou kom hulle en implementer dit.

En dink u meer mense in Atlantis sal nou stem vir die DA as gevolg van die wet?

Nee die shebeens is nog steeds oop en die wet werk nie

Mev Daniel en ek het net nou gepraat. Sy het gesê dat daar nie baie werk vir mense in Atlantis in nie, stem u saam met haar?

Ja

Maar dan dink usjebiens is soms iets goed, want ten minste kan iets in die pot gaan?

Nee, nee miskien vir daardie huishouding wat smokkle maar nou is die huishouding wat nie werk nie, nou kry die man 'n paar sente (geld) dan spandeer daai man die geld by die shebeen en laat sy huis honger gaan. Sy huis is honger so wat is die voordeel van dit.

Dankie vir u tyd.



Transcription

Date: 8th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Bill (member of CPF)

Have you heard about the 2008 Western Cape Liquor Act?

Yes

What are the views of the community regarding shebeens?

We feel shebeens are the cause of crime, its there where it begins.

So it is actually a very negative thing for the community?

Yes.

But then don't you think they will close down if people don't go there because there is a lot of people in the community who go to smokkel houses?

Yes obviously some of them go because there is sometimes not an offsales close by so they go there.

So if there was other places for people to go to, do you think they wouldn't go to shebeens so much?

Yes, Look there isn't a lot how can I say for young people maybe activities like sports and this type of things (pointing to a craft item) things there isn't a lot of those things that they can do.

So then do you think that the act will reduce crime in the area?

No at the moment crime is still the same. The new liquor law criminalizes shebeeners they must now sell skelm (sell quietly). They sell late hours late nights then we must close them down. So you see they can't be that times open so they make it worse.

Are there shebeens which sell drugs?

Yes there are, some of them sell drugs

But would you say it's a lot of them that do it?

No only a few

How do you feel about the DA have they brought about change in the community of Atlantis?

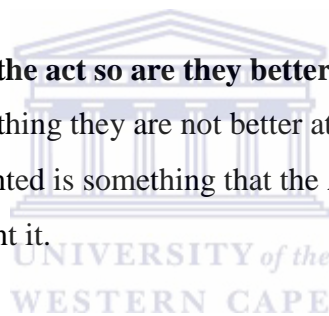
No they don't do anything, there is no change here.

And now that the act has been implemented do you feel differently about the DA

What do you mean?

Look the DA has spearheaded the act so are they better in your eyes?

No they have done absolutely nothing they are not better at all. They are worth nothing. The new liquor act that they implemented is something that the ANC had on the table long ago now they just come and implement it.



And do you think more people in Atlantis will now vote for the DA because of the act?

No the shebeens are still open and its not working

Mrs Daniels that I just spoke to now said that there isn't a lot of work for people Atlantis do you agree with her?

Yes

But then do you think shebeens can be good thing because at least something can go into the pot?

No, no maybe for that household that is smokkling but now the household that doesn't have work now the man gets a few cents(money) then that man spends the money at the shebeen leaving his house hungry. His house is hungry so what is the benefit is that.

Thank you for your time.

Transkripsie

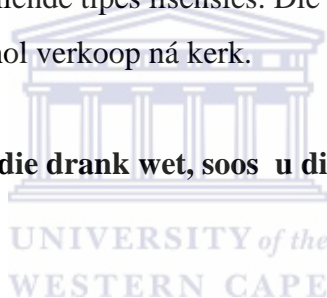
Datum: 8 Mei 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Onderhoud gevoer: Charlene (ondervoorsitter van GPF)

Die CPF in Atlantis is betrokke by verskeie projekte. Zazar sport in Mamre ondersteun ons. Hulle het onlangs klere ge gee vir ons netbalspan. Ons loop 12 sopkombuise en deel uit brood aan kinders, bejaardes en werkloses wat behoeftig is. Die shebeen is 'n polisie-kwessie nie ons s'n nie. Maar ek weet 'n bietjie oor die nuwe drankwet die verskillende tipes lisensies en verskillende ure vir die verskillende tipes lisensies. Die ure het verander oor die naweek, byvoorbeeld kan hulle slegs alkohol verkoop ná kerk.

So ek neem aan dat u weet oor die drank wet, soos u dit al reeds genoem het weet die voorsitter van die weet?



Die voorsitter van die Gemeenskapspolisieforum het 2 werksinkels bygewoon saam met hulle.

Was dit met die provinsiale regering?

Ja, ja met die Drankraad. Ons het in Februarie maand, het ons gehad, gehad 'n persoon heer 'n Mr. Windvoegel ook van die Drankraad was hier. En hy het met die gemeenskap gepraat om aan hulle te verduidelik hoe die lisensie werk, en hoe die Drankraad werk en wat uur word toegelaat word en wat ure is nie.

Wat dink u oor die ANC oor wat hulle gedoen het om shebeens aan te pak. Het hulle genoeg gedoen om die probleem aan te pak?

Kyk 'n shebeen jy kan dit beveg soveel as jy wil, maar dit was heer al die jare. 'n smokkel yard sommige mense doen aansoek vir 'n dranklisensie. Maar dan is daar T ander wat voortgaan om smokkel om die pot te hou van kook vir hul kinders. Hulle noem dit smokkel vir die pot. Dan is daar kinders in die huis, en hulle het nie 'n inkomste dan sien die mense dit is die enigste manier waarop hulle kan 'n inkomste maak om 'n shebeen te het by hulle huis sonder 'n lisensie

Dan dink u daar is nie ander werk vir mense is shebeens die enigste opsie?

Kyk daar is werk, maar in Atlantis in die algemeen is fabriek gesluit. Jy kan sien dat fabriek gesluit is. Hulle is wit olifante wat hier staan, wat gebeur het nou 2 weke gelede mense het 'n optog omdat mense van buite kom om heur te werk met die my Citi bus ontwikkeling. Maar die meerderheid kom van Kaapstad en kom om hier te werk. Dis hier en daar dat kontrakteurs 50 mense van Atlantis aangeneem het om hier werk. Maar daar is meer as 200 mense wat hier werk, maar slegs 50 werkers is van Atlantis wat daar werk.

Hoe dink u voel die gemeenskap oor shebeens?

'n groot deel van die gemeenskap is gekant teen shebeens as verkragting gebeur of 'n moord plaasvind sal hulle altyd die vinger wys na shebeens. Dan sê hulle dit kom uit die shebeen yard, maar soms kom dit nit van die shebeen yard nie omdat mense loop weg van die shebeen yard en loop op ander plekke waar hulle nie moet loop nie. Nou hierdie tipe van dinge gebeur dan sê hulle dis as gevolg van die yard.

Dink u as 'n gevolg van die wet misdaad in Atlantis sal verminder word?

Nee, ek dink nie so nie.

Hoekom sê u so?

Ek sê so, want as 'n persoon dronk is sal hulle doen wat hulle wil. Hy ignoreer nog steeds die wet. Hy gaan na 'n plek soos 'n drank drankwinkel vanaand gaan hy na 'n shebeen gaan drink hy meer. En dan is daar shebeens eienaars wat smokkel by die agterdeur.

Is daar 'n verband tussen dwelms en shebeens?

Ja op 'n sekere shebeens gebeur dit. Net gister het die drank Raad gesit by die polisiekantoor met 'n persoon wat 'n dranklisensie wou hê en verkoop ook, die polisie kaptein Dicks was ook daar.

Verkoop baie shebeens dwelms

'n Paar net, die meeste verkoop slegs drank.

Hoe voel u oor die DA

Ek kan nie regtig vertel, want ek drink nie regtig nie en ek is nie regtig geïnteresseerd in politiek nie so ek kan nie sê

Maar wat dink u oor hulle in die algemeen, dink u hulle het positiewe verandering gebring in Atlantis?

Geen veranderinge het plaasgevind nie, Atlantis is nog steeds 'n val dorpie. Daar is nog geen verandering. Die laaste ding wat ek gesien het, was in Mei toe veranderinge plaasgevind het toe 'n jeugdige raadslid Lebad daar was. Daar was baaieontwikkeling omdat jy kon hom oral stuur en daar het hy gegaan om te kyk. Die raadslid in heirdie wyk nou ek is nie gekant teen haar nie, maar daar is hier en daar wanner iets gedoen word.

Maar sou jy sê dit het nie regtig 'n groot impak op die gemeenskap nie?

Nee dit is nie regtig 'n groot impak op die gemeenskap nie, want dit is net op sportgronde dat iets gehou word. En dan word die mense aangebied kos en die kinders word aangebied pakkies, en ons Atlantis mense en kinders gaan vir dit omdat die mense nie die geleentheid alledaagse kry nie. So al die huise was in die proses toe die raadslid aan boord gekom het al die ontwikkelings waas in die proses die planne was alreeds daar, so sy gaan net voort met dit.

So het die wyksraadslid niks nuuts begin nie?

Die elektrisiteit, telefoon lyne, skole en ander geriewe wat hier was al reeds hier

Dink u die mense sal nou meer mense sal stem vir die DA, as gevolg van die Drankwet?

Nee, ek dink nie so nie, sien die nuwe drankwet is daar, maar as jy buite gaan sal jy sien hoeveel shebeens daar nog steeds. Jy sien die polisie dra hulle drank uit, maar hulle betaal die boete en môre sal hulle weer smokkel. Soe sedert ek 'n jong kind was daar smokkel huise en steeds is hulle vandag hier. Ek is ouma vir 'n paar jaar. ek is 50 maar die shebeens gaan nog steeds voort. So dit is 'n ding wat niemand kan breek of maak soos hulle wil nie Jy sien mense kry 'n boete betaal hulle die fines dan gaan hulle net aan, omdat hulle sê hulle doen dit vir hulle kinders.

Dink u as daar meer werkgeleenthede en sakegeleenthede was dat shebeens sou toemaak?

Nooit mense kan veg totdat hulle blou, maar shebeens sal voortgaan.

Sal die nuwe Drankwet ontslae raak van shebeens?

Dit is nog 'n lang pad tot dat dit sal gebeur. Kyk nou met hierdie nuwe Drankwet is daar steeds baie shebeens hier. Van die tyd toe ek 'n jong kind was, ek bedoel ek is amper sestig, maar die shebwen is nog hier. Die regering sowel ANC en DA kan probeer totdat hulle blou is, maar shebeens sal altyd hier wees maak nie saak wat.

Dink u as 'n gevolg van die wet dat shebeen eienaars sal protes teen die wet?

Daar kan ek nie sê nie, maar die shebeen eienaars dit het uit gekom by hulle werkswinkel dat dis legal shebeens met die CPF wil werk. Die CPF het gewerk met hulle, maar daar was iets 'n klein misverstand. Hulle het 'n komitee leier gehad, hulle het gereelde vergaderings met die CPF en die shebeen eienaars. Maar baie van hulle het weg gegaan want hulle het geld uit die mense getrek. En die mense het gekla na daai, deur die CPF gekla, want ek dink die CPF is 'n organisasie van eerlikheid en opregtigheid. En baie van die mense het nie saam gewerk, jy eerlike mense en dan kry jy oneerlike mense. Sommige van hierdie shebeeners is baie oneerlik omdat die voorsitter het gesê: "Ek sal saam met shebeeners werk maar as hy dwelms verkoop. Ek trek myself weg van hom"

Transcription

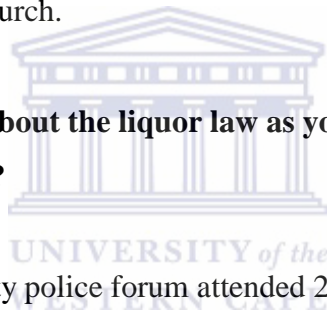
Date: 8th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Charlene (deputy chairperson of CPF)

The CPF in Atlantis is involved in many projects. Zazar sports in Mamre supports us. They recently donated clothes to our netball team. We run 12 soup kitchens and hand out bread to children, the elderly and unemployed who are needy. The shebeen is a police issue not ours. But I know a bit about the new liquor law the different types of licenses and different hours for the different types of licenses. The hours have changed over the weekend for example they can only sell alcohol after church.

So I take it then you do know about the liquor law as you've mentioned it already and the chairperson knows about it?



The chairperson of the community police forum attended 2 workshops with them.

Was this with provincial government?

Yes, yes with the liquor board. We did have in February month, we did have we had a person here a Mr. Windvoegel also from the liquor board was here and spoke to the community to explain to them how the license works and how the liquor board works and what hours are allowed and what hours are not.

What do you think are the community's views regarding shebeens?

A lot of the community is opposed to shebeens when rape comes or a murder occurs they always point the finger to shebeens. Then they say it comes from the shebeen yard, but sometimes it doesn't come from the shebeen yard. Because people walk away from the shebeen yard and walk in other places where they shouldn't be walking now these types of things happen then they say it's because of the shebeen yard.

What do you think about the ANC regarding what they have done tackle shebeens. Have they done enough to tackle the problem?

Look a shebeen you can fight it as much as you want. But it has been there all the years a smokkel yard. Some people apply for a liquor license, but then there's others who continue to smokkel to keep the pot cooking for their children they call it smokkel for the pot. Then there is children in that house and they don't have an income, then the people see this is the only way they can make a income to have a shebeen at there house without a license

Then do you think there isn't other work for people are shebeens the only option?

Look there is work but in Atlantis generally factories are closed you can see factories are closed they are white elephants standing here what happened now 2 weeks ago people had a march because people come from outside to work with the My Citi bus development but majority comes from cape town come to work here. It's here and there that contractors took people on 50 people from Atlantis work here but there is more then 200 people working here but only 50 workers are from Atlantis that work there.

Do you think as a result of the act crime will be reduced in Atlantis?

No I don't think so.

Why do you say so?

I say so because if a person is drunk person will they do what they want to. He still ignores the law. He will go to a liquor place like a bottle store tonight he goes to a shebeen to go drink some more. And then there are shebeens owner that smokkel at the backdoor.

Is there a link between drugs and shebeens

Yes at some shebeens that happens. Just yesterday, just yesterday the liquor council sat at the police station with a person who wanted a liquor license and also sells drugs the police captain Dicks was there also.

Are many shebeens selling drugs

A few only, most sell only liquor.

How do you feel about the DA?

I can't really tell you because I don't drink really; I am not really interested in politics so I can't say

But what do you think about them in general do you think they have brought positive change to Atlantis?

No changes have occurred Atlantis is still a grey small town. There is still no changes the last thing I saw was in May changes occurred when we had a youthful councillor Leibad. There was a lot of development because you could send him everywhere and he would go there to look. The councillor in this ward now, I am not opposed to her, but it is here and there when something is done.

But would you say it's not really having a big impact on the community?

No it's not really a big impact on the community because it's just on sports grounds that something is held. And then the people are offered food and the children are offered packets and our Atlantis people and children go for it, because the people don't get that opportunity everyday. So the houses were in the process when the councillor came on board all the developments where in process the plans were already there so she is just continuing with it.

So the ward councillor hasn't started anything new

The electricity, phone lines, schools and other facilities which are here have always been here

Do you think people will now more people will vote for the DA because of the act?

No I don't think so, see the new liquor law is there but if you go outside you will see how many shebeens there still are. You see the police carrying there liquor out, but they pay the fine and tomorrow they will smokkel again. So since I was a young child there were smokkel houses and still today they are here. I am grandmother for a couple of years, I am 50 but the shebeens are still continuing. So it's a thing no one can break or make as they want to (translation no one can control shebeens). You see people get a fine they pay the fine then they just go on, because it's for their children that they say they do it.

Do you think if there were more job and business opportunities, that there would be less shebeens?

Never shebeens will go on people can fight until they are blue, but shebeens will continue.

Do you think the act will get rid of shebeens?

It's still a long road till that will happen. Look now with this new liquor law there is still a lot of shebeens here. From the time when I was a young child I mean I am almost sixty but the shebeens are still here. The government both ANC and DA can try till they are blue but shebeens will always remain no matter what.

Do you think as a result of the act that shebeen owners will protest against the act?

There I can't say but the shebeen owners it came out in there workshop that they the legal ones want to work with the CPF. The CPF did work with them but there was something a small misunderstanding they had a leader a committee they had regular meetings with CPF and the shebeen owners but a lot of them let as a lot of them pulled money out of people. And people complained afterwards, by the CPF complained because I think the CPF is an organization of honesty and righteousness. And a lot of people didn't cooperate you get honest people and then you get dishonest people. Some of these shebeeners are very dishonest because the chairperson said "I will work with shebeeners but if he sells drugs I pull myself away from him"

Transkripsie

Datum: 9 Mei 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Informante: Pastoor Links en Pastoor Brown

Plek: Kingdom kerk sal in Atlantis

PASTOR LINKS: Nog pastoor Pickering het met Captain Dicks hy is die hof kaptein van die polisiestasie hier in Atlantis. Hierdie pastoor het met Captain Dicks en die hoof van die drankraad 'n vergadering gehad. Maar die pastoor het so kwaad beland omdat hy was vertel gewees dat enigiemand wat n shebeen wil oop maak ' in die gebied wat 'n skoon kriminele rekord en wat die gemeenskap 'n vinger nie kan wys na nie en wat regverdig is kan nou oop 'n shebeen oop maak volgens die nuwe drankwet. Hierdie pastoor (Pickering) wil nie 'n shebeen reg langs sy huis oop hê nie.

Ons was almal baie kwaad toe hy dit vir ons gesê het, maar dit is wat hy Captain Dicks vir Pickering gesê het. Kaptein Dicks het ook vir hom gesê dat die lisensie aan daardie persoon toegestaan sal word. Voor hierdie vergadering Pastoor Pickering en Mill het 'n vergadering met myself en 'n ander pastoor was ingelig oor die uit kom van daardie vergadering. Die 4 pastore myself Pickering, Mill en die ander Pastoor was veronderstel om 'n brief aan die drankraad te skryf en net Pickering het geskryf die res van ons het nie. So net Pickering kon die vergadering met die Kaptein Dicks en die drankraad hoof bewoon ons name was nie geregister nie, ons kon nie die vergadering woon nie. Kaptein Dicks vertel Pickering dat dit 'n 80% moontlikheid is dat daardie persoon 'n lisensie sal kry. Die polisie het gevra dat ons geestelike leiers in die gebied om 'n optog na die smokkel huise en tik huise te reël. Hierdie mense verbruik ons kinders, ek bedoel regtig wat kan ons doen. Die jeug is hard getref deur dwelms en alkohol misbruik. Hierdie mense vernietig die jeug en die jeug is ons toekoms wat hoop het ons. Dit is hoe die scenario is. Dit is die antwoord wat Kaptein Dicks ge gee het dat 'n paar nuwe shebeens lisensies sal kry hulle sal toegestaan word, hulle sal oop maak. Maar nou wat ek nie kan verstaan nie is hoekom is dit dat die persoon wat aansoek doen vir die lisensie die vergadering bywon met 'n advokaat en 'n prokureur. Hy het beide 'n advokaat en 'n prokureur.

PASTOR BROWN: Daardie man het 'n advokaat en prokureur waarom moet hy na die vergadering kom met al twee van hulle ek het nie saam gestem met dit nie want dit was 'n openbare vergadering nie 'n hofsaak nie, dit maak nie sin vir my nie.

