



**A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES GOVERNING
YOUTH ACCESS TO ALCOHOL**

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ABSTRACT

Alcohol abuse among youth continues to be a major concern worldwide in the 21st century. It has been suggested in various studies that the age of onset is decreasing rapidly and that admissions to treatment centres are increasing as young people fall prey to substance abuse. This raises serious concerns as alcohol abuse is linked to adverse health outcomes such as physical and mental health problems, social and legal consequences, as well as economic burdens. Zwelihle, a township in Hermanus, is one such community that faces various social issues, including high rates of alcohol abuse amongst the youth.

This study used a qualitative research design based on the interpretivist position. Data were collected from twenty participants using a semi-structured interview guide. Fifteen young participants (aged 18 to 35) took part in focus groups, and five professionals with experience working with Zwelihle's youth were interviewed one-on-one. Data were analyzed following Tesch's qualitative data analysis steps.

The study results revealed that factors such as a lack of parental involvement, unemployment, socialisation and culture as well as the availability of limited recreational activities were identified to be prominent factors which led Zwelihle's youth to alcohol and the abuse thereof. Other factors, such as alcohol outlet concentration and density in Zwelihle were argued to be one of the factors that facilitates easy access to alcohol in Zwelihle. This is also caused by the plight which comes with heightened levels of unemployment in South Africa, which drives people to alcohol dependency to forget and escape their harsh realities, or people open shebeens as a response to the harsh economic realities.

At the backdrop of these concerns were the various alcohol trading policies, which were said to be ineffective in regulating the alcohol trade, and which have resulted in almost every street in Zwelihle having someone trading in alcohol and selling it to young people. One of the reasons participants cited for the failing alcohol policies was due to unreliable law enforcement agencies who were perceived to be corrupt.

Key words: *Zwelihle, Policy, Youth, Alcohol abuse, Unemployment, Qualitative research*

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List of Acronyms

DAFF - Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries

DoH - Department of Health

DoJ and CD - Department of Justice and Constitutional Development

DTI - Department of Trade and Industry

NLA -National Liquor Act of 2003

NLR -National Liquor Regulator

SARS – South African Revenue Service

SAPS - South African Police Service

WCG - Western Cape Government

NGO - Non-Government Organisation

WHO - World Health Organisation

SLF - Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation

YRBS - Youth Risk Behaviour Survey

SEDA - Small Enterprise Development Agency

SAMRC - South African Medical Research Council

StatsSA - Statistics South Africa

DSD - Department of Social Development

SANCA - South African National Council on Alcohol and Drug Dependence

TADA - Teenagers Against Drug Abuse

SCI - Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication

SPLUMA - Spatial Planning and Land Use Management

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

After discovering the harmful effects of alcohol, the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2011) encouraged many countries to develop policies to mitigate the negative effects associated with the use of alcohol. South Africa responded to this by formulating the National Liquor Act no. 59 of 2003 and the Liquor Amendment Bill of 2016 (Department of Trade and Industry [DTI], 2016). The National Liquor Act (NLA) regulates the production and distribution of alcohol in South Africa (DTI, 2016). The objective of this policy is to reduce the harmful effects of alcohol on vulnerable groups (DTI, 2016). It was the objective of this research to investigate youth access and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle and to get a societal view of how effective current policy approaches are in limiting alcohol abuse by the youth in Zwelihle.

The WHO (2011) found that globally, 9% of people aged between 15-19 died because of alcohol-related causes (WHO, 2011). Of particular concern is the finding by the WHO that South Africa is amongst the countries with the highest level of alcohol consumption in Africa (Western Cape Government, 2017). The NLA (2016), asserts that the age at which the youth in South Africa are introduced to drinking alcohol is 15 years. This is a problem as early-age drinking is likely to escalate to heavy drinking at a later stage (NLA, 2016). Research shows that adolescence is the period in which the brain undergoes important development, only to fully develop by the age of 25 years (NLA, 2016). The exposure of the adolescent brain to alcohol results in neurological damage, causing the youth to make irresponsible decisions, suffer memory lapse or process, and send neural impulses slowly (NLA, 2016). In 2010/11, the Western Cape Government (WCG) conducted a study on 20 227 learners from grades 8-10, to assess the most frequently used drug in the Western Cape Province. The study found that alcohol was most used, with 66 % of learners reporting usage (WCG, 2016). Alman, Cele, and Fortuin (2014) conducted a risk assessment survey in Zwelihle, Hermanus, and revealed that alcohol and drugs were a major problem in the area with several hotspots identified by the community as shebeens where people get drunk and access drugs.

This is consistent with the findings of the Overstrand socio-economic profile as presented by the Western Cape Government (WCG, 2018) which reported that drug-related crimes had increased in 2018 by 16.5% from 1,851 cases in 2017 to 2,157 cases in 2018. This number slightly decreased in the 2019 to 2020 period from 1,452 cases in 2019/ to 1,143 cases in 2020

(WCG, 2020). Alcohol-related crimes had increased by 19% from 223 in 2017 to 266 in 2018 (WCG, 2020). The latest socio-economic profile of 2020 reports that alcohol-related crimes increased from 266 in 2018 to 298 in the 2019/20 period. These statistics show that alcohol-related crimes have been on an upward trajectory in Overstrand, despite the development of the Liquor Amendment Bill in 2013 and the National Liquor Policy in 2016. Against this backdrop the study sought to investigate youth alcohol access and abuse in Zwelihle and the efficacy of current policies to mitigate the against access and abuse of alcohol by youth.

The study was aimed at describing youth perspectives on alcohol access and consumption by Zwelihle youth. The objectives were aimed at investigating youth perspectives on how readily accessible alcohol is to the youth of Zwelihle. It was also the objective of the study to investigate factors that allow and those which prohibit, the youth from accessing and consuming alcohol in Zwelihle. The study also sought to investigate whether current policies are effective in addressing the harmful effects of alcohol and may offer recommendations for revisions to policies to limit access and reduce the availability of alcohol to youth.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

As early as 1997 the South African democratic government drafted a policy framework that sought to regulate the registration of alcohol and law enforcement strategies, to enforce liquor registration (DTI, 2016). In 1998, the DTI tabled a bill to replace the existing system of regulation, to a more rigid national, provincial, and local government regulation system. In line with the requirements of the NLA, the Western Cape Government has thus developed the Western Cape Liquor Act (WCLA), 4 of 2008, which echoes the aims and objectives of the National Liquor Act 59 of 2003. However, despite these stringent approaches, in regulating the production and trade of alcohol, the South African government still grapples with a pervasive nature in which young people and adolescents access and abuse alcohol. An example of this was the tragic death of 21 teenagers in 2022, where alcohol was the cause of their death, in a shebeen in East London (Luvhengo, 2024). This incident was a reminder of the consequences of unchecked access to alcohol outlets and highlighted the challenging dynamic between alcohol policies and their implementation.

1.3 Main Assumptions; Based on the objectives of this study it is assumed that:

The following study assumptions were framed to align with the research objectives and were formulated in agreement with previous research and literature on the topic of interest: Firstly, it is assumed that alcohol is readily available and is growing in popularity among the youth of Zwelihle. The increasing availability of alcohol can be attributed to both formal and informal sales points. This growing accessibility, coupled with targeted marketing and peer influences, might be contributing to a rise in alcohol consumption among the youth. Understanding the extent and patterns of alcohol availability and its popularity among the youth can help in developing targeted interventions. Therefore, the objective attached to this assumption sought to assess the availability and alcohol consumption patterns among the youth Zwelihle.

Secondly, it is assumed that historical traditions and contemporary social norms may play a significant role in shaping attitudes towards alcohol consumption. These cultural practices may facilitate easier access and social acceptance of alcohol use among young people. Evaluating these cultural influences can provide insights into why alcohol consumption is prevalent. The objective attached to this assumption sought to identify and assess the underlying factors which may facilitate easy access to alcohol by Zwelihle youth.