Ons is bewus daarvan (kerke) van die feit dat mense in ag in die gebied moet word. Ek wil graag met jou praat oor die visie wat ons het vir die gemeenskap daar buite wat ons doen om die mense te help.

PASTOR LINKS: Op 24 Mei sal daar 'n vergadering met die polisie saam met al die kerkleiers en die polisiekantoor wees. Dit is om die mense in te lig oor die wet wat dit sê en so aan. Die polisie hier is dealmet 'n sosiale kwessie. Ons het saam met hulle gegaan na smokkel huise en tik huise toe gegaan omdat die kwessie vernietiging onse gemeenskap.

Wat dink u dan van die nuwe drankwet?

PASTOR LINKS: Daar moet nie eens so 'n ding soos 'n drank wet wees nie.

PASTOR BROWN: Ja, ek stem saam dit moet nie nodig wees nie.

Hoekom sê u hulle so?

PASTOR BROWN: Want nou met die nuwe regering beide die plaaslike en nasionale as hulle wou probleme in die gemeenskap ogelos dan het hulle die kerke benader om te help die probleem op te los. Maar hierdie nuwe mense hou hulle slim hulle vra hul vriende vir raad nie ons as kerke nie. Nou Captain Dicks hy probeer om dit te verander hy wil ons as kerke wat ons dink en ons betrokke is. Die probleem is selfs as die wet deur 'n wonderwerk hier werk in Atlantis en al die smokkel huise sluit dan sal mense na Mamre toe gaan. Daar ou wat drink in Mamre en dronk is kom hier terug na Atlantis toe en gaan verkragting 'n jong meisie hier in Atlantis. Eenvoudig gestel, moet daar nie 'n nuwe drankwet wees nit dit sal nie werk nie. Ander opsies moet na gekyk word om misdaad te bekamp hier nie strenger regulasies nie wat neerkom na niks nie. Mense sal die wet ignoreer hulle sal nie ophou drink nie

PASTOR BROWN: Die regering hulle het gebesluit dat hulle sekere wette deur die Parlement sal laat gaan . Hulle verstaan dit nie eens nie. Hulle het net gestem vir dit en 'n wet is moes oorgedra op hoeveel stemme dit kry. Nou die polisie en almal van ons staan onder die wet (dit geld vir ons). Hulle kan nie verby dit kom nie. Kyk na die geweer kwessie en die polisie. 'n Polisiebeampte kan nie net sy wapen trek nie net waneer hy sien 'n misdadiger met 'n wapen wat op hom gerig is. Hierdie wet is dieselfde hoe sal die polisie die mag het om dit af te dwing? hulle het dit nie. Dit maak net nie sin nie. Dit is waar Pagad kom in en die swart mense se brutaliteit, is deur hulle gebruik om misdaad en ander kwessies aan te pak. Die gemeenskap is bang vir hulle. Hulle sal doodmaak en huise afbrand maar hoekom moet hulle na daardie resort. Ons meker iets better. Vir my hou ek nie van al heirdie wette nie ons moet na die punt toe kom. Maak die ding dood, as jy 'n slang wil dood make jy moet sy koop reg af kaap. Ons het die Atlantis Pastore Gewone Mills en hierdie man Solomons hier hulle is die leiers van dit.

So vertel my meer oor die leraarskring wat doen dit?

PASTOR LINKS: Ons is 'n groep van pastore hier in Atlantis wat probeer om sosiale probleme op te los in Atlantis. 35 kerke hier behoort aan die gewone en ons ontmoet gereeld .

PASTOR LINKS: Daardie man (die shebeener langs Pickering), hy sal sy lisensie kry. Die kaptein van die polisiestasie het self so gesê.

PASTOR BROWN: Wat ek wil weet, is hoekom die prokureur en die advokaat daar was, maar die ander pastore kon nie praat nie dit is net onregverdig as gevolg van 'n brief dit is nie reg nie.

Pastore: Ons moet nou gaan, dankie vir die onderhoud.

Dankie vir u hulle sie tyd.

Transcription

Date: 9th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewees: Pastor Links and Pastor Brown

PASTOR LINKS: Another pastor Pickering met with Captain Dicks his head of the police station here in Atlantis. This pastor met with Captain Dicks and the head of the liquor board. But the pastor ended up being so angry because he was told that anyone that wants to open up a shebeen in the area which has a clean criminal record and who the community cannot point a finger to and who is righteous can now open a shebeen according to the new liquor law. This pastor (Pickering) does not want a shebeen opening right next to his house. We were all very angry when he told us but this is what he Captain Dicks said to Pickering. Captain Dicks also told him that the license will be granted to that person. Before this meeting Pastor Pickering and Mill had a meeting myself and another pastor was informed about the out come of there meeting. The 4 pastors me, Pickering, Mill and the other Pastor was supposed to write a letter to the liquor board and only Pickering the rest of us didn't. So only Pickering could attend the meeting with the Captain Dicks and the liquor board head as our names (the other 3 pastors) were not on the register we could not attend the meeting. Captain Dicks told Pickering that it is 80% possibility that that person will get a license. The police asked us spiritual leaders in the area to march to the smokkel houses and tik houses. These people are using our children I mean really what we can do. The youth is hard hit by drugs and alcohol abuse. These people destroy the youth and the youth is our future what hope do we have. This is how the scenario is. This is the answer that Captain Dicks gave that a few new shebeens will be granted licenses they will open. But now what I don't understand is why is it that the person who is applying for the license attending the meeting with an advocate and an attorney. He has both an advocate and attorney.

PASTOR BROWN: That man has an advocate and attorney why must he come to the meeting with both of them I disagree with that it was a public meeting not a court case it doesn't make sense to me. We are aware (churches) of the fact that people must be taken into

account in the area. I would like to speak to you about the vision of we have for the community there outside what we are doing to help the people.

PASTOR LINKS: On the 24th of May there will be a meeting with the police with all the church leaders and the police station. This is to inform the people about the act what it says and so on. The police here is dealing with a social issue. We have gone with them to smokkel houses and tik houses because the issue is destroying our community.

What do you think then about the new liquor law?

PASTOR LINKS: There shouldn't even be such a thing as a liquor law

PASTOR BROWN: Yes I agree it shouldn't be needed

Why do you say so?

PASTOR BROWN: Because now with the new government both the local and national if they wanted to solve problems in the community then the churches was consulted to help solve the problem. But this new people keep them clever they ask their friends for advice not us as churches. Now Captain Dicks he is trying to change that he wants to ask churches what they think and get us involved. The problem is this even if the act by some miracle works here in Atlantis and all the smokkle houses close down then people will go to Mamre. That guy who drinks in Mamre and is drunk comes back here to Atlantis to go rape a young girl here in Atlantis. Simply put there must not be a new liquor law it won't work. Other options must be looked into to help combat crime here not stricter regulations which amount to nothing. People will ignore the law they won't stop drinking.

PASTOR BROWN: The government they decide they are going to pass certain laws through Parliament. They don't even understand it. They just vote for it and a law is moes passed on how many votes it gets. Now the police and all of us we stand underneath that law (it applies to us). They can't get past it. Look at the gun issue and the police. A police man can only draw his weapon when he sees a criminal with a weapon pointed at him. This law is the same how will the police have the power to enforce it? they don't. It just doesn't make sense. That is where PAGAD comes in and the black people's brutality is used by them to tackle crime and other issues. They are feared in the community. They will kill and burn down houses but why must they resort to that. We need something better. For me I don't like all this laws we must just get to the point. Kill the thing if you want to kill a snake you must chop its head off

right (Afrikaans saying in English it means you must get to the root of the issue to resolve it). We have the Atlantis Pastors Fraternal Mills and this man Solomons' here they are the leaders of it.

So tell me more about the Fraternal what does it do?

PASTOR LINKS: We are a group of pastors here in Atlantis who meet to try and solve social problems in Atlantis. 35 churches here belong to the Fraternal and we meet regularly.

PASTOR LINKS: That man (the shebeener next to Pickering) he will get his license. The Captain of the police station himself said so.

PASTOR BROWN: What I want to know is why the attorney and the advocate was their but the other pastors couldn't speak that's just unfair because of a letter it's not right.

PASTORS: We have to leave now, thank you for the interview.

Thank you for your time.



Transkripsie

Datum: 9 Mei 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Onderhoud gevoer: Sersant Loch

Plek: Atlantis Polisie stasie

Ek is nie dat kundige ten opsigte van die wet nie. Ek sal 'n werkswinkel bywoon saam met ander offisiere waar die regulasies sal verduidelik word aan ons so ek weet nie veel in terme van daardie nie. En ek staan in vir beampte Hendricks hy die aangewese drankbeampte hy het op vakansie gegaan op Maandag jy moet probeer om met hom te praat.

Ek het al reeds baie dankie, maar ek wil graag u mening ook kry. My vrae deal nie met die besonderhede van die wet nie. Dit is baie algemeen en maklik om te antwoord dismeer oor opinies so kan ons begin?

Wat is die standpunt van die gemeenskap aangaande shebeens in die algemeen?

Smokkel huise is 'n negatiewe ding vir die gemeenskap. Die werkloosheid syfers is hoog in Atlantis. Pas spandeer hul geld op drank en hulle kon dit gebruik het op die basiese behoeftes van hul kinders.

Maar hoe kan hulle funksioneer as mense nie hulle ondersteun nie?

Ja daar is mense wat hulle ondersteun. Maar Atlantis het baie probleme baie sosiale probleme staar die gemeenskap in diegesig die mense het nie die wilskrag nie hulle is nie sterk genoeg om hierdie kwessies te hanteer nie. Die shebeens en drink is net 'n wegbreek plek waar hulle 'n waar hulle hul probleme kan vergeet dit is waarom so baie van hulle daar gaan.

Do you feel the new act will give the police more policing power regarding shebeens?

The new liquor act is much better I think so. According to what Officer Hendricks said how I understand it is that there are more stipulations which will protect the community and the person who smokkles must work within the law they must follow the rules.

Voel u dat die nuwe wet die polisie meer polisiëring krag sal gee rakende shebeens?

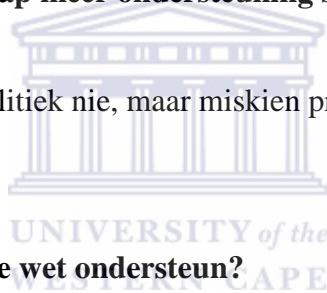
Die nuwe Drankwet is baie beter ek dink so. Volgens wat beampte Hendricks gesê het hoe ek dit verstaan het, is dat daar meer bepalings is wat die gemeenskap sal beskerm en die persoon wat smokkles moet werk binne die wet. Hulle moet die reëls volg.

Sal Atlantis nou veiliger wees as gevolg van die wet?

Ja, ek dink so. Beampte Hendricks die aangewese drankbeampte het gesê dat volgens hom sal die nuwe wet die kopers van drank toesluit nie net die smokkler nie. Dinge gaan beter wees vir die gemeenskap. Dronk mense doen baie dom dinge en pleeg baie misdaad, baie misdaad hier is alkohol-verwante.

So dan dink u dat die gemeenskap meer ondersteuning sal gee vir die DA omdat hulle die wet geïmplementeer het?

Ek weet nie ek volg nie regtig politiek nie, maar miskien probeer hulle om dinge hier beter te maak.



Sal u sê dat die gemeenskap die wet ondersteun?

Ja ek dink so baie lede van die publiek wil verandering hê hulle wil minder smokkel huise hê.

As daar ander werk hier vir die mense was dan sou daar nie so baie smokkel huise wees nie sê u so?

Ja beslis dit is die enigste ding wat hulle nou kan doen op die oomblik en die jong mense het geen plek om na toe te gaan nie what anders kan hulle doen. Daar is geen sosialisering fasiliteite.

Is daar baie verkragtings wat hier plaasvind?

Ja, dit is 'n vernietigend hoë verkragting koers. Ons word gekonfronteer met verskeie sosiale kwessies. Kindermolestering en seksuele teistering en mishandeling van vroue, huishoudelike geweld is ontstellend.

Dan is die werkloosheid ook hoog. Jy sien soveel verskriklike dinge as 'n polisiebeampte. Dit so moeilik vir die polisie om dit te hanteer en om 'n verskil te maak. Maar ek probeer my bes om jong meisies te help in die gemeenskap. Meisies hier is die mees kwesbare ek gee om, want ek het 5 dogters van my eie. Hulle word verkrag of val swanger as 'n tiener dit is baie hartseer.

Dankie vir u tyd.



Transcription

Date: 9th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Sergeant Loch

I am not that knowledgeable regarding the act I will be attending a workshop along with other officers where the regulations will be explain to us so I don't know much in terms of that. And I am standing in for Officer Hendricks he is the designated liquor officer he went on holiday on Monday you should try to speak to him.

I have already thank you but I would like to get your opinion as well. My questions don't deal with the specifics of the act it's very general and easy to answer its more about opinion's so may we start.

What is the community's views regarding shebeens in general?

Smokkel houses are a negative thing for the community. The joblessness figures are high in Atlantis. Fathers spend their money on liquor and they could've used it on their children's basic needs.

But then how can they operate if people aren't supporting them?

Yes there are people who support them. But Atlantis has a lot of problems a lot of social problems face the community the people don't have the will power they are not strong enough to handle these issues. The shebeens and drinking is merely a getaway from them a place where they can forget their problems that is why so many of them go there.

Do you feel the new act will give the police more policing power regarding shebeens?

The new liquor act is much better I think so. According to what Officer Hendricks said how I understand it is that there are more stipulations which will protect the community and the person who smokkles must work within the law they must follow the rules.

Will Atlantis now be safer because of the act?

Yes I think so. Officer Hendricks the designated liquor officer said that according to him the new law will lock up the buyers of liquor not only the smokkler. Things are going to better for the community. Drunk people do a lot of stupid things and commit crime a lot of the crime here is alcohol related.

So then do you think that the community will give more support for the DA because they implemented the act?

I don't really know I don't follow politics but maybe they are trying to make things better here.

Would you say the community supports the act?

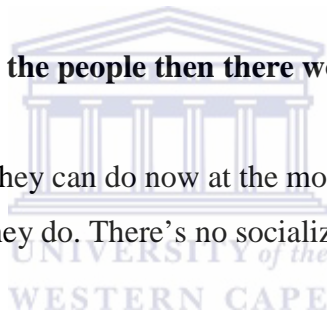
Yes I think so a lot of the members of the public want change they want less smokkel houses.

If there was other jobs here for the people then there wouldn't be so many smokkel houses would you say so?

Yes definitely it's the only thing they can do now at the moment and the young people have no where to go to what else can they do. There's no socializing facilities.

Are their many rapes which occur here?

Yes it's a devastatingly high rape rate. We are faced with various social issues. Child molestation and sexual harassment and abuse of women, domestic violence is startling. Then the joblessness is also high. You see so much horrible things as a police officer. It so difficult for the police to cope and to make a difference. But I try my best to help young girls in the community. Girls here are the most vulnerable I care because I have five daughters of my own. They get raped or fall pregnant as a teenager it's very sad.



Transkripsie

Datum: 10 Mei 2012

Intervieweer: Nicolette Peters

Intervewee: Pastoor Brown

Plek: Kinngdom kerk in Atlantis

Die bedoeling dat ons hier by koninkryk is om die kerke nader aan mekaar en nader aan ons te bring. Ons wil om ontslae raak van die dogma van kerke omdat die kerk is nie net oor die prediking en (tiendes) offers of oor wat Koninkryk is slegs nie. Ons glo in dieselfde God as Christene in wese deel ons dieselfde kerk. Ons wil mense mense vertel dat on een doelwit het , dit is nie net oor kerk nie maar oor die gemeenskap. Ons almal as kerke moet die gemeenskap dien dit is die verskil dat ons moet maak as kerke.

Hoekom is daar so baie shebeens hier in Atlantis?

Dit is eintlik die hele lewenstyl van Atlantis die armes is dikwels afhanklik. Ons moet kyk na die wortel van die probleem die kwessie lê met die leierskap van die ouers. Hulle leer nie hulle kinders behoorlike morele waardes en respek nie. Daar is 'n ekonomiese noodsaaklikheid, maar hoe ek dit vul is dan die probleem. Vir sommige mense is die manier waarop hulle geld te kry, is om ander seer te maak. Daar is 'n baie hoë vlak van werkloosheid hier. Politieke leiers maak beloftes aan die mense. Hierdie man (politieke leier) hy wil huise bou en gee aan die mense. Maar dit is nie so maklik nie, hy moet geld uit sy party kry dan sê die ANC nee ons het nie die fondse nie. Of die DA as 'n party wat 'n klein party het nie die geld om huise te bou nie.

Is daar baie sosiale probleme hier in Atlantis?

Ja, veral onder jong vroue. Hulle drink weg hulle weë hulle kan nie werk kry nie en baie val swanger op 'n jong ouderdom. Jy kan dit sien. Ek is seker jy het al die Wendy huise mense ook leef in die oorbevolkte woonstelle. Hulle het nie die vermoë om te betaal vir hul basiese behoeftes.

Dankie vir u tyd, geniet u dag.

Transcription

Date: Thursday 10th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Pastor Brown

Place: Kingdom church Atlantis

The intention that we have here at kingdom is to bring churches closer together to each other and closer to us. We want to get rid of the dogma of churches because church is not just about preaching and (tenths) offerings or about what Kingdom is only. We believe in the same God as Christians essentially we share the same church. We want to tell people we have one goal that is not just about church but it's about community we all as churches need to serve the community that is the difference we must make as churches.

Why are there so many shebeens here in Atlantis?

It's actually the whole lifestyle of Atlantis the poor is often dependent. We must look at the root of the problem the issue lays with the leadership of parents. They are not teaching their children proper morals and respect. There is an economic need but how I fill it is then the problem. For some people the way they get money is to hurt others. There is a very high level of joblessness here. Political leaders make promises to the people. This guy (Political leader) he wants to build houses and give them to people. But it is not so easy he must get money from his party then the ANC says no we don't have the funds. Or the DA as a party which is a small party doesn't have the money either to build houses.

Are there many social problems here in Atlantis?

Yes especially amongst young women. They end up drinking away their sorrows they can't find work and many fall pregnant at a young age. You can see it. I am sure you saw all the Wendy houses people are also living in overcrowded flats. They don't have the ability to pay for their basic needs.

Thank you for your time, enjoy your day.

Transcription

Date: Friday 11th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Courtney

What do you think of the new liquor act?

I personally think that this act will be bringing more crime to Atlantis, because shebeens are the place where most people get there wine at night time. People will still operate shebeens underground they will ignore the law and then things that happen at those shebeens will not be reported to the police.

Do you think the act will create a safer neighbourhood?

No it won't create a safer neighbourhood. It will bring more crime; people will then start doing more drugs and start more breakin's

Is the act representing the views of the people of Atlantis?

No I won't say so because Atlantis is a small farm town where very little activity goes on people want shebeens because they socialize at shebeens.