Thirdly, the regulatory frameworks such as the Western Cape Liquor Regulations Act of 2011 (amended in 2021) may not be as effective as they should be and thus the unregulated liquor trade in the community may have negative impacts on the community of Zwelihle. Despite regulatory efforts, there may be gaps in enforcement or compliance, leading to a thriving unregulated liquor trade. This can have various negative consequences, including increased alcohol-related harm within the community. Investigating the effectiveness of these regulations can help identify shortcomings and areas for improvement. Thus, the objective attached to this assumption is the alcohol liquor trade policies and other government agencies who work towards alleviating alcohol abuse and irregularities concerning alcohol trade and consumption.

The final assumption is that Alcohol policies are not relevant to the ordinary people who sell alcohol to support their families. The municipal law enforcement agents need to get the community's buy-in when developing alcohol trade bylaw policies. This will make it easier for the community to adhere to alcohol trade policies as they might feel that the policies are there

to protect them instead of punitively confiscating or denying them access to liquor trading. This assumption was attached to the objective on concerned with policy recommendations to the Department of Trade and Industry aimed at limiting access to and reducing the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle. Therefore, by addressing these assumptions through specific research objectives and questions, the study can provide a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing alcohol consumption and regulation in Zwelihle. This may aid in formulating effective interventions and policies tailored to the community's needs.

1.4 Rationale and Significance of the Study

The South African National Liquor Act (NLA) was formulated to regulate the distribution and trade of alcohol. In recent years, the NLA has placed particular focus on the negative effects that come with the production and trade of alcohol in South African communities (Morojele and Ramsomar, 2012). Vulnerabilities associated with alcohol consumption in South Africa can be traced back to the Dop System, particularly in the Western Cape Winelands (Henrick *et al.*, 2019). The Dop System might be over; however, the culture of excessive alcohol abuse still prevails in South Africa and the youth tend to start drinking alcohol at an early age (Henrick, et al., 2019). Desai *et al.*, (2019) argue that World Health Organization (WHO) data indicates that South Africa has one of the highest alcohol consumption rates in the world, with an annual average of 9.46 litres per capita among populations aged 13 years and older, which far exceeds the global average of 6.13 litres per capita, and the regional average of 6.2 litres for Africa (Desai *et al.*, 2019). This is concerning as alcohol abuse is associated with various negative health effects, such as alcohol dependence, liver cancers, and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) (Desai *et al.*, 2019). Alcohol is also associated with various social ills, such as unsafe sex, which might perpetuate the spread of various sexually transmitted diseases, domestic violence, and child neglect (Desai *et al.*, 2019).

According to Cupido (2020), there is a strong link between substance use and social disadvantage which includes low educational attainment, increased difficulty in finding and remaining employed, financial instability, and poverty (Cupido, 2020). Socio-economic factors such as poverty, inequality, and unemployment remain key elements for the increased use of substances and the development of substance use disorders (Cupido, 2020). The latest Overstrand socio-economic profile published by the Western Cape Government (WCG), has revealed that in the Overstrand, unemployment is currently at 15%, which is the highest

unemployment figure in the entire Overberg District in 2020 (Western Cape Government [WCG], 2020). It was reported that during the 2019/20 period, drug-related crimes decreased from 1,452 cases in 2018/19 to 1,143 cases in 2019/20 (WCG, 2020). While alcohol-related crimes increased from 287 cases in 2018/19 to 298 in 2019/20. With this increase, 33 fatal vehicle crashes were reported in the 2019/20 period in the Overstrand (WCG, 2020). These figures are consistent with the findings that were presented by Alman, Cele, and Fortuin (2014) who conducted an environmental risk assessment survey in Zwelihle. Their findings reported that alcohol and drug usage were on the rise in Zwelihle along with gangsterism tendencies.

These statistics provide us with the context and understanding of the negative effects of alcohol use within the Overstrand region, however, they do not describe how alcohol and drug misuse are perpetuated in the Overstrand nor how it can be prevented. The study sought to establish the context in which alcohol abuse thrives in Zwelihle and it is also the objective of the study to investigate the youth perspectives on factors that allow, and prohibit, the youth from accessing and consuming alcohol in Zwelihle.

Conducting research of this nature, especially in places such as Zwelihle in Hermanus, is important for policymakers and non-government organizations to be accurately informed about the types of interventions that Zwelihle needs. Thus, the primary aim of this study was to present the perspectives of the youth of Zwelihle alongside those of a select group of professional social workers and psychologists. The intention was to communicate these perspectives clearly and concisely ensuring effective dissemination of the research findings. Ultimately, the intended outcome of this research was to assist in identifying ways in which to alleviate and prevent vulnerabilities associated with alcohol abuse in Zwelihle, particularly amongst the youth.