Do you think the act will increase support for the DA?

No it will decrease support as most people in Atlantis make use of shebeens.

Do you think people will protest against the act?

Yes most people of Atlantis will because shebeens are the main source to buy alcohol from.

Do you think people will rather support the ANC if the act is enforced?

People will then stop voting for all parties as some laws are becoming ridiculous.

Are shebeens important for people in Atlantis?

Basically the only activities in Atlantis for youngsters are clubbing and with that goes drinking, so most youngsters drink here because there's nothing else, and when you organise a party shebeens are the place to get alcohol.

Do many shebeens here sell drugs as well as liquor

Shebeens as far as I know don't sell drugs, they only sell liquor. Drug houses in Atlantis are mostly situated in the part of Atlantis where gangstersim is active.



Transcription

Date: Monday 15th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewees: Grant and Kyle (ward secretaries) Grant is also a member of the CPF

Place: Constituency offices

Time: 13:00-2:30pm

What do you think about shebeens?

I think it is something good it needs regulation but at the end of the day more illegal shebeens exist than legal shebeens. Most crimes are committed at illegal shebeens robberies, rapes and usually after hours at 11 till 12 at night legal shebeens close at 10, 11 or 12 that lies at the discretion of the liquor board. It is difficult to obtain law and order at these places when somebody's drunk they don't adhere to laws and regulations. It's quite difficult especially in a place like Atlantis where shebeens make money and some shebeens sell drugs plus crime compounds the problem. Because when you are drunk you walk in the street late at night you don't care about getting robbed, rapped or shot at.

Is crime an issue at shebeens?

The surrounding facilities on way to and from the shebeens is an issue crime is not an issue at the shebeens really. The police station is not close to the shebeens normally they must police the immediate environment.

Are there other job alternatives in Atlantis besides shebeens?

But people shouldn't stand in the way of shebeens there are alternatives to shebeens but it's about demand and supply. There's a market for shebeens. It is a relatively cheap business it needs little capital to start up and low operating cost it also makes a low profit. It is located in the immediate vicinity it's better for people to go to as they must walk to pubs and nightclubs. Legal shebeens they are often strict they adhere to rules and stick to it to the T.

Especially female owners you must just check them out they don't take nonsense they call the police if something happens there customers must follow the rules. They sell normally only 3-4 cases of beer they call pot smokkelry. The capital needed it low for shebeening people are poor here.

Do you think the act will put an end to illegal shebeens

There is a delivery service for liquor as well so illegal liquor trading won't end. The community police forum engaged shebeeners and tried to create a local structure for shebeeners. There's a guy in Saxonsea he started small now he is big he was down and out at a time now he operates a off sales he supplies other shebeens.

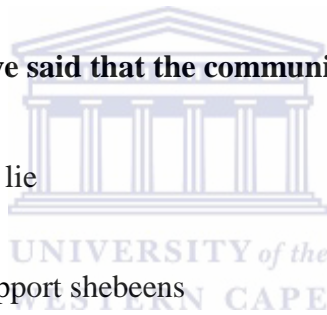
Are many crimes here alcohol related?

The place is not really safer some crime is alcohol related but in general not really. Even walking from a pub you will be robbed. Legal shebeens adhere to laws. People here you should see on Sundays they queue outside the shebeens they stand in long lines. Alcohol doesn't really lead to social crimes people especially in Coloured areas support shebeens its white people who now see shebeens they don't like it they are afraid it will spread to their areas. They oppose shebeens.

There are many people who have said that the community here opposes shebeens would you agree with this statement?

Those people are hypocrites it's a lie

(laughs) that's not true people support shebeens



If someone in the street wants to start a shebeen he or she must get their neighbours permission and that of their friends they are not forced to accept the shebeen being there. People are against drug houses that will get people to rise up but not shebeens.

There was recently a discussion on a blog local wap it's a Atlantis website and they argued that people should support shebeens as opposed to Jozi which is a nightclub. The discussion had people saying that people must support shebeens as its better for the neighbourhood as it keeps the money in the area it's all about perception. There is a process that shebeeners must follow to become legal the shebeen mustn't be to close to churches and schools.

What do you think about the new liquor law the 2008 one?

The new liquor law is quite flawed if people in the area have no objections then anyone can open it and there are times to adhere too.

But at the same time these shebeen owners assist people uncle sam doesn't have electricity then he goes to lend by uncle john they help people in the community and get support through that.

The shebeens have nice pool boards, big screens tvs often more than one at the same shebeen. During soccer season and the rugby season you must see the crowd people can't all afford dstv and live in cramped up flats they want to get out of that environment.

So would you both agree that shebeens are not just places for drinking, but places to socialize that they contribute to creating a community spirit?

Yes they do (laughing).

That is an interesting way of looking at it but yes shebeens are building the community it's a place where discussion can take place (laughing).

This is part of the politics of the Western Cape. The Western Cape government is pushing for this too take away the rights of the poor. The police must police and follow the law but how can you punish and close down someone who sells alcohol. Who is not doing anything wrong? They don't do anything for the people.

Nicolette: Thank you so much for your time, enjoy your day.

Transkripsie

Datum: 10 Mei 2012

Intervieweer: Nicolette Peters

Interwewee: Apostel Campbell

Plek: Kingdom kerk in Atlantis

PASTOOR BROWN: Hierdie jong dame gebruik nie net ons fasiliteite hier nie. Ek wil haar aan u aanstel . Sy is 'n student van die UWK sy doen navorsing hier in Atlantis rakende shebeens in Atlantis. Ek het gedink sy kan kom met u praat.

Kan u vir my 'n bietjie meer vertel oor wat u doen?

Ek done narvoorsing na vroue, shebeens en politiek. My navorsing vraag is die geslag politiek van drank kleinhandel in die Wes-Kaap: 'n gevallestudie van die Wes-Kaap. Die navorsingsvraag kyk na wat mense in Atlantis dink oor shebeens en die nuwe drankwet van 2008.

Dit is 'n multi layered kwessie want sosiale probleme gaan saam met dit. Daar is baie kwessies wat saam met dit gaan een aspek is drank. Dit is nie net oor die drink nie dit gaan oor die ingesteldheid van mense. Byvoorbeeld in 'n shanty dorp shebeens is gewild jong mense gaan daar is Juke Boxes en pool tafels vir die mense. Wat moet die jeug is daar geen fasiliteer vir die mense. Hier in Atlantis het ons nie fasiliteite vir die jeug nie daar is niks vir hulle om te doen nie. Kinders hier is geraak deur drank hulle is verwaarloos deur verslaaf ouers en sien oormatige drinkery gereeld, sommige word mishandle en 'n paar siene alkohol- verwante misbruik en misdad. Ons probeer om 'n veeldoelige sentrum te bou om die gemeenskap te help. Al die kerke as ons probeer om dit aan te pak saam kan ons hierdie ding op los. Dan moet jy dit oorweeg waarom mense kies om shebeens oop te maak, jy moet kyk na die oorsake van die rede waarom ons die problem het. Hoekom kies shebeeners dit oor ander busigheide? Vir sommige, veral enkele moeders dit gaan oor oorlewing, maar vir die meeste shebeeners gaan dit oor wins. Dus selfs as jy ander werk vir hulle skep sal hulle nie ophou shebeening nie. Dit maak geen ekonomiese sin waarom sal vir baas what vir my 'n minder betaal ons leef moes in 'n kapitalistiese samelewing na alles.

Transcription

Date: Thursday 10th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Apostle Campbell

Place: Kingdom church Atlantis

This young lady is not only using our facilities here I want to introduce her to you as she is a student from UWC she is doing research here in Atlantis regarding shebeens in Atlantis. I thought she should come speak to you.

Can you tell me a bit more about what you are doing?

I am researching women, shebeens and politics. My research question is the gender politics of liquor retail in the Western Cape: A case study of the Western Cape. The research question looks at what people in Atlantis think about shebeens and the new liquor act of 2008.

This is a multi layered issue as social problems goes along with it. There is many issues which go along it one aspect is liquor. It's not just about drinking it's about the mindset of people. For example, in a shanty town shebeens are popular young people go there to shebeens there are jukeboxes and pool tables for entertainment. What must the youth do there is no facilitates for the people. Here in Atlantis we don't have facilities for the youth there is nothing for them to do. Children here are impacted by liquor they get neglected by addicted parents and witness excessive drinking regularly, some are abused and some witness alcohol related abuse and crime. We are trying to build a multipurpose centre to help the community. All the churches if we try to tackle it together we can fix this thing. Then you must consider why people choose to open up shebeens you must look at the root causes of why we have the problem. Why do shebeeners choose it over other business? For some especially single mothers it's about survival but for most shebeeners it's about profit so even if you create other work for them they won't stop shebeening. It makes no economic sense why will you give up a profitable business to work for a boss who pays you less we live in a capitalistic society after all.

Transcription

Informal discussion

Date: Tuesday 16th May 2012

Venue: Councillors offices

Yusuf (member of the neighbourhood watch): Joblessness is a big problem here 70% of the people don't work here. And 30 percent of them that work don't work regularly. They don't work on Mondays or Fridays.

Nicolette: Is it not permanent work?

Yusuf: No it is permanent work sometimes they get paid early like for example on a Thursday then they go drink at the smokkel houses. There they drink from Friday to Sunday and when Monday comes they are still hung over.



Observation

Venue: Ward Councillor Nicole Clayton's offices reception area

Date: Tuesday 16th May 2012

Time: 12:00-13:00pm

Majority of the people who came to the offices dealt with Yusuf (a neighbourhood watch member and volunteer at the DA's offices) and Sharon (Councillor Clayton's personal assistant). There were a lot of people and the majority of them came to fetch or drop off forms which will place them on a local database so that they can obtain work. Most of the people were young people between 18 and 30 years old. Mostly males were there and a lot of them complained about joblessness.



Observation

Venue: Ward Councillor office

Time: 12:00

Date: Tuesday 16th May

Complainant (Muslim women): There are people selling alcohol at the sports ground on a Saturday whilst the children are playing sports.

Yusuf (member of neighbourhood watch) : They may not sell alcohol at a sports field. They are supposed to get a license from the liquor board to sell liquor and they would never get a license to sell liquor there at the stadium what they are doing is illegal.

Complainant: My grandchildren are playing there at the stadium. They play soccer but you must look how it goes on there at the stadium. Now the kids can't play sport I stopped them from playing. Now the kids are angry with me because I told them they can't play there anymore.

Yusuf: Now we must stop this person I will take this to the warrant officer Hendricks he is the official working with liquor at the police station. People can't disadvantage children playing sports. This drinking of liquor leads to fighting, stabbing, shooting.

Complainant: The children are supposed to play again Saturday.

Yusuf: I will go to the station commissioner and the designated liquor officer before Saturday. The ward councillor as an independent person will go observe what is going on there at the stadium then she will send a report back to the police and to the other local government officials. You can go speak to her now.

Transcription

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewees: Nicole (ward councillor) and Yusuf (member of the neighbourhood watch)

Date: Tuesday 16th May 2012

Voice recording

As I have mentioned to your PA I am a student from UWC and I am researching what people in Atlantis think about shebeens and the new liquor act of 2008 especially how it impacts women who are shebeening. So my research has to do with liquor, gender and the politics surrounding shebeens in Atlantis.

Nicole: Let Yusuf tell you his side I will tell you mine now

Ok what do you think the community thinks of shebeens in Atlantis.

Yusuf: A lot of the people support shebeens because how can I say its sommer by his front door so for him to get drunk he quickly .Can run across the road and drink him drunk and then we the police come in because domestic violence comes because domestic violence comes from the shebeens. Because the man must pay his debts but he can't then he and the women argues then the women calls the police the man must be locked up (arrested). A lot of times domestic violence is based on the interdict.

Then the women gets a interdict against the man a lot of the women misuse the interdict because a lot of women have a lot of agendas against the interdict they know how to use it and when to use it.

Nicole : Did you put on the tape

Yes I am recording it

Nicole: Can I come in there

Yes you can

Nicole: As a councillor of the city of Cape Town my concern is definitely a liquor outlet which is illegal.

Yusuf: Um

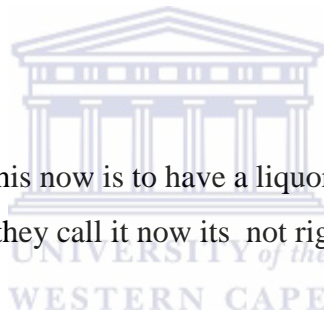
Nicole: And um the reason why I mention this is that his community is definitely unemployed uh gender is very important to me because what it seems to me what the community is doing is that they want to put a piece of bread on the table.

Yusuf:Um

Nicole: Most women to my knowledge are running shebeens very smart but there is lots of restriction around that as the city of cape town health portfolio chairperson it is against that young women ,children, pregnant women disabled people elderly people sick people attend these places for a jollification

Yusuf: Yes

Nicole: So what I want to say to this now is to have a liquor outlet or a smokkel huise or a koop and loop which is the thing they call it now its not right in Atlantis we have so many churches.



Yes I saw

Nicole: I think 123 thousand uh what do you call that type of churches.

different dominations

Nicole: Different dominations, and in our township here. I'm here 31 years I was ex nursing sister at our local hospital in the private and the things that come is that people must go a lot for psychology treatment for abuse

And is this abuse would you say alcohol related

Nicole: Alcohol, alcohol mostly and also drug

Yusuf: Yes

Nicole: But Mostly alcohol then 2 of my dept at hospital that my knowledge end of the year special holidays time when there's bonuses money floats around most of assaulted cases come from alcohol and where does it come from after hours during working hours it comes from shebeens.

Yusuf: And Most of the time when the assaults come all that come in its all pay the people getting there all pay and the hospital is busy especially the casualty unit.

Nicole: people in our community are making use of their grant money and they buy alcohol

Yusuf: Um

Nicole: or they buy tik or

Yusuf: any other drugs

Nicole: drugs or any other substances



Nicole : And our court cases mostly depends on this type of ailment that is coming on and there is so many positive messages going out to say no when you had enough we actually face a lot of rape, rape sexually abuse in our area the reason for this is people do have attitude I don't care and can walk when I walk most young pretty lady's like you are beautiful but they let school so early pregnancy teenage pregnancy then it becomes a problem they have so many stress then they start drinking. But now we come in to the alcohol abuse in our area as you say illegal liquor outlets to my knowledge I would say no liquor outlets in our residential area. But as I mentioned previously that is to put bread on the table and sometimes these business people really abuse it they want to make business but they don't want to plough back we do have a CPF here we have a SAPS here, metro police, traffic officers everything is in place law enforcement as well. But one thing we can't get right it is the abuse of alcohol. And what I can say about the gender is that I just spoke to the head nurse the matron at Wesfleur hospital I asked here how's things going she mentioned that a small day hospital like Atlantis hull bass uit hulle naate uit (they are overflooded). Because in the past there

was only 1200 cases per month now we are going over 50000. And what we need is a hospital but what we really need is a rehabilitation centre.

Because there isn't one here hey?

Yusuf: huh uh

Nicole: We need jobs which the city is doing very well now with the pwp extended public works programme it's a national program and we just filtered it down to local and provincial level to keep the people from the streets too many people are loitering and they ask for money.

Yusuf: Yes

Nicole: So many people what I realize in my area most of the people especially men, young men they walking around don't have any income. They do get a dop somewhere then they sleep on the streets. And I as a councillor said this is one of my motivations. That I can get a shelter where there can be daily education our nation needs to be educated and we need to develop ourselves ne

Yes

Nicole: As a women as a mother as a grandma as a mother of my ward as a mother of the city of health I meant to say we need some better things to be done and more programs in place we need to interact with all organizations. There is too many small organizations everyone wants to do the same thing lets have a big thing and a umbrella approach. As a woman I say that women should really be proud to be a mom but I think that is gone from our youth. I am also a motivational speaker on uh uh

Issues

Nicole: Issues, yes and one of this is the role of the young mother and believe me. At my age we must be role models and believe me there are so many role models hey Yusuf. But the youngsters it seems they have blinkers on. And as a councillor of the city of Cape Town

recently when my public meeting tomorrow or when is the 18th I am here as a ward councillor and what I summarize is that people is really coming forth the youth. Because they believe that there is a message there is some development tin our ward in Atlantis for the very first time after years you can see development. There is a time a year back when alcohol and shebeens went very mad in this area because why of the problems they do have the community they rather go out tonight or during time when they have money and take a dop. Now the kilometres a shebeen or a liquor outlet must not be by residents it must be 5 to 6 kilometres away from a church from a school or any education institution but things is not going

Yusuf: According to plan

Nicole: According to plan

So do you think the new liquor act is good as it is trying to get liquor outlets out of residential areas.

Nicole: I think it's good we must have a place where they can run their businesses where there is times and where it can be controlled. Because as SAPS or metro or any uh safety officers you run like a mad cow without a head because then the call is by his house and your house and my house. If we do have a specific land or business site then we know this is Peter's business, that is Jonathan's business, this is Yusuf's business there can be a board can we formulate then call them to a meeting this is going wrong this must get right. Then there is also selling liquor to the public at certain times now the shebeens the smokkel huise they don't have time noise control is a problem because they make noise they let a drunk women or a drunk man or a drunk youngster walk in the middle of the night they won't let them sleep their to say you can't walk. But when you have legal things in place we can minimize uh uh all this assaulting cases, rape.

Yusuf: Assaulting cases, rape cases, drugs abuse, loitering.

Nicole: And the police can do better work ne.

So is would you say there a link between smokkel huise, shebeens and drugs.

Yusuf: they are a big part of this

Nicole: A big part of the problems its so sad that our community they blow he whistle but when they must take action then everyone is quiet. So I really want to motivate how people must to blow the whistle. But the thing is in this township where we stay we are so familiar hey Nikki

Yes

Nicole: I know Yusuf I know he is a compliant and he is thinking of the safety of his family so what I suggest is uh we just busy to pass it through the big council is extended hours for uh em those who do have a liquor license you know like a loop straat anyone that should because anytime its in the news about noise. But in our small townships people drive easily under the influence of alcohol. We have legal outlets like the hotel, Barcardi there is some outlets but that outlets is not so busy like the smokkel huises. Because the price is also cheaper am I right am I right.

Yusuf: The price is cheaper by the smokkel huise by shebeens and offsales.

Nicole: And another thing is people will walk in this community without a bag to put in their stuff there can be a funeral in the area the respect is not to respect that last respect for that maybe that veteran in that area they still carry on with their drinking. So where did they get it just around the corner by the smokkel huise. Am I right?

Yusuf: Yes, yes, yes that is true because I saw Saturday morning when I buried my collegues mother there was a shebeen in that street. There were more people by the shebeen than by that aunty's funeral.

Nicole: And that is very sad because maybe that aunty gave a lot to the community like soup and everything and they don't respect. What I suggest is we must have workshops with the community to say let us respect when they bury Nicolette Peters today. Just close your shebeen or smokkel huis for that day out of respect. Then we must say in that workshop to the youth just imagine it was your family your mother what respect did you have. So in this Atlantis it is different from other towns maybe similar cases but also we are different

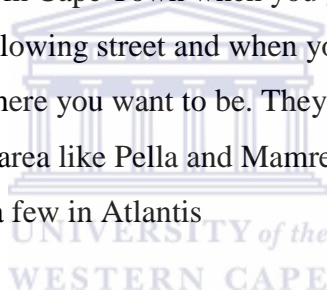
because we are far from cape town. And people think we don't have any camera's our police are very busy they try their best we also have corrupt policemen.

Like you get anywhere

Nicole: But we in this community can say we had enough we must make a difference stand united your problem listen this is what the group discussed and lets start working on a project and give it a trial period to get a good outcome because we do have a good community. If you go to Shoprite or Pick n Pay you see people talk to each other.

People are very friendly

Nicole: Very friendly they will know who is Yusuf they will talk to Yusuf they will know who are you they will chat to you and will see you are not from this area and they will guide you exactly to a street. It not like in Cape Town when you get lost people will say it's around the corner around the bend the following street and when you get there you are still lost. Here in Atlantis our people take you where you want to be. They are very nice. We have a good community. Then we also have a area like Pella and Mamre which is close to this area and informal settlements we do have a few in Atlantis



Yes I have been there.

Nicole: That is also smokkel huise and what surprise me in that smokkel uh informsl settlements that people should never be there because that people are not the indigenous people they are business people.

Yusuf: Most of them are business people.

Nicole: Hulle trek a bietjie hulle buite n bietjie die situation uit (they are monopolizing on the situation a bit). What else do you need to know.

Do you think there is anything positive which comes out of shebeens

Nicole: well I can say one thing the CPF launched one year Christmas time all the legal shebeens which are registered with the CPF

Yusuf: Yes

Nicole: under the leadership of the CPF the exec and the police they actually had workshops and also ploughed back to the people that really need a little packet food whatever. So there is really, really good shebeen owners also that really go that extra mile to contribute to the poorest of the poor.

Yusuf: It's only certain of them also

Nicole: You can always see them its people like us that really care. But then there is those that take everything for granted they don't know the laws and they are not interested in the laws. This is a thing we really struggle with in our community people uh uh how do you say obey the law.

Yusuf: Many of them don't obey the law

Nicole: Yes they don't obey the law Yusuf you can add on.

Yusuf: They don't obey the law because some of our officials is corrupt because they are friends with most of the shebeen owners in Atlantis.

Nicole: We must stop being boetie, boetie (chummy)

Do you think that the people of Atlantis will support the DA more because of the act?

Nicole: I think there will be a difference according to the act because the DA is only reacting to the crime in Atlantis the complaints of the community what can we do so it is by time that we must react too and act on the challenges we have I this community. Lets say too many things went wrong in this community in this community people ignore the law.

As you have mentioned before

Nicole: So I say things will get better

There's gonna be more support?

Nicole: Ja (Yes), more support more votes and we also have challenges as well.

Because there will be people who say we like to drink, we want the shebeens here

Nicole: The shebeen running at a house shop at the front is the shop at the back the shebeen and at that area there is also drugs but you can't put a finger on the pulse but it is there so we want to minimize that. And we want to monitor all these illegal shebeens close it maybe the illegal shebeens make it more difficult for those who are legal. And I must say I visited some of these shebeens on a different visit and especially those who had training from docs and those who were part of the community police forum and they look smart those places are smart.

I've been to shebeens here in Atlantis and they are tough they don't take nonsense

Nicole: That is the people that really care for the community. That is the people who had workshops I was part of workshops. I think that worked very well and it would work well if we carry on with that workshops the do's and the don'ts. And even to the youth I mentioned the other night in my portfolio meeting in our community the mama's and papa's send their children to buy cigarettes you actual teach kids to smoke and use things that are for them(parents). You don't know what message you are teaching that child.

My last question do you think that if there was more work in Atlantis that less women would open up shebeens?

Nicole: Oh yes because they don't want to do this as a role model as a mother they are forced to do it because of the unemployment. Some of them are doing it as a hobby now what is actually happening in our community when you are over 40 or over 50 and you can go walk for a walk you can walk the walk for work you don't get the work they take someone who is your age. So what can I do for extra money this thing I notice is making money is doing so well so let me also start it and these people are very faith based. They belong to churches and they have families they don't want rejection because people think you are doing the wrong

thing. It was not the first choice but they were forced to have this type of choice for an income.

Thank you so much you gave me a lot to work with.

Nicole: What do you do with this now?

This interview will be in my paper as is and then afterwards I will analyze the combined data I collect from all the interviews.

Nicole: You know now recently there was 22 schools which competed against each other you know the athletes.

'n Atletiek weedstryd (an Athletics tournament)

Nicole: Yes, you know I was shocked the gatekeeper showed me so many bottle koope (broken glass bottle heads) so many tik and alcohol to a school event. It was really shocking and he said and they are smoking cannabis and I said what the hell is going on so bad it is. But let me say I feel very safe here I walk everywhere no one will touch me. But I think it's because I served as a nurse and people know me.

Thank you again.

Transcription

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters (NP)

Interviewees: Barbara

Date: Tuesday 16th May 2012

Voice Recording

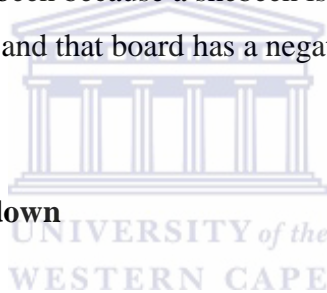
Like Wendy said I'm a student from UWC I am studying shebeens and the new liquor act and what people in Atlantis think about shebeens?

I am Councillor Barbara of ward (number left out intentionally) in Atlantis

You can go on

I don't have a problem with a shebeen because a shebeen is a offsale undercover. Because a licensed shebeen have a board on and that board has a negative impact on you when you want to sell your house.

Oh ok the property value goes down



Yes because just cause its so and so' s tavern that board have a negative impact on you. You developed your house you've extended it made renovations give out a lot of money but just because of where that shebeen is your house value goes down. That has a negative impact on the community. Shebeens will be there seeing as most of them or some of them are licensed what I would suggest is that the authorities of the day national and provincial should have a specific demarcation where they are located and not in the residential areas.

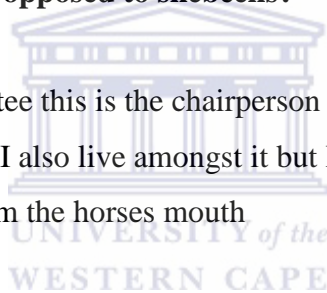
Ok, so do you think the new liquor at of 2008 will reduce crime in the area?

You know the act is fine but the implementation. The implementation is not always right and the outcomes is sometimes not what the community expects. If you look at the business side of a shebeen its commercial but the impact it has is that the patrons must go home after sitting there at the shebeens they are drunk now they must walk and drive there can be a accident and killed and if it's a female she can get raped and history has shown this. In my ward there was a young girl she was killed and raped and she was last seen at two shebeens. And way

back it happened also and that makes it impossible for the police to make a proper arrest because no one know what happened after she left the shebeen. That is when the shebeens are allocated in residential areas. I would say that there must be more progressive laws, in this sense the shebeens should be demarcated in a area there should be strict security, proper lighting, proper health facilities and when they leave there must be law enforcement visible law enforcement and patrols so that person can arrive safely. Because we won't get rid of shebeens out of everyday life we must put measures in place to protect the patrons and even the shebeen owner. They must be educated in a sense that that shebeen owner is responsible to look after the clients that come on to their property. Because in Atlantis in my ward one shebeen owner was killed and his brother with him up till now no arrests so there is also that competition amongst shebeeners that is a threat because innocent community members also get hurt.

Do you think the community is opposed to shebeens?

I will refer you to the flat committee this is the chairperson sitting here because they know about it they also live amongst it. I also live amongst it but I would like you to hear her opinion. Then you will hear it from the horses mouth



Volgens u woe voel die gemeenskap oor smokkel huise is hulle gekant daar teen?

(According to you how does the community feel about shebeens are they opposed to shebeens?)

Julie: Volgens my persoonlike opinie is n shebeen in jou gemeenskap te het is baie gevaarlike ding . Dit wat die coucillor genome het, het al reeds gebeur en ons wil nie he nie dat dit moet weer plaasvind nie want onse kinders lei daar onder. Want op die einde van die dag as daai man van die smokkel huise kom ek gaan sommer plaat praat dan domestic violence vind plass. Of die ma's sit sommer met die kinders by die smokkel huise en daar word kinders dood gemaak met die ma en al. Want vandag is niemand safe nie want waar daar alcohol betroom is is niemand ooit safe nie.

(According to me having a shebeen close to you is very dangerous. Look councillor Russ has already answered everything these things the councillor is mentioning have occurred already and we don't want it to occur again. Because our children suffer from it you know I will

speaking frankly when that man comes from the smokkel house domestic violence occurs or that child get abused. Some of the mother sit with their children at the smokkel houses so the children and the mother are both killed because no one is safe there because where alcohol is involved no one is safe that's my personal opinion.)

Ok en hoe voel u oor smokkel huise, oor shebeens in die area? (Ok, and how do you feel about smokkel houses shebeens in the area?)

Anne: That man he goes to the shebeens and makes a turn there before he goes home. There he waits for his wife and children at home. Then he asks where my food is and he is rude he chases the women around. Then the wife gets the change and there is children that go hungry and street kids because they run away to get away from it. Then a lot of them sell themselves on the street because here in the house the life isn't right. Especially girls they want to be something but they can't because the home environment doesn't allow them to.

Linda: And that's why I say if they demarcate the shebeen in areas where it is not so accessible, for young women, for pregnant women, for women, for men to go straight out of work and go there then part of our social ills can be reduced part of our crime can be reduced more visible policing I'm talking about national government because SAPS is a national government thing a program to educate the patrons which go there to teach them about their safety. And if they are demarcated then it's not so easy for them to go there. And shebeens should become more sophisticated. It must be in a business way but it is a business that only profit the owner and not the people who buy there.

So they must plough back into the community?

Yes, they must make it safe for the people there. And have a lot of toilets hand washing must be part of it and limitations rules and regulations that must be respected and obeyed. No pregnant women, no underage children and all that. Because you know what some of the shebeens are registered have their license or whatever but underneath they have their guard or 2 that is selling drugs also in the meantime. Then when the police comes they say no we have a license we don't do that maar in die meantime verkoop hulle drugs (but in the meantime they are selling drugs).

Ek wil nog vir u gevra het as daar n connection tuseen shebeens en drugs is? (I wanted to ask if there is a link between shebeens and drugs?)

Daar is n connection maar dis shebeen owners sie uit gang punt is ons is geregister met die taveners association so in n in hulle minds is hulle enlik untouchable (There is a connection but the shebeen owners defence is that they are registered with the taveners association and in their minds they are actually untouchable). That's why the laws must be more progressive to make a impact. Die impak wat die wette moet het dit moet n impak hê wat nog steeds die qualiteit van mense sie lewenswyse kan beskerm. En jy as die neighbour langs aan neighbour en opposite neighbour sie reg as n resident moet gerespek word (The law must have a impact and must protect the quality of people's lifestyle. And you as a neighbour next door and opposite neighbour your rights as a resident must be respected). Want serkerer tyd moet daai musiek af dan is die musiek af maar nou is dit die karre (Because at a certain time the music must be put of but now it's the cars). Hulle ry amper die hulle nag want daai is die take en go (They drive almost the whole night because that is the take and go). Die take en go dit gaan amper hul nag aan want daar (The take and go goes on almost whole night) is never enough police to police it. In ons wyke vir al here in Atlantis vent ons lighte aan waar daar vooreen donker plekke gewees het (In our areas especially here in Atlantis we install lights where before there were no lights). Maar nog steeds gaan daar nog misdad aan because as daai person van daai shebeen af gaan die shebeen owner is nie bekommered nie cause daai shebeen owner is daar maar jy wat die customer is raak n slaagoffer (But still crime is there because if that person leaves the shebeen the shebeen owner isn't worrid he is there but you as a customer become a victim). Dit is waar ek voel die shebeen owner moet meer accountable gehou word vir die veiligheid van die mense (this is where I feel the shebeen owner must be kept more accountable for the safety of the people). Die wette wat hulle maak volgens shebeenning moet hulle sorg dat die wat die laaste sign gee en die liquorboard (The laws that they make for shebeening they must see to it that those that give the last sign and the liquor board) . The liquor board should be at many times be kept accountable for these atrocities happening in our communities because the liquor board is also the board. But in the meantime practically this is the people that suffer the consequences and myself as a ward councillor and a resident. So it does have a impact. Daar moet stricter wette wees mointering en mense moet vanwoordlik gêhou word as hulle van die reëls breek (There must be stricter laws, monitoring and people must be held responsible if they break the rules).

But some people say that stricter laws makes the problem worse because then they go underground?

No they are still underground you can monitor also hulle sê moes ons smokkel net vir die pot en die wat vir die pot smokkel hulle het nie license nie (they say we shebeening just for food and those whoa re shebeening for food they don't have license. Baie van die shebeens is n uitgang vir basement drug verkoop dit is wanneer hulle underground gaan (A lot of the shebeens are a outlet for basement drug sellig that is when they go underground). Al hoe wel hulle n board het en se hulle is legal (Although they have a board (thier signpost) and say they are legal)

Verkoop hulle drugs?(They sell drugs?)

Ja, dis n opening vir die type activities want daar is niks polisering vir dit nie (yes it's a opening for those type of activitie because there is no policing for it). Vir al in gemeenskaape want almal ken vir almal en almal raak so familiar dat dit een groot familie is (Especially in communities because everyone knows everyone and is familiar with one another we become like one big family). Die polisie mannetjie kry sy whiskey die eentjie kry sy dingetjie (This police man gets his whiskey this one gets his thingy) so some people turn a blind eye. Heer sukkel die kerk om Sunday sy kerk vol te kry want die kerk is leeg want almal het hangovers die meerderheid(Here the church struggles to get full because everyone has hangovers on a Sunday the majority) . So dis n verantwoordlikheid wat op die owner moet is en ook op die customer moet wees(so it's a responsibility that must be on the owner and the customers). The liquor board should have sometimes workshops with the broader public. Daar is te veel wette wat gemaak is an niemand monitor dit nie (There are too many laws that are made and none monitors it). Because die punt van mense wees is that you break the law dis amper soos hulle n kick daar uit kry (Because the point of being human is that you break the law it's almost like they get a kick out of it). Because daai extra R20 op n R100 hulle wil dit tog maak (Because that extra R20 on a R100 they still want to make it). En soos ek se daai 2 moordes 4 moordes het gebeur in my wyk nie nog daar nie by my huis en oor kant my huis is die een moord en niemand is gearrester (And like asya that 2 murders 4 murders that occurred inmy area not still there (far away) by my house and opposite my house and no one is arrested. Weer eens as ons 3 in een gedeelte n shebeen het ne en nou kom pforce as jy het meerder kliente het of jou pryse is n bietjie goed kooperer(Also is 3 of us in one area have a shebeen in the same area and you have more clients than me or your prices are a bit

cheaper)you going to die at some point of time so a shebeen in a way in a broader sense is negative because people become greedy. Dis n besigheid dis (Its's a business it's) economic development ma (but) its blood money actually and tears because you heard what these two lady's said and it is the truth en ons kan nie weg beweeg van dit nie (and we can't move away from that).

Nicolette: Is there anything positive about shebeens?

Barbara: The only thing that is positive about a shebeen is that only one person gets rich the shebeen owner and his family. Daai is die einegste positive is vir hulle 'n (that's the only positive it is for them a) job creation. Ma as die wette reg is en hulle het hulle security stelsel, hulle health stelsel inplek en hulle safety plan vir die mense wat daar verkoop of die mense wat plek verlaat. Daan kan ek sê dit is 'n profitable business want hulle create jobs vir anders (But if the laws are right and they have a security system, health system and they have a safety plan for people who leave there. Then I can say it's a profitable business because they create work for others). But its not actually job creation dis iets wat hullselfe maak vir hulle eier self(It's something they make themselves for themselves). Op die einde van die dag ry hulle in blink karre (At the end of the day they ride in shiny cars). En (And) strange enough most of this shebeen owners children don't go to this ordinary schools hulle is by die elite schools maar die (they are at the elite schools but the)customers children go to ordinary schools. So it's a imbalance where shebeens are concerned. But to think out of the box you can't have tunnel vision shebeens are there to stay. Because there are off sales and some stay to the times and some don't but it also not a negative things because some people want to take a drink after work, they want to so they will be there but we need laws in place that guides them and the demarcation to me is the most important thing. Want jy lus is vir n dop en die shebeen is te ver dan jy hette n kar nie op die ou end gaan jy dit maar los jy gaan nie worry nie. Is toe is na ure koffee, tea en cooldrink is jou naam (Because now you crave liquor and the shebeen is too far and you don't have a car at the end you will leave it you won't worry. It's closed it's after hours coffee, tea and cooldrink is your name.)

Do you feel the new act will increase community support for the DA

Its not about support for the DA it's about adding substance to a quality life and also empowerment and responsibility. It's never about really the DA make a law to increase support no it's about doing the right thing at the right time.

Do you think it will make people see that there is positive change here?

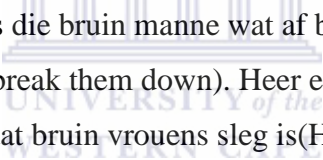
It will but you know the devil have a way of turning any positive thing into a negative. Like I say if you look at the 5 pillars of the city, a caring city a well run city, a safe city a efficient city a opportunity city with all those 5 pillars the people should be voting already for the DA bottom-line if I must now talk politics. Because these things can only work with the cooperation of every person who want to see a change where they are staying if they want to see the flats change they must change and others will see the change and respecting them for that and it will rub off and have a ripple effect and in that the community will change. Human capital investing in human capital and it's the same with shebeens they are there they will always be there we must guide and monitor and also mentor and evaluate you and it should always be reviewed. Policies and laws must be always be reviewed and the public must always come and participate. But that is where the weakness are in the communities they want change but they don't come to the meetings or they don't want to participate because there is a time when you can make submissions. Wanner jy kan sê nee ek wil nie dit en dit daar he nie want dit en dit is die reede wat uit gekom het dan doen hulle nie dit nie en dan bly hulle still (When you can say no I don't want this and that because this and that is the reason that comes out the they don't do that ten they stay still). Nou gaan die dinge deur en nou effect dit ons nou wil hulle praat ons moet se nee voor die tyd (Now this things go through and now it effects us now they want to talk we must say no before the time). Ons moet dit teen staan ons moet praat daar oor (We must satnd against it we must talk about it). Ons moet praat ons praat nie met mekaar nie (We must talk we don't talk to each other). Here Tortie ons moet gaan na daai shebeen owner (Here Tortie we must go to that shebeen owner). Is dat ons nie praat nie (It's that we don't talk) we must dialogue dan gebeur dinge (then things happen). Daai (That) shebeen owner dink ugh ek gee moes a bottle so nou en dan is fine maar dan is dit nie fine nie (thinks its fine ugh I give a bottle so now and again and it's fine but it isn't fine). Want die lang termyn consequences is domestic violence, is armode want as jou salaries net daar gaan jy sign net alles op skuld op natuurlik gaan dit n impak het op jou familie (Because the long-term consequences are domestic violence, is poverty because your salaries go just there you sign everything on credit naturally it will hava a impact on your family). Die familie moet onder armode lei en dan sal armode altyd op die troon sit (The family must suffer from poverty and then poverty will always sit on the throne.)