1.5 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The study aimed to explore the Zwelihle youth's perspectives on alcohol use and abuse, their awareness of the effectiveness of current alcohol policies, and to investigate the accessibility and availability of alcohol as well as the factors that facilitate or hinder this.

Research objectives:

1. To explore the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle.

2. To determine the underlying factors that facilitate the availability of alcohol to youth in Zwelihle.
3. To identify the factors that restrict youth access to alcohol in Zwelihle.
4. To provide policy recommendations to the Department of Trade and Industry aimed at limiting access to and reducing the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle.

1.6 Research Topic

A qualitative study on South African policies governing youth access to alcohol.

1.7 Main Research Questions

1. How readily available is alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle?
2. What are the factors that facilitate the youth in Zwelihle to access alcohol?
3. What factors restrict access to alcohol amongst the youth in Zwelihle?
4. What policy recommendations can be made to the Department of Trade and Industry to limit access or reduce the availability of alcohol to the youth?

1.8 Key Concepts

1.8.1 Alcohol Control Policies

The WHO (2014) defines alcohol control policies as all relevant strategies initiated by the state to influence alcoholic beverage availability, excluding the following: attitude change, health education and informal social control.

1.8.2 Shebeens

The Small Enterprise Development Agency SEDA (2010) argues that shebeens are informal, sometimes unlicensed venues that operate from people's homes and sell liquor to be consumed either off or on the premises. In this study, shebeens refer to the houses that are found in the township of Zwelihle, selling alcohol, mostly from shacks and state-provided houses in which the people live.

1.8.3 Harmful Use of Alcohol

The global strategy to reduce the harmful use of alcohol defines “harmful use” as drinking that causes detrimental health and social consequences for the drinker, the people around the

drinker and society at large, as well as the patterns of drinking that are associated with increased risk of adverse health outcomes (WHO, 2014).

1.8.4 Youth

According to the South African Youth Policy (2015, and StatsSA, 2021) argue that the youth in South Africa are people aged 15 to 35. For this study, the youth will be people between the ages of 18 to 35.

1.8.5 Unregulated liquor Trade

Unregulated alcohol trade is alcohol that is sold without a licence that permits traders to sell alcohol as stipulated in the National Liquor Policy of South Africa (Short *et al.*, 2017). The opposite of this would have been regulated alcohol trade, which would refer to the sale of alcohol that is conducted in accordance with licensing regulations and policies set forth by governmental authorities, such as the National Liquor Policy of South Africa.

1.8.6 Alcohol Abuse

Bohm *et al.*, (2018) described alcohol abuse as alcohol consumption that exposes individuals to great risk for adverse health and social consequences. While Saitz *et al.* (2021) define misuse as the use for a purpose not consistent with legal or medical guidelines.

1.8.7 Alcohol Misuse

According to Saitz *et al.* (2021) argue that alcohol misuse as the use for a purpose not consistent with legal or medical guidelines. Alcohol misuse is a cumulative excess total consumption of more than 14 drinks per week for men or more than 7 drinks per week for women, or both. This demarcation serves to differentiate alcohol abuse from normative or moderate alcohol consumption, typically defined as adherence to not exceeding more than one drink per day for a woman and not more than 2 drinks a day for men.

1.8.8 Alcohol Use

South African Health (2020) [SA Health] advocates that moderate alcohol use for healthy adults, who are not pregnant or breastfeeding, no more than ten standard drinks a week and not more than four standard drinks on any day to reduce risk of harm from alcohol-related disease

or injury. For the purposes of this study, alcohol use means any alcohol beverage from home brewed alcohol like uMqombhothi, ciders, beers, wine and hard liquor.

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Punch (2005) instructs social scientists that their research must adhere to a code of ethics designed to safeguard participants from any harm. Ethics refer to a set of moral principles proposed by an individual or group, which are subsequently widely accepted and provide guidelines and expectations regarding appropriate conduct towards participants. These participants may include respondents, employees, sponsors, other researchers, assistants, and students (Punch, 2005).

Punch (2005) summarizes the most important ethical principles as debriefing, voluntary participation, informed consent, avoidance of harm, deception of respondents, privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality of data. These points were all discussed and presented to the UCT Department of Social Work and Social Development Research and Ethics Committee to demonstrate how the researcher would protect participants during the data collection process. Consequently, ethical clearance was obtained from the UCT ethics committee (reference number: SWK-REC-2022-SR010, refer to Appendix A).

1.9.1 Avoidance of Harm

Harm to research participants can take the form of physical or emotional injury. In the social sciences, emotional harm may be more prevalent than physical harm, and it is incumbent upon researchers to take note of this fact (Dixon and Quirke, 2018). Researchers have a responsibility to shield participants from any potential harm, whether physical or emotional, by taking all necessary measures to prevent such harm from occurring.

According to Dixon and Quirke (2018), certain studies may prompt participants to confront and reflect on aspects of their lives that they may not be proud of, or past behaviours that they now view as morally questionable. In the present study, participants may have been prompted to recall negative incidents that were linked to their alcohol consumption, potentially causing emotional distress. The researcher took steps to mitigate this possibility by avoiding any actions that could have led to psychological harm. In this case, the researcher made use of Dudley's (2005) as well as Dixon and Quirke's (2018) advice to avoid psychological harm to

participants. Dudley (2005) and Dixon and Quirke (2018) suggest that researchers should refrain from asking participants to casually share their feelings about traumatic experiences that have happened to them or their loved ones. Dixon and Quirke (2018) argue that researchers should be cautious when asking participants to discuss traumatic experiences casually. They suggest that researchers should conduct debriefing sessions after each interview to minimize any potential negative effects on participants. In this study, the researcher informed participants of the availability of a debriefing session and encouraged them to attend. Additionally, participants were provided with information on counselling services available at the local community clinic, as well as those offered by the South African Depression and Anxiety Group. Beyond this measure, the research participants were offered the researcher's number to ensure that they are well and to keep the support channels open should they need assistance making an appointment. The researcher also made alternative support available such as group support for those who would not like a debriefing session or counselling.

1.9.2 Informed Consent

According to Bromwich and Millum (2021), informed consent entails providing participants with all the pertinent information regarding the nature of the study and their role in it before their involvement. This information should include known benefits and risks associated with participation, enabling participants to make a voluntary and autonomous decision about whether to participate without fear of any negative consequences. As such, participants must understand what they are consenting to, how to exercise their consent, and the potential impact on their lives.

In this study, participants were presented with an informed consent form outlining the title, purpose, research questions, and objectives of the research. Prior to the interviews, participants were given sufficient time to review the consent form, and the researcher went through it with them to ensure their full understanding of their participation in the study. For those who spoke isiXhosa, a language in which the researcher was conversant, the informed consent form was translated and explained to them in their language by the researcher. Participants were informed about the potential risks and benefits of the study and were encouraged to ask questions to ensure they had all the relevant information to make an informed decision. The form also described to the participants that one of the advantages of participating in the study is that the results of the study can also make a meaningful contribution to government and civil society

organizations who wish to institute programmes that would help Zwelihle youth struggling with alcohol abuse. While there were no foreseeable disadvantages in the form of physical, psychological, or social harm to participants, emotional harm can be unpredictable. The researcher explained that the study has the potential to make participants reflect on their lives and they may remember negative things that might have happened to them because of alcohol consumption. Consequently, the researcher was aware of restoring participants' emotional balance through a debrief session, in the event of emotionally charged matters. In this case, no one attended the debriefing session.

The researcher emphasised the importance of voluntary participation and confidentiality. After consenting, participants signed the document to confirm their agreement to participate. The researcher avoided jargon and used language that was easy for participants to understand, speaking in their language where possible. Additionally, the researcher provided information about his background and the research intentions to further enhance participants' understanding of the study.