As daar ander werk heer gewees it sou daar dalk minder shebeens here wees? (If there was other work then would there maybe have been less shebeens here?)

U weet dis n tricky vraag want die mens wees en geld is iets anders die meer hulle het die meeder wil hulle hê (You know that's a tricky question because being human and money is something else the more they have the more they want). Soos as ek kyk na die mense wat die mense sie kaartjies hou die moneylenders (Like when I look at the people who keep people's cards the moneylenders). Die mense is so getrap daai person sie pay kard is by die moneylender (people are so trapped that persons pay card is by the moneylender). Nou elke maand as daai person pay dan moet hy maar weer sy geld gee en weer leun want daai person het nie om aan te gaan nie so its n moelik its trick (Now every month that person pays he must give his money again and lend again because he doesn't have money to go on with) . Hedlike op datum is daar 60 wettelike fabriek op Atlantis die fabriek is gevul (Currently on this date that are 60 leagal factories in Atlantis and the factories are filled) . Maar nou moet ons as n gemeenskap n bietjie tyd gee vir die fabriek om te progress want jy kan nie expand as jy nie die geld het nie (But now we as a community must give the factories a bit time to progress because you can't expand if you don't have money). So first they must now first make profits so it can go on onse mense is nie opgewasse nie hulle is nie geïnformed hoe die stelsel werk nie. Daar is nou fabriek maar nou hoekom is daar nie werk nie (our people are not educated and they are not informed about how the system works. There is now factories but why are there no jobs. Die mense wat heer bly nou die wat in kom kry daai werke (The people that stay here, those that come in get the jobs). En weet jy wat is onse vyaand affirmative action daai is die obstacle (And you know what is our enemy affirmative action that is the obstacle) . Baie van die mense sie huise word in gebreek en waar gaan die mense dit verkoop hulle gaan verkoop die goed by die informal settlements en daar verdwyn daai goed (A lot of people's houses are broken into and where do people sell it they sell it by the informal settlements and there the stuff vanishes.). Ons kan se daar kan hoe baaie werke wees maar dit gee nie die reg vir iemand om iemand anders to rof of in te breek nie.(We can say that there can be how many jobs but it doesn't give someone the right for someone to rob someone else or to break in). And that love for money plays a factor. So dit gaan nie oor werk dat heer so baie shebeens is nie as die mense arm is hoekom is daar so baie shebeens (So it isn't about work that there are so many shebeens here if people are poor why are there so many shebeens). Dit wil se hulle het besigheid daarom kan hulle prosper met die shebeens want eintlik is daar baie geld (This shows that they have business that's why the shebeens can

prosper there is a lot of money). So mense kan se whether daar nie baie werke is of nie is nie ek dink as daar baie werke is dan gaan meer mense geld he tom drank te koop (So people can say whether there is a lot of work of not I think if there is a lot of work then more people will have money to buy liquor). Our people need education we must go back to the basics of your basic human rights and self respect ons hette n gees niemand vat meer verantwoordlikheid nie (we don't have a spirit no one takes responsibility). Daai shebeen owner is nie geworried hy is safe sy kinders is safe later van tyd koop hy nog n ander huis dan run sy kinders die shebeen. Hy het 3,4,5 huise watter weete is daar teen dit niks(That shebeen owner is not worried he is safe his children is safe and as time goes on he buys another house and his children runs the shebeen. He has 3,4,5 houses what laws is there against that nothing) . This is how things are being done especially here in South Africa. Daar voor sê ek onse wette moet meer progressive wees (That's why I say our laws must be more progressive) to meet the needs of the people and also to hold them accountable. Daai (that) accountability is missing.

Thank you so much for your time.



Bruin vroue is christelike mense is die bruin manne wat af breek (Brown women are Christian it's the brown men that break them down). Heer en daar drink hulle maar ek het n groot probleem met mense wat se dat bruin vrouens sleg is(Here and there they drink but I have a problem with people that say coloured women are bad). Want die meerderheid van die bruin vrouens is christelik hulle is kerklik (Because the majority of brown people are Christian and church goers). Ek werk met mense in Delft, Eersteriver, Piketberg, Zoar, Barrydale en Oudshooring (I work with people in Delft, Eersteriver, Piketberg, Zoar, Barrydale and Oudshooring). Soms gaan ek na hulle toe en soms maak ek foon oproepe of ek stuur e-mails om advice te gee vir probleme (Sometimes I go to them and sometimes I make phone calls or send e-mails to give advice for problems). Die bruin vrouens oor die algemeen smokkel vir die pot om hulle kinder kos te gee (The brown women in general smokkel for the pot to give their children food) . The younger generation fall into prostitution they fall into desperation to feed their kids. For 2 years now hey Wendy we are working with prostitutes they are desperate and society hulle wil n vinger wys vir hulle (they want to point a finger to them) criticize but what do you do when your child asks for bread as a mother. When the child can't stop crying from hunger, when they are starving. Then pimps use and abuse this women and organized crime increases. Maar ek glo daar is nog hoop vir bruin vroue want hulle is baie sterk (But I believe there is still hope for brown women because

they are very strong). They are searching for na identity we are not black enough or white enough but we cope with any crises. And they will always say I am praying for you. Hulle gaan kerk meeder as die mans mense They go to church more than the men). That's why I still maintain the brown women don't want to be drunk. She is turned into a victim en sy soos die prostitutes is innerlik seer gemaak hulle mekeer genesing (and like the prostitutes they are deeply hurt emotionally and need healing). But there is no psychologists here I went to your university UWC to ask for the masters students at the psychology department to come help the women here. They need counselling and someone to talk to. Hulle endig op die verkeerder afdraai paaie en lei aan lae selfbeeld hulle is insecure (They end up on the wrong turnoff roads and they suffer because of a low self esteem and they are insecure).

Thank you so much for all your comments enjoy your day further.



Transcription

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters (NP)

Interviewees: Andrew (ANC constituency office admin officer, assistant to Fred Gona the party leader).

Date: Tuesday 16th May 2012

My name is Nicolette and as I explained yesterday I am a student from UWC doing research regarding shebeens in Atlantis and what the community feels about shebeens. What is the community in general are feelings regarding shebeens?

Well my name is Andrew Administrator in the Parliamentary constituency office as you know. Two things that you need to understand is that the shebeens has a historical content or content in the community with regards to the apartheid era et cetra, et cetra then one would say a certain part of the community is not necessarily against shebeens but are against what transpires at shebeens or because of shebeens. But most probably the majority of people in Atlantis and the surrounding areas will be against shebeens simply because of the aforesaid or what happens in shebeens. One must also be very mindful of the fact that whether we call them, shebeens, taverns or smokkel huise some of them are licensed and operate as fully fledged businesses. So and obviously they have been rezoned by the authorities or by the city to do business. So that again if you want to compare them to the liquor store it's the same business same principles so how do you do away with them. And in terms of the feeling historically people will always refer to shebeens or taverns as smokkel huise and always attach the negative side of the industry to that. Yes, yes 75 percent of people maybe more maybe less want to do away with shebeens but I believe it's a matter of understanding and communication to get the, the message across to the people why other people tend to engage in the business of shebeens or the liquor industry.

So there is some positive things coming out of shebeens?

There, there can be positive things must also be very mindful of the act that where unemployment is rife the people must be creative. And uh we can I don't want to mention names but we could give you a lot of names of people that went to tertiary institutions that become professionals out of the business of shebeens how because their parents own shebeens or run shebeens. You know the social illnesses one would say that shebeens

contribute more than any other industry to the social illnesses crime, prostitution, et cetra uh em what do you call it the misuse of alcohol or alcohol beverages. But these shebeen bosses or owners also contribute to uh uh whether its financial or other wise to the needs of the area for example you would have soup kitchens that rely on shebeens. You would have crèches that depend o the contributions of shebeens so you can say its positive.

Do you think as a result of the act there will be less crime here? Some people link crime to shebeens and the new liquor act which I'm sure you are aware of is trying to reduce the amount of shebeens in residential areas. So will the act lead to less crime?

Let me put it this way to you. Let me take you back, I understand your question. Whether we want to make all the shebeens legal there should be laws that govern this type of thing. I am not 100 percent sure whether that by law will lead to reduction of crime related to shebeens let me tell you why because there is laws which prohibit people of engaging in this type of economic activity. If people for lack of a better word or in laymans terms walk against a brick wall in terms of survival they tend to resort to shebeens or what ever the case may be. But if you close down one shebeen another one will pop up. Yes it might contribute to a reduction in the violence related to shebeens but it can also contribute to a increase of unlawful activities. In the context of people now disregarding law and begin to deal with the illegal distribution of alcohol.

So you would say it has an opposite effect?

Yes

Do think there is a link between drugs and shebeens. Because some shebeen owners are accused of selling drugs or having someone that sells drugs at the shebeens?

I can answer that question 3 pronged if you allow me 1 historically shebeens has been run by so called warlords in townships so these people then tend to venture in the drug scene because of power and money. But it's also a fact that most of shebeen owners stick to the legal side of things or wants to go legal and therefore e don't want to touch anything unlawful in the context of drugs. But I believe the core of things people want to claim there's a link between drug dealers or drugs its probably true. But if you did research one would find and I would say 50 percent of shebeen owners 70 percent most probably of shebeen owners really

wants to contribute the economy and stay clean in terms of their businesses and so as a matter of fact at my office as an individual I assisted now legal shebeens 3 more than 5 people with their business licenses. But there is some truth to it.

But then is the overwhelming majority?

No, you will always link your drug smugglers to the gangster world and not the liquor or the shebeen owners.

Will you then say if there was more work opportunities in Atlantis that there would be less shebeens?

You see its again 2 things one needs to consider historically it was for survival and now in modern times people see it more as business opportunities. One would argue if there would be more jobs legitimate for lack of a better word more jobs in the mainstream sector of the economy but one would be mindful it's a matter of how one approaches that because shebeen owners they drive BMW's whatever the case may be. And they also more seen as role models. There is always a flipside to things. If you Nicole am I right. If you are a shebeen owner and make roughly 30000- 60000 on a day or a week would you then rather leave the shebeen industry and work as a ordinary work for someone else.

No

You see it doesn't make economic sense also.

No

Exactly

So do you think the community supports the new liquor act?

In all due respect people are entitled to their own opinion now Atlantis and its surroundings this is a very religious area. Now sure people the religious sector of Atlantis would support but also those that is very liberated in there thinking would not support. I tell you lie the then law or the one we now know. To take away a illegal shebeen like Avondale there is a legal

store but nothing else there is no leisure facilities if you take that away what do people do. Because now in our townships as you know Nicole in Mitchells Plain too shebeens are used for watching tv there's sports. Not sports on tv per se. There's pool clubs, dart clubs, dominoes clubs if you take that away you take a lot away from the community. But nevertheless it's a matter of opinion a 50/50 split others will support and other people will vote against it.

Do you think the act will increase the support for the DA in the community?

De Let me answer this I don't want to know your age in 1996 can you recall the issue of the twins

No I am too young for that

The twins Rashet and Rashad Stacie, there was a major protest with regards to how Stacie died there will always be a protest whether it's abstract or whatever the case would be politically. If one says it will increase the DA vote you must go into areas in Atlantis where the shebeen owners support the constituency it may be work it may be a piece of bread. It is a matter of where the shebeen owners fall politically um if the shebeen owners support any other political organization then his patrons is likely to support that. If a shebeen owner close down because of the bill and they can make the connection then it that case the opposition can get that votes. But it is a matter of opinion.

Thank you so much. I am done now enjoy your day.

Transcription

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewees: Sheik Gabriels (Madrassah classes teacher teaches Muslim religious studies at the local mosque)

Date: Tuesday 16th May 2012

Note: The respondent is not from South Africa he is from Pakistan so there was a bit of a communication issue.

Can I interview you I know you wanted me to speak to Achmat Dean but I tried and couldn't get through to his number can I please talk to you rather.

Have you heard of the 2008 liquor act?

No I haven't.

Do you think closing down shebeens is good for the community?

Yes its good I think for the community.

Do you think people want the shebeens to close?

Rasheed Mohammed: Yes they also want shebeens to be closed they complain they don't want it next to their houses.

Do you think the act will increase political support for the DA?

No I'm not sure. You know liquor not good for body, mind and people won't die if they don't drink. Here they say have it at 18 plus it's not allowed for the child. But still harm you it doesn't mean can't harm you at 18 plus. People must come back to the Kroanic solution people go against they say they don't believe but if it is true they must accept its true. In the Kroan it say I have the quote can I get it do you have time.

Yes I have time please fetch it I'd like to see it.

It is 5 verse number 90. It say whatever comes from wine harm people. Satan wants hatred between people. Wine make them fight this is thousands of years ago 4000 years ago works of God. The ANC government should establish Kroanic rule. How many rules protect the wines shebeens and wines there is no control. See the verse see the solution of shebeen it says must stay far away act of devils other communities allow it sometimes. It is wrong in Arab states not allowed. If you walk near mountain you can fall. The Islamic solution not have it the wines at all. There is no crime related to wine in Muslim country. Accidents happen, killing in South Africa Christian rule Islam never allowed this things. You must put that verse in I want to see it in there.



Transcription

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Interviewee: Carly

Date: Wednesday 17th May 2012

Like I said my name is Nicolette. I am a student from UWC completing my masters and I am studying shebeens and this interview goes into my paper. So what is your name.

I am Carly and I work here at World Vision

And what do you do here at world vision?

I am a community worker we work with needy children in the communities

How long have you been staying here? Very long?

My eldest child is 28 years so 28 years now

That is quite long, so what does the community feel regarding shebeens?

Let me tell you what we are opposed against these somkkel houses hey but as a result of the unemployment that is high we allow it. I wouldn't say we allow it but because the unemployment is high our people benefit from it. if I can get a job from you tomorrow and buy your things then you pay me and I can put bread on the table. But for us as a community it's very disadvantageous for us. Because for us as a organization the interest is that the children's safety is very important for us.

So will you say that there is a lot of crime because of alcohol?

Child abuse, women abuse and substance abuse. Because that person doesn't work now he sits on the yard(slang for shebeen). And their things come out then I come home and the man is there now he this ways with me (fights with me). There it begins now and conflicts and such things.

Do some of the shebeens sell drugs?

Oh yes

But is the majority or the minority?

I will say the majority they are dealers hey and they look at how they can make a profit. If I can sell you a beer and a straw why must you go somewhere else.

Like a one stop shop.

It's a special yes.



What do think about the DA trying to reduce the amount of shebeens? As you said before the interview you know about the new liquor act.

I think it's something good that they are trying. I stay next to a smokkel house I came across it already where the bottles are thrown there and the condoms lay there. For me it's a good idea that they have.

Do you think that they will get more support in the community?

Yes they will get support.

Do you think anything positive comes from smokkel houses?

No never, if I think so more or less a month ago there was a murder as a result of a shebeen.

So you will say its not actually a positive thing in the area?

No never

One of the ward councillors told me there is a lot of girls which fall preganat at a young age or are addicted to drugs would you agree with that?

Yes as I say the um the dealers the children go to them as they benefit. You are now my girlfriend and I use you and in the meantime you must work for me too.

Thank you for your time and enjoy the rest of your day, keep well.



Fokus groep

Date: 17th May 2012

Onderhoudvoerder: Nicolette Peters

Plek: Wesfleur Library Hall, Atlantis

Tyd: 15:00-17:00

Hello ek wil vir almal van u baie dankie sê dat julle gekom het. Dankie vir u hulle sie tyd. My naam is Nicolette en soos ek al reeds vir u hulle ge sê het ek is n student van UWK. Ek is nou besig om my Mesters graad klaar te maak en my navorsing gaan oor smokkel huise in Atlantis, oor die politiek van smokkel huise en ook oor vroue mense wat smokkelaars is. Alles wat heer gesê word is vertroulik. En u hulle moet vry voel om te praat, daar is geen verkeerde antwoorde nie. En ek wil vra kan ek ma vir u hulle record.

Almal: Ja is okay

Ok so ons kan ma dan begin.



Gill: Voor ons begin kan ek gou iets se. Het jy miskien in die SON gesien oor hoe hulle in Maitland die smokkel huise skoon maak.

Nee ek hette sê vir my wat daar aan gaan.

Gill: Mense probeer die smokkel huise toe te maak. Heer in Atlantis kan mense nie net loop vir werk nie. In die Kaap is daar baie werk nie heer in Atlantis nie. Heer moet jy die bus vat of taxi om werk te gaan soek. Môre gaan ek na 'n meeting toe want hulle is besig met die brokers ook. Hulle het 'n permit ma nou moet hulle skuif die wyn is cheap ma die kos is duur. Onse mense koop by die brokers hulle support hulle want hulle is cheaper as die winkels. Mense kan nie afford om by die groot winkels te gaan koop nie. Die informal walkers sie chairperson het ook punte gelig oor hoe in die gemeente mense fines kry rooi slips van traffic cops wat uit die kaap af com somma R500 fines.

Lilly : Met informal tradiging het inkommers regte as hulle oop maak. Ma nie ons as shebeeners nie. Mense het behooftes en die regering moet verstaan daar is nie werk nie. Mense heer het nie baie geld nie.

Gill: Ek stem nie saam met daai nie. Daar is baie geld in Atlantis. Die eerste rede hoekom ek so se is kyk net na die klein smokkel huise, hoeveel wyn verkoop hulle nie. Daar bly niks oor nie. Daar is geld maar nie werk nie. Nou vra die mense waar kom die geld vandaan. Mense is onder skuld hulle leen by brokers en spandeer hulle geld net op kos, drank en klere.

Rose: Ma hulle het niks geld op pay dae nie hulle kan net net die dak betaal and brood koop. Want die paykard is by dingise of die ration kard en elke maand gaan dit so.

Hoe voel julle oor die DA in Atlantis?

Gill: Hulle redeneer sê en sê maar daar is nie aksie nie. By die laaste meeting met die drank raad, polisie en die Wes Kaapse regering het die DA gesê hulle gaan werk verskaaf. Maar mense sie omstandighede in Atlantis is sleg hulle is nie geleerd nie watter werk kan hulle doen.



Candice: Ek het toe gemaak en op gehou smokkel maar toe moet ek weer oop maak. Die winkel hette uit gewerke .

Gill: Mense support jou nie as jy ma net n winkel het ma die wyn daar gaan hulle vir jou support. Hulle koop by die Somalians want hulle is cheaperer.

Belinda: Ek verkoop ma net 5 krate 'n week 'n brood is R20, 'n mens maak amper niks wynse dis maar net brood geld. Die DA het ons nie vorentoe gebring nie ons is ma net dieselfde.