1.9.3 Voluntary Participation

Marshall *et al.*, (2014) have proposed that voluntary participation in research is a way to uphold human rights. According to Marshall *et al.*, (2014), respecting the dignity of research participants involves recognizing their rights, such as the right to be fully informed about the study, the right to make a free and informed decision about whether to participate, and the right to withdraw from the study at any time without fear of repercussions. Voluntary participation requires that participants are not coerced or unduly influenced to take part in the research study. Additionally, participants must provide their informed consent, indicating that they are both legally and mentally capable of giving consent and must be informed that they can withdraw from the study at any point (Marshall *et al.*, 2014).

During the recruitment process, via email and community Facebook pages, the researcher provided detailed and relevant information about the study, including its purpose, potential risks, and benefits. This approach enabled participants to make an autonomous decision on whether to participate or not. Before the commencement of the interview, the researcher also informed participants that they could withdraw from the study at any point during the interview process without any repercussions.

1.9.4. Confidentiality, Privacy and Anonymity

Pietila *et al.*, (2020) assert that confidentiality in research refers to the agreement between the researcher and the participants that the information gathered will only be used for the legitimate purposes of the research. Confidentiality also entails the researcher's commitment to protect the participants' identities, names, and responses from disclosure to anyone outside the research team. In this study, the researcher informed participants that their data would be used solely for research purposes and made available to the supervisor, and internal and external examiners for academic purposes. The researcher also assured participants that their identities and contact details would remain confidential and replaced with pseudonyms. It was important before and after the group interviews that the researcher emphasised that participants should treat this session with confidentiality by not sharing the information shared in the group, outside of the group setting.

Privacy, according to Pietila *et al.*, (2020) refers to information that is not typically intended for others to observe or analyse. As such, the researcher sought the participants' permission to use a voice recording device to capture their conversations, explaining that no cameras would be used. The researcher also gave participants the option to decline the recording and he would take notes instead. Participants were informed that they had control over what, when, where, and to what extent their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours were revealed. According to McLaughlin, Uggen, and Blackstone, (2017), academic research interviews can be held at several locations such as participants' homes, work, the researcher's home, or office. For this research, the focus group interviews were intended to be held at a community hall because it was centralised in Zwelihle and almost everyone in the community knew where it was. After considerable deliberation, the researcher thought it prudent to change the location to a quieter area, because there were many informal settlements in the area, with informal economic trading and loud music, which would affect the flow quality of the interview and the recording thereof. Changing the location was also influenced by the researcher's concerns about disruptions, and therefore the researcher hosted the interviews at the researcher's home, a quiet and more private location.

Pietila *et al.*, (2020) state that anonymity involves not disclosing the participants' names. Snyder *at al.*, (2002) further argues that anonymity in social research means avoiding any information that could easily identify individuals or research sites. Thus, the researcher did not

identify individual participants in the final research report and used pseudonyms instead. Participants were informed that their identities would remain anonymous throughout the research process.

1.9.5. Debriefing

Debriefing sessions are opportunities for participants to process their experiences and reflect on the aftermath of interviews, as noted by Zong and Matias (2022). During these sessions, participants can have their questions answered and misconceptions cleared up, providing a supportive space for reflection. In qualitative research, debriefing involves a directed and reflective process that can lead to self-discovery for those involved (Zong and Matias (2022)). It also serves to identify and address any problems or concerns that may have arisen during the research process.

According to Zong and Matias (2022), the best approach to debriefing is to discuss participants' feelings immediately after the session or to send a newsletter outlining the study's intent and results. To avoid causing psychological harm to participants, the researcher avoided including personal questions in the interview guide as well as offering a debriefing session immediately after the interviews were completed. The opportunity for a debriefing session allowed participants to discuss their feelings, clarify any questions or expectations, and potentially correct any negative experiences.

The researcher further ensured ethical care by informing participants about available support services. The researcher also informed participants that should they need further assistance, they can go to the Hermanus Day Clinic where they will receive appropriate mental health counselling. Participants were also advised to call the South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG). The South African Depression and Anxiety Group, offers free counselling services ranging from depression and anxiety to post-traumatic distress and substance abuse (SADAG, 2020). Participants were advised to call the toll-free number; 0800 20 50 26 for any trauma that might arise because they participated in the study (SADAG, 2020). However, it is noteworthy that during this data-gathering process, no participants came forward seeking a debriefing session, therefore no debriefing was conducted.