Hoe voel hulle oor Helen Zille?

Rose: Ek hoe nie van DA of Helen Zillie nie.

Lilly: Hulle deel uit droë weetbix uit vir die kinders en ann die mense and dan baklei die mense daar oor. Daar ise evens 'n bietjie melk met die weetbix. Maar as jy moet stem net voor dit dan doen hulle baie vir die mense.

Gill: Het jy gesien sy was somma gegooi by COSATU sie kantoor. Dis onse Kaap ma sy is daar wat wil sy van ons he sy behoort nie daar nie. Sy is nie van die plak af nie. Ons moet heer march teen hulle en die wette.

Daar is baie mense wat sê dat seker smokkel huise drugs verkoop drugs is dit waar?

Ja dit is, sekerer mense doen dit

Candice: Ons wat sonder license sit help die polisie ons sê vir hulle wie drugs verkoop.

Belinda: Ek het al tip offs gegee vir hulle oor iemand wat tik verkoop. Hulle doen niks. Hulle raid nie die tik huise nie ma die beer kom haal hulle. Ek weet die boere moet die wet toe pas want hulle val ook onder die raad. Maar die raad moet ook iets sê vir ons want daar is nie werk nie. Hulle gooi n blinne oog vir die drugs ma nie vir die drank nie.

Maar baie mense sê dat die drank veroorsaak crime is dit waar?

Gill: Ja daar is crime heer skelms dra uit mense sie huise. Nou is dit anderste as daar 'n ongeluk is en ek drank verkoop an daai persoon dan kom die polisie na my toe. Dis somma nou my skuld.

Lilly: Maar dit is nie daai person sie skuld nie as jy gedrink het al het jy nie iets gedoen nie en daar is n moord dan is dit automatise jou skuld. Die person wat drink dis ma altyd sy skuld, as iets gebeur.

Gill: Ken jy vir Hendricks

Ja ek het n onderhoud met hom gehad

Gill: Ek hoe nie van daai man nie. Hy is die aangesteelde drank officer. Hy het vir my self persoonlik n fine van R500 gebring want 'n ou wat by my shebeen kom drink het n meisie na n dam toe gevat en haar daar verkraag. Ma ek het net twee beere aan hom verkoop.

Almal: Ons hou nie van hom nie hy is hardkoppige en hy hou nie van shebeeners en hy is skynheilige.

En hoe voel u hulle oor Patrica De Lille?

Rose: Daai vrou wil moes glad nie hoore van 'n shebeen nie. Sy wil nie eens legal shebeens hê nie. Niks drank of smokkelry moet aan gaan nie. Ek is gekant teen die DA. Hulle die mense wat wette maak werk in kantoore. Sy sit in n kantoor en ry n blink kar wat weet sy van swaar kry. Hulle weet nie wat dit is nie om arm te wees nie.

En die res van u hulle?

Almal: Ons wil nie nog oor haar praat nie ons hoe nie van hulle nie.

Nou wat van die ANC wat dink u hulle oor die ANC?

Gill: Die commissioners werk nie reg nie. Maar as ek die ANC roep help hulle vir my. Hulle help my die raad is gekant teen ons

Rose: Nee ek stem nie staam met daai nie. Hulle maak net beloftes. Hulle is almal niks weete.

Lilly: Onse mense sukkel uit armode uit almal kom uit smokkel huise uit baie mense het op gegoei met dit. Ons moet n moerse march gooi en n konferensie met die mense hoe. Want ons word verdruk. Ma onse mense kyk waar is die wit mense daan stem ons vir hulle, dis racisim daarom kan ons nie groei nie.

Gill: Ek wil hê die councillors moet met ons sit en praat oor die ding. Ons as smookelars moet saam werk met CPF and ons moet n organisasie begin met Tajoodien.

Rose: Hy het met my gepraat hy wil met ons praat ons moet net almal weer na hom toe gaan.

Ok maar sal hulle se dat die gemeenskap gekant teen smokkel huise is?

Gill: Ons he teen meeting gehad en die met license kan gepraat het maar nie die sonder license nie, hulle kan nie in die meetings moes praat nie. Toe spring op iemand sonder license, toe se almal hy moet sit en stil bly. Dit is nie reg nie.

Rose : Ons as smokkelaars help hulle kerk mense vra dan vir my vir geld

Gill: Ja hulle het baie te se maar hulle kom leen geld by my. Daai een ou ek het hom ge sê, jy ek gaan jou kry na die meeting. Ek gaan jou afwag. Jy praat sleg van my besigheid ma jy ko leen geld by my.

Lilly: Die mense is evil, Tajodien vra vir hom in die laaste CPF meeting niemand praat van tik nie. Maar die smokkel huise word oor gepraat. Hulle ko leen by my foken geld en ko visit my, dan wil hulle ko praat oor wyn.

Gill: By die mobiles is daar n mobile voor en drugs agte. Daar is somma 10 mense in daai huis en vrou mense. Dan kom hulle moet niks uit nie dan weet jy nee man hulle het drugs gekoop, want hulle is daar vir 5 minute. Maar met beer mense loop met dit in n sakkie of in hulle hand, en dan sien jy daar gaan hy met dit somma 2 minute later. Almal werk nie saam met jou nie in organisasie nie in atlantis breek orgaisasies op. Laas keer was daar net 6 mense in in organisasie. Die CPF praat nie meer met die smokkelaars nie. Die license het voor grond hulle moet meer oor die code of conduct praat. Mense stel nie meer belang nie ons moet mekaar aan die hand vat en n vergardering het om dinge reg te maak. Ons moet dit op kleeur die license en wet probleme. Die met license met praat vir die sonder license.

Wat dink julle van die nuwe drank wet?

Gill: Met die nuwe drank wet wat nou in gekoop is dit swaar om license te kry rezone is swaar om dit te kry. Die raad praat nie daa oor nie en daar is niks in plek nie ek was al in Somerset Wes, Strand almal daai vergaderings ma vir die rezoning is daar niks in plek nie. Ons moet brood op die tafel sit beer laas lank groente en vrugte raak vrot dan moet jy dit weg gooi. Maar beer kan jy altyd verkoop dit raak nie oud nie.

Lilly : Die opstelsel werk nie ek voel dit werk nie vir ons nit. Hulle sit in kantoore weet nie van swaar kry nie. Daar is amper geen besigheid heer in Atlantis. En ek is amper bankrot want Sondag weekends is die dae wanner ek my meeste geld gemaak het maar nou met die nuwe ure verloor ek baie geld. Hulle maak dit swaar vir onse mense. Die wette is nie reg nie.

Molly: Maandag het hulle skandal gemaak by my huis die polisie ma ek smokkel net vir die pot.

Gill: Ma die wat nie license het nie hulle kry die cream nie ons nie wat is die use van die license.

Lilly: Die wit mense is used to different distribution of liquor we come from it. Hulle is nie gewoonte smokkel aan huise in residential areas ma ons is. Ek dink hulle is bang dat dit in hulle areas gaan verspree.

Molly: Ek gee die customers werk somtyds betaal ek hulle as hulle vir my deliever. Ma hulle moet dit nie doen nie nou stoor hulle, hulle wyn by jou dan deliever hulle vir jou.

Gill: Ek weet as ek beer vir koop aan iemand sonder license dan glee my license. Ek vir niemaand beer nie.

Sally: Voor ek aan iemand moet hulle hul license vertoon n afedruk daar van. Ons is anderste kinders onder 18 ons serve nie vir hulle nie. Maar mense sonder license serve aan kinders. Wat is die alternatief die wet wil vir ons toe maak ma vat kan ons doen ons moet smokkel.

En sal hulle heerdie nuwe wet sie reels kan volg?

Gill:Die rezone ding hulle is mal ek is nie befok nie ek het al vir n license betaal nou moet ek weer betaal.

Lilly: Rezone is R5000 ek is ook nie mal nie.

Wat dink u hulle van die ward councillors?

Candice: Hulle ry groot vans nuwe vans. Ek veroop 10 kuste en dan betaal ek n R1000 vir dit ek maak ma R200 uit dit ek kan nie n kar koop nie.

Molly: Die kraag is so deer ons kan dit amper nie koop nie ma hulle, hulle lewe lekker.

Belinda: Vir hulle is beer n problem hulle het n problem met beer ma wat van die tik en die dagga. Hulle y met four by four's en mini coppers

Felicia: Ons skiet nooit op mekaar nie maar die tik dealers maak mekaar dood. Meer kinders tik kyk die ouderdoms groepe.

Janet: Die een meisie het vir my gese wet jy Aunty Janet as ek op daai goed is tik daan luk dit vir my as ek n man sien dan val my panty af. Ek wil net seks daai goed maak my so. Hoe ko skel hulle nie daar oor nie. Daai Barbra Russ sy is n ou gangster ek ken vir haar man nou wil sy teen smokkel huise praat sy het daantoe gegaan ander dag.

Wanita: Barbra Russ hulle wil he ons moet toe maak tussen 9-10 in die aande.

Janet: Ma as ons toe is dan wie is meeste besig.

Candice: Dis die tik koppe hulle loop in die rondte en verkoop gesteelde goed. Hulle neem somma die goed na die dealers toe ek het ie license ie maar ek wat ie geteelde goed aan vir beer ie.

Lilly: Jy sit op die eende met niks geld nie want jy moet so baie fines betaal.

Gill: Oor weekend ko fine hulle baie

Molly: Ek was onlaanks R1500 gefine

Lilly: Waar moet ons werk kry wat dink die councillors hulle weet daar is nie werk in Atlantis nie.

Molly: Ek sit meet leeg fridges want ek moet rezone daarom het ek daai R1500 fine gekry.

Lilly: Ons sal weer moet kom en sit en praat oor die rezone ding want dit gaan n groot problem wees

Gill: Ons kan sit en praat tot ons blou in die gesig is maar ons moet in die regte rigting gaan ons moet help kry.

Belinda: On swat nie license het nie moet saam staan met die waat license het want som van ons koop onse beer by hulle.

Molly: Ons moet iets stig want ons behoord aan niemand.

Lilly: Die CPF wag vir ons die problem is hulle wag vir die shebeeners.

Is daar postiwte aspekte van smokkelry?

Janet: Dis n goeie ding as hulle ko met n burial bly met n lang lus. Die busigheid mense waer om ietse te gee. Ek het al geld vir die brand weer expidisie gegee. Hulle hardloop na die smokkel huise as die library ietse mekeer vir skool fonds dan is dit die smokkel huise vir baaie dinge hardloop hulle smokkel huise toe as iemand dood gaan dan maak die smokkel huise vir hulle kos.

Molly: Ja ons help mense ons as smokkel huise

Lilly: Barbra Russ sie shelter kry genoeg geld.

Molly: My sy wys mense nou weg want daar is nie meer plek nie.

Gill: My sy woor gesponsor. Die gemeenskaap verwaag te veel van die smokkelaars af ons kan nie alles doen nie.

Lilly: Ons het nie altyd cash geld nie maar ons try ons best om te help.

Gill: Ons wil 'n huise stig vir armme mense ons as smokkelaars ons gaan dit uit try.

Belinda: En ons gee werk vir anders.

Lilly: 'n Smokkelhuis verskaaf werk moes altyd.

Rose: Ek gee ook werk vir mense.

Gill: Ek berof nie mense nie. Ek kry soms swaar ma dan ander tye maak ek goed geld. Ons bou onse eie geboue vir die raad om toe te keer. Ons verkoop nie drugs nie. Die license is nie vernuit nie ek het betaal daar voor . SA Breweries het my gehelp ma nie die raad nie. Die raad en die polisie wil die mense brand arm maak hulle wil he ons moet weer in blikke huise gaan bly. Die mense kry swaar. Ek wil he jy moet die publish se vir die mense hoe swaar kry mense hesa.

Lilly: Ons het al pakkies vir die kinders gegee vir kersfees en skool skoone, en brooke, hempde em uniforms.



Gill: Ons he took vir die raad en die polisie platters gemaak. Hulle was bevoereg ons dink meer van hulle. Hulle moet hulle harte oop maak ons is nie skollies of moodenaars nie. Ons het n funksie vir die gemeenskaap gegooi vir fonds insaamling vir die skoole.

Wil einge een nog ites sê.

Almal:Nee

Dan is ons klaar. Ek will weer sê dankie vir u hulle sie tyd, geniet u dag.

Focus group

Date: 17th May 2012

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Place: Wesfleur Library's Hall, Atlantis

Time: 15:00-17:00

Hello everyone I just want to say thank you very much to all of you for coming and for your time. My name is Nicolette and like I said before I am a student from UWC. I am busy completing my masters and I am researching shebeens in Atlantis, the politics of shebeens and women shebeeners. Can I record you all?

Everyone: Yes it's ok

So can I begin?

Gill: Before we begin can I say something quickly? Did you maybe see in the SON how they are cleaning out the smokkel houses in Maitland?

No I didn't tell me what's going on there?

Gill: People are trying to close the smokkel houses. Here in Atlantis people can't just walk for work. In Cape Town there is a lot of work not here in Atlantis. Here you must take the bus or taxi to look for work. Tomorrow I'm going to a meeting because they are busy with the brokers (a broker is a person who owns an informal fruit and or vegetable stall. They have a permit but now they must move. Wine (liquor) is cheap but food is expensive. Our people support them because they are cheaper than the shops. People can't afford to buy by big shops (meaning formal shops like Pick n Pay for example). The informal walkers (informal traders) chairperson raised a point he said traffic officers from Cape Town come here and give red slips to people, R500 fines to people.

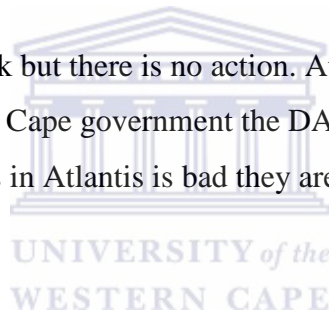
Lilly: With informal trading the outsiders (people from other countries) have rights when they open up but not us as shebeeners. People have needs and the government must understand that there isn't work. People here don't have a lot of money.

Gill: I don't agree with that. There is a lot of money in Atlantis. The first reason why I say so is look at the small smokkel houses and how much wine (liquor) they sell. Nothing is left over. There is money but there isn't work. Now a person asks where the money comes from. People are heavily in debt. They lend by brokers(fruit and or vegetable stall owners this is not cash but they typically buy op die boekie, on the book meaning they buy on credit and must repay the owner at the end of the month). Then they spend money just on food, alcohol and clothes.

Lilly: But they have no money on paydays they can just pay the roof (pay their rent or bond) and buy bread. Because their pay card (disability grant, child support or pension card) is by thingy (a person) and every month it goes like that.

Ok then how do you all feel about the DA in Atlantis?

Gill: They reason and talk and talk but there is no action. At the last meeting with the liquor board, the police and the Western Cape government the DA said they are going to provide work. But people's circumstances in Atlantis is bad they are not educated what work can they do?



Candice: I closed down and stopped smokkeling but then I had to reopen. My shop (tuck shop) didn't work out.

Gill: People don't support you with just a shop but the liquor there they will support you. They buy from the Somalians because they are cheaper.

Belinda: I sell only 5 crates a week (she sells 5 crates of beer) a bread is almost R20 a person makes almost no profit. It's just bread money. The DA hasn't brought us forward (improved our lives) we are just the same.

How do you feel about Helen Zille?

Rose: I don't like the DA or Helen Zille.

Lilly: They had out dry Weetbix to the children and people. And then the people fight over it. There isn't even a little milk with the Weetbix. But when you must vote just before then, then they do a lot for the people.

Gill: Did you see she was thrown by COSATU's offices (in front of COSATU's offices). It is our Cape Town but she is there (in office). What does she want from us? She doesn't belong there. She isn't from here. We must march here against them and the laws (the liquor act).

There are a lot of people that say that some smokkel house sell drugs, is that true?

Everyone: Yes some people do it.

Candice: Us that have no license (no liquor license) we help the police. We tell them who is selling drugs.

Belinda: I have already given a tip off to them about someone who sells tik. They do nothing. They don't raid the tik (methamphetamine) houses but they beer they come fetch it. I know the police must carry out the law because they also fall under the liquor board. But the board must say something for us (defend the shebeeners). They throw a blind eye for the drugs but not for the liquor.

But a lot of people say that liquor causes crime is that true?

Gill: Yes there is crime here thieves carry out people's houses (they break in people's houses). Now it is different if there is an accident and I sold liquor to that person then the police comes to me. It's now just my fault.

Lilly: But it isn't that persons fault if you drank even if you didn't do anything and there is a murder then automatically it's your fault. The person that drinks it's always his fault if something happens (sarcastic).

Gill: Do you know Hendricks?

Yes, I had an interview with him.

Gill: I don't like that man. He is the designated liquor officer. He gave me a fine personally of R500 because a guy raped who drank at my shebeen took a girl to a dam and raped her. But I only sold 2 beers to him.

Everyone: We don't like him he is stubborn and doesn't like shebeeners he is self righteous.

What do you think of Patricia De Lille?

Gill: That woman doesn't want to hear about a shebeen at all. She doesn't even want legal shebeens. No liquor or shebeening must go on. I am opposed to the DA. They the people that make laws work in offices. She sits in an office and drive shiny cars what do they know of poverty. They don't know what it is to be poor.

And the rest of you?

Everyone: We don't want to talk about it?



Now what do you think about the ANC?

Gill: The commissioners don't work right. But if I call the ANC they help me. They help me the board (liquor board) is opposed to us.

Lilly: No I don't agree with that. They just make promises.

Rose: They are all worthless. They do nothing for us or the people of Atlantis.

Lilly: Our people struggle out of poverty everyone comes out of smokkel houses. A lot of people grew up with it. We must have a massive march and have a conference with the people because we are being oppressed. But our people look where the white people are, then we vote for them. It is racism that's why we can't come right.

Gill: I want the councillors to sit with us and talk with us about this thing. We as shebeeners must work together and we must start a organization with Tajodien (the CPF chairperson).

Rose: He spoke to me and he wants us all to go speak to him

But wouldn't you say that the community is opposed to smokkel houses?

Gill: We had one meeting those with licenses could speak but those without licenses couldn't speak in the meeting. Then someone without license got up and started speaking and everyone said he should sit down but that isn't right.

Lilly: We as shebeeners help people, church people ask me then for money.

Gill: Yes they have a lot to say but they come lend money by me. That one guy I told him I'm going to get you. I'm going to wait for you after the meeting is over. You talking badly about my business but you talk badly about my business.

Lilly: The people are evil. Tajoodien ask him in the last CPF meeting no one spoke about tik (methamphetamine). But the shebeens are talked about. They lend fucking money and come visit me but then they want to talk about wine (liquor).

Gill: At the mobiles (tuck shops) there is a mobile(tuck shop) in front and drugs at the back. There are 10 people in that house and women then they come out with nothing. Then you know no man that people bought drugs because they are there for 5 minutes. But with beer you see people walking with it in a packet or in their hands. Then you see there he goes with it 2 minutes later. Everyone doesn't work with you in organizations in Atlantis organizations break up. Last time there was only 6 people in the organization. The CPF doesn't talk to the shebeeners anymore. The license has the fore ground they must talk more about the code of conduct. People are not interested anymore we need to take each others hands (literal translation of an Afrikaans saying which means we must cooperate and help one another) and we must hold a meeting to fix things. We must clear up the license and law problems. Those with license must talk for those without license.

What do you all think of the new liquor act?

Gill: With the new liquor act that came in now it is difficult to get license and rezoning is difficult to get. The board doesn't talk about it and there is nothing in place. I was in Somerset West, Strand and a lot of places already but at all those meeting nothing is in place for the rezoning. We must put bread on the table. Beer lasts longer than vegetables and fruit

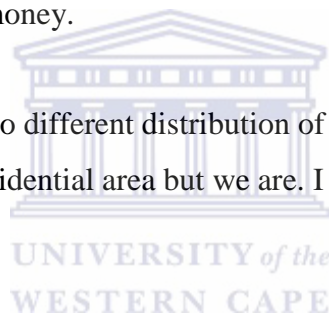
which gets rotten then you must throw it away. But beer you can always sell it, it doesn't get old.

Lilly: The system doesn't work. I feel it doesn't work for us. The people who make laws they sit in offices they don't know about being poor. There is almost no business here in Atlantis. And I'm almost bankrupt because Sundays, weekends are the days when people make the most money but now with the new hours I lose a lot of money. They make it difficult for our people. The laws are not right.

Molly: Monday they made a scandal at my house the police but I am just smokkeling for the pot (shebeening to feed my family, smokkel for the pot is a popular Coloured saying).

Gill: But people with no license get the cream not us with license. They sell after hours and in bigger amounts and make more money.

Lilly: The white people are used to different distribution of liquor we come from it. They are not used to smokkel houses in residential area but we are. I think they are scared that it will spread into their areas.



Molly: I give the customers work sometimes I pay them if they deliver for me. But they mustn't do it. Some of them store their wine by you and then they deliver for you.

Gill: I know that if I sell to someone without license then my license will be taken. So I don't give beer to anyone.

Molly: Before I sell to someone they must show me their license and I must get a copy of it. We are different we don't serve to children under 18. But people without license some of them serve to children. What is the alternative the act wants to close us down but what we can do we must smokkel.

And will you be able to follow the regulations of the new act?

Gill: The rezone thing they are crazy I'm not crazy. I paid for a license already now I must pay again.

Molly: Rezone is R5000 I'm also not crazy. Where must the money come from.

What about the ward councillors, what do you think of them?

Candice: They drive big vans new vans. I sell 10 cases and then I pay R1000 for it I make only R200 I can't buy a car.

Molly: The electricity is so expensive; we can almost not afford it, but then they live comfortably.

Belinda: For them beer is a problem but what about the tik (methamphetamine) and the dagga (marijuana). They drive with four by four's and mini coopers.

Candice: We never shoot each other, but the tik dealers kill each other. More children and young people tik(methamphetamine) look at the age groups.

Gill: The one young girl told me you know Auntie Janet when I'm on that stuff tik (methamphetamine) then it seems to me that if I look at a man my panty falls off. I just want sex that stuff makes me so. Why don't they argue and complain about that. That Barbra Russ she is a old gangster. I know her man now she wants to talk about smokkel houses she used to go there in the past.

Belinda: Linda them wants us to close between 9-10 at night. That's when the party starts young people want to be out at night.

Gill: But if we are closed then who is mostly busy?

Candice: It's the tik (methamphetamine) addicts they walk around and sell stolen stuff. They take the stuff to the dealers. I don't have a license but I don't take stolen stuff for beer.

Lilly: You sit at the end of the day with almost nothing because of the fines you must pay.

Gill: Over the weekends they fine a lot.

Molly: I was recently fined R1500

Lilly: Where must we get decent work? What are the councillors thinking they know there isn't work in Atlantis.

Molly: I am sitting with empty fridges because I must rezone that's why I got that R1500 fine. Are they crazy how can I afford it?

Lilly: We will have to come and sit and talk about this rezone thing. They are quite now but this rezone thing is going to be a big problem.

Gill: We can sit and talk till we are blue in the face but we must go in the right direction we must get help.

Belinda: Us without license must stand together with those with license because some of us buy by them.

Molly: We must establish something because we belong to no one.

Lilly: The CPF is waiting for us the problem is they are waiting for us shebeeners.

What are the positive aspects of shebeening?

Gill: It's a good thing when they come with a burial collection, with a long list (collecting money for the funeral of the deceased). The business people refuse to give something. I gave money for a firemen expedition. They run to the smokkel houses if the library needs something for school funds then it's the smokkel houses for a lot of things they run to smokkel houses. If someone dies then the smokkel houses make food for them.

Molly: Yes we help people we as shebeeners. And the shelter also asked for money by us.

Lilly: Barbra Russ's shelter gets enough money

Molly: But she sends people away because there is no more place there.

Gill: But she gets sponsored. The community expects too much from us we can't do everything.

Lilly: We don't always have cash money but we try our best to help.

Gill: We want to establish a shelter for poor people us as shebeeners we want to try it out.

Belinda: And we give work to others.

Lilly: A smokkel house always provides work.

Rose: I also give work to people.

Gill: I don't rob people. Sometimes I'm poor, but other times I make good money. We build our own buildings for the board to approve. We don't sell drugs. The license isn't for free I pay for it. SA Breweries helped me but not the board. The board and the police want to make the people burnout poor. They want us to live in tin houses again. People are poor. I want you to publish this tell people how poor people are here.

Rose: We gave packets to the children for Christmas (a care package normally with sweets etc. inside of it) and school shoes, pants, shirts and uniforms

Gill: We made platters for the board and the police. They were privileged because we wanted to show them we think more of them we respect them. They must open their hearts we are not gangsters or murderers. We as shebeeners had a function for the community and to raise funds for the schools.

Does anyone want to say something still.

All: No

Ok then we are done. Thank you again for your time.

Fokus Group 2 met Shebeen eienaars

Datum: 28 April 2012

Tyd: 11-12: 40

Intervieweer: Nicolette Peters

Interweese: Mev. April, en Brenda

Plek: Wesfleur Biblioteek Atlantis

My naam is Nicolette. Voordat ons die onderhoud begin wil ek dankie sê vir u hulle dat u hulle gekom het vandag. Ek het reeds met Brenda gepraat al maar ek wil gou vrae hoe om u te bespreek.

Mev. April: Ek is Mev April jy kan my Mev April noem.

Ek is bly om kennis te maak met u. Voordat ons begin is daar enige algemene probleme wat u wil oor praat wat shebeens betrek in Atlantis?

Brenda: Hendricks het my vertel oor die toilet regulasie. Ek het nie 'n dames en here aparte toilet nie. Maar hy het nooit weer gekom nie. Ek het probeer om 'n lisensie te kry 4 keer sedert 2004. Ek gebruik die aansoek van 2010 nou. So Valentine sal help kan huis toilet gebruik. Ek weet nie of die verslag gegee is nie. Ek gaan elke week na die drankraad. My drank is al 4 keer uitgevoer. Die boete was R250 so ek het na SA Breweries my permit gekry om te wys ek het aansoek gedoen vir 'n lisensie. Ek het geprobeer en kry 'n hersonering sertifikaat. Ek is 'n enkelouer. Die ongelisensieerde plekke sie uur om te sluit is 09:00 maak jy oop in die oggend en jy sluit 9:30pm in die nag. Maar hulle maak hul eie dinge een van die smokkel huise verkoop vis ook. Saterdag teen 5 snags moet jy toe maak. Sondag moet jy gesluit wees hele dag. Die polisie beskou die smokkeling maar hulle is vriende met die polisie. Ek was gevra of ek bereid was om 'n verklaring te maak deur Visser (polisiebeampte in Atlantis). Ek het vir hom gesê ja hy het gesê ek moet na hom toe gaan.

Mev April: Maart of April was daar 'n hele nuwe verslag oor hoe ons die polisie laat drink op ons shebeens. Dit is nie waar nie. Daar is die polisie wat koop deur smokkel huise wat hulle koop en loop (te koop en laat, met verwysing na buiteverbruik shebeens). Ons gaan op die reëls van die vergadering. Daar is niks verkeerd met dit nie.

Hoekom het u hulle 'n shebeen oopmaak?

Brenda: Ek is 'n enkelouer dit is hoekom ek 'n shebeen oop gemaak het. Ek benodig die inkomste en ek moet by die huis wees vir my kinders.

Kan u vir my vertel waarom u 'n shebeen oop gemaak het Mev April?

Mev April: Die tyd wanneer ek en my man toe ons so besig was het ons besluit om 'n shebeen oopmaak, toe ons albei afgedank. En dit het begin toe ons die eerste keer het 'n huis mobiele (snoepie) het ons begin, wat dan begin ons drank verkoop. En ons goedere verkoop goed.

Maar hoekom het jy besluit om drank te verkoop



Mev April: Om jou my eerlike mening gee 'n mobiele nie eintlik geld nie. Dit is net soos jy in kry so gaan dit weer uit. Dit is wat daar gebeur. Maar dit is nie so met drank nie.

Is daar baie buitelandse burgers wat mobiles besit?

Brenda: Oh my daar is 'n hele klomp!

Mev April: As ek kyk na lap land (bynaam van die gebied in Atlantis) kyk van ons eie mense daar is 2 of 3. En as ek kyk rondom my is daar baie

Brenda: En hulle is goedkoper as die ander mobiles, as ons kleurlinge besighede. En as mense arm is sal jy kyk vir die beste prys. Ons kan nie anders nie. Ons moet drank verkoop om te oorleef. En drank is nie die ding nie dit is nie op punt. En die 2 jaar het ons nie geld gemaak nie.

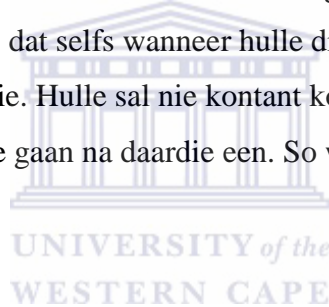
Mev April: Ek is nou gesluit.

Brenda: Sy het nie op haar eie gesluit nie. Die polisie het haar toe gemaak.

Mev April: So nou maak ek niks.

Brenda: Wanneer ek staan in my erf dan kyk ek na die Pakistani winkel en hulle is goedkoper. Hulle is goedkoper as 7's Seven Eleven, is ook daar, maar hulle is goedkoper. Dan verkoop hulle ook aan 'n klomp mense op krediet dinge wat mense nodig het. Dit is wat ons nie kan doen nie, want ons het nie.

Mev April: Laat ek jou vertel ek doen dit. Daar is mense reg rondom my dat ek help dag na dag. Maar soms kry ek die gevoel dat selfs wanneer hulle die kontant geld het en hulle skuld my hulle gaan nie kontant koop nie. Hulle sal nie kontant koop nie as hulle dit op krediet deur daardie een kan kry. So hulle gaan na daardie een. So wat jy eintlik doen is jy jaag mense weg van jou mobile.



Brenda: Ek het ook 'n mobiele daardie jare gehad. Nou is die mense nie betaal nie. Hulle sal kos by jou koop, maar hulle ontsnap van die betaling. Maar hul drank skuld hulle gaan betaal. Ek verkoop braaipakke so tussen die bier so ek verkoop wors en so aan. Ek het op Woensdag na die mark en ek het uie, aartappels en blomkoel verkoop ek net gemaak R100 wins. Jy moet elektrisiteit, huur betaal en so ek het iets ekstra, want as die polisie jou bier uit ver dan sit jy met niks. Dan moet jy gaan na iemand toe om te vra vir bier.

Mev April: Maar jy maak nie eintlik 'n wins nie, ek het 5 kinders.

Brenda: Die shebiens wat nie lisensies het nie, kan jy net besigheid as jy lisensie. Maar dat sjebiens hulle snoepwinkels, die sjebiens wat lisensies hulle snoepwinkels het. Hulle het klere te verkoop. Hulle het dit en dat, maar die polisie doen niks oor wat en ek nie verstaan nie. En 'n sekere tyd dat sjebien moet gesluit word.

Mev April: Jy word toegelaat volgens wat ek verstaan, maar jy moet 'n aparte ingang (oumawoonstel) te hê. Ons het 'n huis in die mobiele voor en drank aan die agterkant.

Brenda: Ek het met Hendricks wat in die verlede. Jy moet 'n aparte ingang vir 'n ander besigheid.

Voel u dat drank misdaad veroorsaak?

Brenda: Jy kom drink van daar af. Maar Ek sê reguit kan jy nie hier kom en weer drink nie. Jy moet gaan.

Mev April: Nou dit is die ding. En ek hou nie van 'n erf (binneverbruik shebeen). Dit is nie goed nie. Jy moet koop en gaan. Ek wil nie hê my ma moet sit op 'n yard en drink nie.

Dink jy daar is 'n verhouding tussen dwelms en shebeens is?

Brenda: Ek weet dwelms bestaan my dogter kom uit dit uit.

Mev April: Daar is shebeens wat ander dinge verkoop en in my area ook ,maar niks gebeur met hulle. Misdaad is oor als .

Brenda: Verkragting is al oor. Dit is nie van alcohol nie, in Atlantis beroof mense.

Mev April: Sommige dwelmgebruikers het my huis in gebreek.

Brenda: Dis nie alkohol nie, dit is dwelms wat misdaad veroorsaak.

Is die gemeenskap gekant teen shebeens?

Brenda: Ek verstaan nie hoekom die polisie hier in Atlantis so op die shebeens is nie. Hier in Atlantis die polisie weet wie tik (metamfetamien) handel, maar jy sal dit of dat nog nooit hoor nie. Nie almal is teen shebeens nie. Ek sou sê uit 100, 80 persent is teen dwelms en 20

persent teen shebeens. En daar is baie mense wat weet wie dwelms verkoop en hulle sal nie kla by die polisie nie.

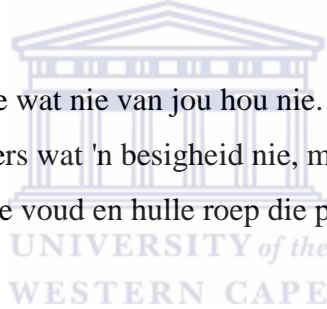
Is daar mense in Atlantis wat 'n dwelm den al af verbrand het?

Almal: NEE

En 'n shebeen?

Mev April: Ek dink dat, omdat die werkloosheidsyfer is so hoog mense sal nie net probeer om die shebeens te sluit nie, want miskien weet hulle die mens omstandighede. Hierdie man werk nie en dat die vrou by die huis is en hulle het so baie kinders. Ek maak van dit net 'n voorbeeld verstaan. Daar kan nie veg of argumente wees nie.

Brenda Dan is daar baie van hulle wat nie van jou hou nie. Ek het 'n besigheid, sy het 'n besigheid dan is daar iemand anders wat 'n besigheid nie, maar dit gaan nie so goed nie. Nou is daar 'n kompetisie. Nou vind hulle voud en hulle roep die polisie.



Mev April: Ignoreer jou bure. Ek het ook gevind dat, my ding is ek het kinders en ons moet survive. As ek nou sit my eerste seun dalk duur wil hy 'n dokter aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch word en ek wil hom help. As die eerste een deuris dan het ek gedink miskien. Ek bedoel dit is nie 'n tydperk van maande nie, dit is 'n tydperk van jare en dit gaan geld kos. En dit is wat ek streef aan. Ek kan nie nou kyk na die mense wat my try af te bring nie. Want dit sal veroorsaak dat my kind terug sal gehou word.

Brenda: Daar is 'n klomp mense wat dit doen selfsug, jaloesie daardie dinge is daar.

Hoekom is daar nie 'n shebeeners assosiasie nie?

Brenda: Jy weet Nicolette laat ek jou vertel nou het ons organisasies, 2 of 3 keer en dit is alles misluk.

MEV APRIL: Ek weet nie waar dit na toe verdwyn het nie.

Brenda: Ek is nou besig om myself ,toe ek my lisensie gekry het nie meer bekommerd gewees oor die ander wat sukkel nie. So ek was nie bekommerd nie en so het ons begin 'n organisasie weer nou elke keer as 1 of 2 mense 'n lisensie kry, dan is dit weg.

MEV APRIL: Mense wat ek ken wag lang tydperke vir lisensies. Ek kan nie selfsugtig wees nie ek begin net 2010, hulle het al reeds aansoek gedoen.

Brenda: Margie (shebeener) het vir my gesê dat ons gaan die organisasie weer begin. Mnr Tajodien (Hoof van CPF) het vir my gesê verlede week het julle nog nie begin nie.

Mev April: Ek het gevra toe sê hy het nie tyd nou nie en dit en dat. Ek het gesê ons moet 'n lys van mense optrek, sodat ons 'n organisasie kan begin. Nathan van SA Breweries hy het ons gehelp, maar hy het sy arm gebreek het . Hy het gehelp almal.

Brenda: Ons het nie 'n rep. Ons het niks. Ons het na Stellenbosch vir opleiding toe gegaa, maar dit was nie vir almal nie. Maar hulle het probeer SAB hulle.

Mev April: Dit is ook vir diegene wat opleiding hê wil nie almal sê hulle wil hê nie.

Het albei van u aansoek gedoen vir lisensies?

Brenda Ek ken mense wat nooit vergaderings bygewoon hulle sit met lisensies. Kyk ek is in 2004 toegepas.

En jy het u aansoek gedoen vir 'n lisensie?

Mev April: ek het en die meeste van my dinge in. En nou in die week het ek 'n oproep gekry dat sommige van my goed is uit die lêer. So volgende week sal ek weer probeer om daardie dinge te kry in. Ek het aansoek gedoen in 2010. Dit is nie so lank nie.

Brenda: Hulle sê net hulle is besig met dit.

So albei van u hulle wil 'n dranklisensie kry?

Brenda: Ek wil 'n lisensie kry.

Mev April: Ek ook.

Brenda: En ek gaan elke 2 weke om te sien oor my aansoek. En elke keer is daar 'n ander persoon.

Mev April: Dieselfde met my

Brenda: Hulle het vir my gesê dat hulle besig April, Mei, Junie met Atlantis programme. Dan kom antwoorde soos hierdie. Ek het 3 aansoeke en elke keer is my aansoek weg. Hendricks het by my foto's van my yard gevat. Maar niks gebeur nie.

Mev April: Ons is van die laaste wat nog kan aansoek doen vir lisensies.

Voel u hulle sheeiens kan 'n positiewe impak op die gemeenskap het?

Brenda: Ja, want as ek het, gee ek.

Mev April: Wanneer die winter in kom gee sop, veral aan die kinders. En aan die einde van die jaar so die skool het sport so hierdie klein kind het gekyk vir 'n skenking. So ek het vir haar gegee, sy het nie direk gevra vir kontant nie. Sy het gevra vir tandepasta, seep, spuit.

Tydens die onderhoud het Calvin en Kevin van 'n NGO in Atlantis by ons aangesluit vir 'n paar minute

Calvin: Het die vergadering reeds begin?

Ja dit het ek 'n navorser from UWK ek studeer shebeens in Atlantis. U kan aan te sluit as u wil.

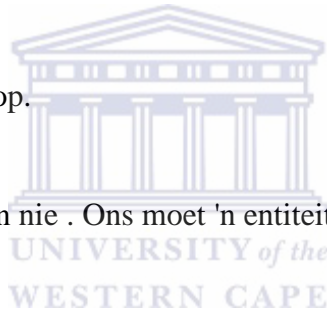
Calvin: Shebeens het 'n negatiewe impak op die gemeenskap, dit is sleg vir die gemeenskap. Ons wil mense ondersteun. Ons NGO is All Stars NGO. Ons doen verskillende skemas bewusmakingsveldtogte, werkskepping. Ons moet 'n vergadering met shebeeNP-eienaar hou. Ons kan jou 'n databasis van shebeeNP-eienaars gee.

Brenda:Elke jaar gee ek uit pakkies aan die einde van die jaar.

Kevin:As elke sjebien gee R100 per maand vir 'n NGO dit sal die persepsie van shebeens in die gemeenskap verander. Dit sal help om hulle lisensies te kry. Ons kan iets klein in die koerant sit en oor die radio na 'n vergadering tussen die shebeens en NGO's noem.

Mev April: In die winter gee ek sop.

Kevin:Mense weet nie wat jy doen nie . Ons moet 'n entiteit saam stig om saam te werk 'n vorm.



Mev April: 2 keer 'n week gee ons uit sop in die winter.

Kan u vir my meer oor al die sterre vertel?

Kevin:Ons is 'n nuwe organisasie. Ons is aktief slegs vir 5 jaar. Ons doen herstelwerk by ons kantoor nou. Ons het 4 jong mense gehulp om verder te studeer. Een studeer om 'n dokter te wees by Stellenbosch, die ander law op Stellenbosch en rekeningkunde. Die ander meisie ibegin nou verpleging.

Ons moet weer gaan.

Dankie vir u hulle sie tyd.

Het die 2008 Drankwet die gemeenskap gebeeïnvloed?

Mev April:Nee

Brenda: Nee

Het die wet u sie besigheid geraak?

Mev April: Die tye ja, maar mense ignoreer die tye ook.

Brenda:Mense het nie kennis van die tye nie.

Mev April:Mense kyk vir drank by 10 in die nag en ek kan nie meer verkoop nie. Dit het die lewe moeilik gemaak omdat jy meer gesluit is as oop is.

So hierdie invloede u hulle sie inkomste?

Brenda: Ja, sy is 'n getroude vrou. Sy het nie werk nie, die man het nie werk nie. Sy het kinders wat gehandhaaf moet word. Hoeveel is die skool fees.R500 vir primêre skool vir die jaar.

Mev April:R1500 vir my 3 kinders. Die ander kind is te klein vir die skool 3 jaar oud.

Brenda: Vir hoërskool sy R600 hoe gaan jy om te betaal nie. Daar is nie werk nie. Wat fabriek sal jou op (diens jou) as jy ouer as 50, 55, 60.

Waar het u Mev Johnson gewerk voordat u, u sie shebeen oopgemaak het?

Mev April: Ek het gewerk by 'n groothandelaar en voor dit in 'n fabriek. Die fabriek het gesluit en die groothandelaar het my afgedank.

Brenda Ek weet nie eens wat fabriek nog oop is nie.

Mev April: En as daar werk is dan is dit bring jou vriend en jou kind.

Brenda My dogter kyk vir werk elke dag en kan niks vind nie.

Hoe voel jy oor die DA?

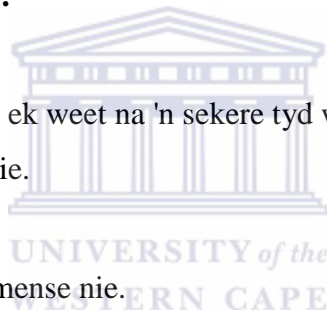
Mev April: Ek stem nie vir die DA nie. Dit is nie oor 'n party nie. As ek kyk na myself kyk sien ek my ou klein huis en ek voel dat hulle nie die mense hulp nie. Net in die oomblik voor die stemming dan hulp hulle.

Brenda Ek hou nie van die ANC of DA nie hulle doen niks nie.

Hoe voel u hulle oor Helen Zille?

Mev April: Sy is 'n buitelandse en ek weet na 'n sekere tyd word jy 'n burger van die wet is so. Maar sy kan nie vir ons help nie.

Brenda: Sy het nie 'n hart vir die mense nie.



En die wyksraadslede van Atlantis, hoe voel u oor hulle?

Brenda: Ek weet net Barbara. Sy het nie gekla oor 'n shebeen nie. Sy is meer met die kinders en vroue nie oor ons nie.

Mev April: En ja sy help nie vir ons nie.

Is daar iemand in die politieke kantoor wat u hulle help?

Mev April: Geen

Brenda: Nee ons weet nie en wie moet ons help? Daar is niemand vir ons nie.

Mev April: My ma het groot geword met 'n shebeen en haar ma. So ek het gevolg nadat haar.

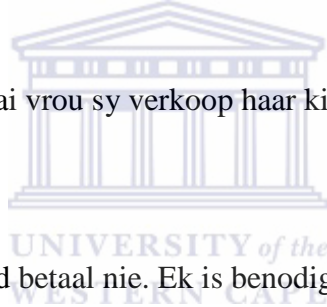
Brenda: Drink Helen Zille?

Mev April: Ja

So as die wet in 'n strengere manier geïmplementeer word wat sal u doen?

Brenda: As jy 50,60,65 wie gee jou werk. As jy pensioen jy kry R1000 per maand. Pensioen is R1200 jy moet hele maand wag vir daardie geld. Jy het kinders wat skool toe gaan. Dan moet ek gaan leen, maar hulle charge R200 op 'n R100. En ons kan nie lenings kry nie. Hulle die regering check nie ons kos kaste nie. Dan moet jy 'n saak of 2 biere verkoop om voort te gaan. Kyk die kinders van 11 tot 12 jaar oud staan op die pad. Mense verkoop hulself.

Mev April: Kyk in die koerant daai vrou sy verkoop haar kind hier in Atlantis.



Brenda: Daar is nie werk wat goed betaal nie. Ek is benodig by die huis om te sorg vir my kinders. Ek kan nie toemaak nie.

Mev April: En kos is duur.

Brenda: Ek weet nie wat ons gaan doen nie. Daar is niks anders wat ons kan doen nie.

Is daar enigiets anders wat iemand wil sê?

Almal: Nee ons is klaar

Ons is dan klaar. Baie dankie vir u hulle sie tyd en ek wens u hulle 'n goeie dag.

Focus Group

Date: 28 April 2012

Time: 11-12:40

Interviewer: Nicolette Peters

Respondents: Mrs April and Brenda

Place: Atlantis library

My name is Nicolette. Before we start the interview I just want to thank you both for coming today. I have already met you D but would like to know how to address you.

Mrs. April: I am Mrs Johnson you can call me Mrs Johnson.

Pleased to meet you. Before we start are there any general problems you want to talk about with regards to shebeens in Atlantis.

Brenda: Hendricks (designated liquor officer in Atlantis) told me about the toilet regulation. I didn't have a ladies and gents separate toilet. But he never came again. I tried to get a license 4 times since 2004. I use the 2010 application now. So Valentine will help can use house toilet. I don't know if the report has been given. I go every week to the liquor board. My liquor was carried out 4 times. The fine was R250 so I went to SA Breweries to get my permit and show I did apply for a license. I went to try and get a rezoning certificate. I am a single parent. The unlicensed places hours to close are 9am you open in the morning and you close 9: 30pm in the night. But they make up own things one of the smokkel houses sells fish also. Saturday at 5 at night you must close Sunday you must be closed whole day. The police sees the smokkeling but they are friends with the police. I was asked if I was willing to make a statement by Visser (police officer in Atlantis). I called him he said I must go to him.

Mrs. April: March or April there was a whole news report over how we let the police drink at our shebeens. It's not true. There is police that buy by smokkel houses they koop en loop (buy and leave, referring to off consumption shebeens). We go on the rules of the meeting. There's nothing wrong with it.

Why did you open up a shebeen?

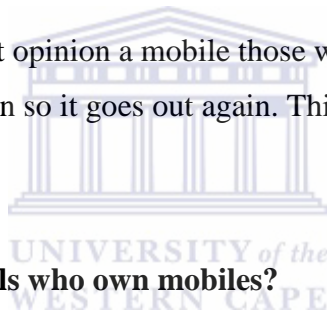
Brenda: I am a single parent that's why I opened up a shebeen. I needed the income and I have to be at home for my children.

Can you tell me why you opened up a shebeen MRS. APRIL?

Mrs. April: The time when my husband and I when we were working so we decided to open a shebeen, when we were both retrenched. And it started when we first had a house mobile (tuck-shop) we started that then we started selling liquor. And our goods sold well.

But why did you decide to sell liquor?

Mrs. April: To give you my honest opinion a mobile those who have mobiles don't actually make money. It's like as you get in so it goes out again. This is what happens there. But it isn't so with liquor.



Are there many foreign nationals who own mobiles?

Brenda Oh my there is a whole lot!

Mrs. April: If I look at lap land (nickname of area in Atlantis) look from our own people there is 2 or 3. And if I look around me there are many

Brenda: And they are cheaper than the other mobiles, than our coloureds businesses. And if people are poor you will look for the best price. We can't do anything else. We must sell liquor to survive. And liquor isn't the thing it's not on point. Now these 2 years we don't make money.

Mrs. April: I am now closed down.

Brenda: She didn't close down on her own. The police closed her down.

Mrs. April: So now I make nothing.

Brenda When I stand in my yard then I look into the Pakistani shop and they are cheaper. They are cheaper than 7's, Seven eleven, is also there but they are cheaper. Then they also give to a lot of people on credit things that people need. It's what we can't do because we don't have.

Mrs. April: Let me tell you I do it. There are people right around me that I help day after day. But sometimes I get the feeling that even when they have the cash money and they owe me they not gonna buy cash. They won't buy cash since they got it on credit by that one. So they go to that one. So you actually chase people away from your mobile.

Brenda: I also had a mobile those years. Now the people don't pay. They will take food from you but they escape that payment. But their liquor debt they are gonna pay it. I sold braai pack so in between the beers so I sold wors and so on. I went on Wednesday to the market and so I sold onions, potatoes and cauliflour so I just made R100 profit. You must pay electricity, rent and so I did something extra because if the police carries out your beer then you sit with nothing. Then you must go to someone to ask for beer.

Mrs. April: But you don't actually make a profit. I have 5 children.

Brenda: The shebeens that have licenses, you may only have business if you have license. But that shebeens they have tuckshops, the shebeens that have licenses they have tuckshops. They have clothes to sell. They have this and that but the police does nothing about that and I don't understand. And a certain time that shebeen must be closed.

Mrs. April: You are allowed according to what I understand but you must have a separate entrance (granny flat). We have a house mobile in the front and liquor at the back.

Brenda: I spoke to Hendricks that was in the past. You must have a separate entrance for another business.

Do you feel like liquor does cause crime?

Brenda: You come drink from there. But I say straight you can't come here and drink again. You must go.

Mrs. April: Now that's the thing. And I don't like a yard (on consumption shebeen). It's not good. You must buy and go. I wouldn't want my mother to sit on a yard and drink.

Do you think there is a link between drugs and shebeens?

Brenda: I know drugs exist my daughter comes out of it.

Mrs. April: There are shebeens who sell other stuff and in my area also but nothing happens to them. Crime is all over.

Brenda: rape is all over. It's not from alcohol. In Atlantis people rob.

Mrs. April: Some drug users broke in my house.

Brenda: It's not alcohol its drugs that causes crime.

Is the community against shebeens?

Brenda: I don't understand why the police here in Atlantis are so on the shebeens. Here in Atlantis the police know who deals tik (methamphetamine) but you will never hear this or that. Not everyone is against shebeens. I would say out of 100, 80 percent is against drugs and 20 percent against shebeens. And there's a lot people who know who sells drugs and they won't complain to the police.

Are there people in Atlantis who have burnt down a drug den?

BOTH: No

And a shebeen?

Mrs. April: I think that because the unemployment figures are so high people won't just try to close down the shebeens, because maybe they know that one's circumstances. This man doesn't work and that woman is at home and they have so many children I'm just making an example understand. There can't be fighting or arguing.

Brenda: Then there a lot of them that don't like you. I have a business, she has a business then there's someone else who has a business but it doesn't do so well. Now there's competition. Now they find fault and they call the police.

Mrs. April: Ignore your neighbours. I also found that. My thing is I have children and we must survive. If I now put my first son maybe he dearly wants to become a doctor through the university of Stellenbosch and I want to help him. If the first one is through then I think maybe. I mean it's not a period of months, it's a period of years and it's going to cost money. And that's what I'm striving for. I can't now look at people who are going to bring me down. Cause why it's going to keep me back my child.

Brenda: There's a lot of people who do it selfishness, jealousy those things are there.

Why isn't there a shebeeners association?

Brenda: You know Nicolette let me tell you now we had organisations, 2 or 3 times and it all failed.

Mrs. April: I don't know where it disappeared to.

Brenda: I am now taking it from myself when I got my license so I didn't worry anymore about the others who are struggling. So I didn't worry and so we started an organisation again, now every time if 1 or 2 people get a license then it falls away.

Mrs. April: People that I know about they wait long periods for licenses. I can't be selfish I started only 2010, so they already applied.

Brenda: Sarah (shebeener) told me that we going to start the organisation again. Mr Tajodien(Head of CPF) told me last week didn't they start yet.

Mrs. April: I did ask him so he said no not now and this and that. I said we need a list of people so we can start an organisation. Nathan from SA Breweries he helped us but he broke his arm, they did their work. He helped everyone.

Brenda: We don't have a rep. We have nothing. We went to Stellenbosch for training but that wasn't for everyone. But they tried SAB them.

Mrs. April: It's also for those who come out who want training not everyone says they want it.



Have both of you applied for licenses?

Brenda: I saw people that never attended meetings they sit with licenses. Look I applied in 2004.

And you have you applied for a license?

Mrs. April: I have and most of my things are in. And now in the week I got a call that some of my stuff is out of the file. So next week I will try again to get that stuff in. I applied in 2010. So it isn't so long.

Brenda: They just say they are working on it.

So do you both want a liquor license?

Brenda: I want a license.

Mrs. April: Me also.

Brenda: And I go every 2 weeks to see about my application. And every time there's a different person.

Mrs. April: Same with me

Brenda: They told me that they working April, May, June with Atlantis applications. Then answers like this come. I have 3 applications and every time my application is gone. Hendricks was by me to take photos of my place. But nothing happened.

Mrs. April: We are of the last who can still apply for licenses.

Do you feel shebeens can have a positive impact on the community?

Brenda: Yes because when I have I give.

Mrs. April: When the winter comes in we give soup, especially to the children and at the end of the year so the school went on sport so this small child looked for a donation. So I gave her, she didn't ask directly for cash she asked for toothpaste, soap, spray.

During the interview Calvin and Kevin of an NGO in Atlantis joined us for a few minutes

Calvin: has the meeting started already

Yes it has I am a researcher from UWC studying shebeens in Atlantis. You can join us if you want to.

Calvin: Shebeens have a negative impact on the community it is bad for the community. We want to support people. Our NGO is All stars NGO. We do different schemes awareness

campaigns, job creation. We need a meeting with shebeen owner. We can give you a database of shebeen owners.

Brenda: Every year I give out packets at the end of the year.

Kevin: If every shebeen gives R100 a month to a NGO it will change the perception of shebeens in the community. This will help them get license. We can put something small in the paper and on radio to call a meeting between shebeens and NGO's.

Mrs. April: In winter I give soup.

Kevin: People don't know what you are doing. We need to form an entity to work together.

Mrs. April: 2 times a week we give out soup in winter.

Can you tell me more about All stars?

Kevin: We are a new organisation. We are operating for 5 years only. We are doing renovations at our office now. We sent 4 young people to study. One is studying to be a doctor at Stellenbosch, the other r Law at Stellenbosch and Chartered Accounting also there. The other girl is starting nursing now.

Calvin and Kevin- We have to go again.

Thank you for your time and keep well.

Has the 2008 liquor act impacted the community?

Mrs. April: No

Brenda: No

Has the act impacted your business?

Mrs. April: The times yes but people ignore the times also.

Brenda: People don't take note of the times.

Mrs. April: People look for liquor at 10 at night and I don't sell anymore. It made life difficult since you are closed more than open.

So this impacts your income?

Brenda: Yes, She is a married woman. She doesn't work her, the husband doesn't work she has children who must be maintained. How much is the school fees.R500 for primary school for the year.

Mrs. April: R1500 for my 3 children. The other child is too small for school 3 years old.

Brenda: For high school its R600 how are you going to pay that. There isn't work. What factory will take you on (employ you) if you are over 50, 55, 60.

Where did you work Mrs. April before you opened your shebeen?

Mrs. April: I worked at a wholesaler and before that at a factory. The factory closed down and the wholesaler retrenched me.

Brenda: I don't even know which factories are still open.

Mrs. April: And if there is work then it's bring your friend and bring your child.

Brenda: My daughter looks for work every day and can't find anything.

How do you feel about the DA?

Mrs. April: I don't vote for the DA . It isn't about a party. If I look at myself I see my old small house and I feel they don't help people. Just in the moment before the vote then they help.

Brenda: I don't like the ANC or DA they do nothing.

How do you feel about Helen Zille?

Mrs. April: She is a foreigner and I know after a certain time frame you become a citizen the law is so. But she can't help us.

Brenda: She doesn't have a heart for the people.

And the ward councillors of Atlantis, how do you feel about them?

Brenda: I just know Barbara. She hasn't complained about a shebeen. She is more with the children and women not by us.

Mrs. April: And yes she doesn't help us.

Is there anyone in political office that helps you?

Mrs. April: No

Brenda: No we don't know and who must help us? There's no one for us.

Mrs. April: My mom grew up with a shebeen and her mom. So I followed after her.

Brenda: Does she drink Helen Zille?

Mrs. April:Yes

So if the act is implemented in a stricter way what will you do?

Brenda: If you are 50,60,65 who will give you work. If you get pension you get R1000 a month. Pension is R1200 you must wait whole month for that money. You have children who go to school. Then must I go lend but they charge me interest R200 on a R100. And we can't get loans. They the government doesn't check our food cupboards. Then you have to sell a case or 2 of beers to continue. Look the children of 11 to 12 years old stand on the road (prostitute themselves). People sell themselves.

Mrs. April: Look in the newspaper that women she sold her child here in Atlantis.

Brenda: There isn't work that pays well. I need to be home to take care of my children. I can't close down.

And food is expensive.

I don't know what we will do. There's nothing else that we can do.

Is there anything else that anyone wants to say?

No its fine

We are done then. Thank you so much for your time and have a good day.