1.9.6 Avoidance of Deception

Levine (2022) posits that deception involves intentionally misrepresenting facts to induce a person into believing something false. Levine (2022) further asserts that deception is unethical, and that research has shown that individuals are unlikely to provide consent for any study involving deception.

To avoid deceiving participants, the researcher was clear and transparent on the purpose of the research and provided participants with comprehensive information about the study, their involvement, and the experiences they could expect to encounter if they chose to participate. Refer to Appendix B.

1.9.7 Chapter layout

This section outlines the structure and contents of each chapter, providing a roadmap for navigating the research study. Each chapter is summarized, offering insight into the key themes and discussions covered in the subsequent sections.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduced and set the stage for the research study by presenting its rationale, background, title, research questions, and objectives focused on addressing youth alcohol abuse. Ethical considerations are also addressed, clarifying key terms used throughout the study.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter examines the prevalence of youth alcohol abuse from global, continental, and national perspectives. Additionally, it explores the policies and legislation governing alcohol production, trade, and consumption in South Africa. A review of the theoretical framework, chosen for its holistic conceptualization of social phenomena, is also provided.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter details the research methods, techniques, and execution plan employed in the study. It outlines the researcher's initial engagement with study participants, from recruitment to data gathering, utilizing focus groups and one-on-one interviews. Each phase of the process is discussed in detail.

Chapter 4: Discussion of findings

This chapter delves deeper into the data collected, explaining the demographics of the study participants. It also discusses the transcription and data analysis processes, identifying four themes linked to the research objectives and questions.

Chapter 5: Main Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter presents the researcher's recommendations aimed at assisting the youth of Zwelihle that might be struggling with alcohol abuse. These recommendations are relevant to policymakers, as many participants highlighted the inefficiency of legislation implementation. The recommendations also address the community, police, teachers, and family structures, emphasizing the need for collaborative efforts to support youth struggling with alcohol abuse in Zwelihle.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to enhance understanding of youth alcohol use and abuse by examining the existing literature. To achieve this, the review of the literature focused on existing research on the accessibility, use, and abuse of alcohol among youth worldwide and in Africa and South Africa specifically, to contextualize the study's objectives. Additionally, the effectiveness of alcohol control policies implemented in South Africa will be presented, with a particular emphasis on the Western Cape province and a community of Zwelihle in Hermanus town. The theoretical frameworks underpinning this research will be discussed to establish a strong foundation for the study.

2.2 Review of Literature

De Vos *et al.*, (2011) define a literature review as a tool that increases researchers' and readers' knowledge regarding the research problem. Additionally, a literature review also helps the researcher to identify gaps and understand debates in the area of study, it also assists the researchers to establish how the topic of study has been researched before (De Vos *et al.*, 2005). The literature review is informed by the objectives of the proposed research study. This review aims to summarise existing research into i) the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle; ii) the factors that permit/allow for the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle; iii) the factors that prohibit alcohol access to the youth in Zwelihle; and iv) possible recommendations for changing policies to limit access/reduce the availability of alcohol to the youth. It is important to explore these objectives because they contribute to the central argument as they address the reasons that encourage the youth to start abusing alcohol at an early age.

2.2.1 Global and Local Landscape of Alcohol Misuse among Youth

The use of alcoholic beverages has been an integral part of many cultures for many years with and if abused can have pervasive traits with far-reaching implications globally, affecting health, social dynamics, and economic stability (McGovern, 2009). The WHO (2014) asserts that alcohol is a psychoactive substance with dependence-producing properties and that the consumption of alcohol, and problems related to alcohol vary widely around the world. The burden of disease and death because of alcohol consumption remains significant in most countries (WHO, 2014). The harmful use of alcohol ranks among the top five risk factors for

disease, disability, and death throughout the world (Adair-Rohani, *et al.*, 2012). Alcohol abuse is associated with the risk of developing health problems such as alcohol dependency, liver cirrhosis, cancers, and injuries (Adair-Rohani, *et al.*, 2012).

The WHO (2018) argues that more than a quarter (26.5%) of 15–19-year-olds are current drinkers, amounting to 155 million adolescents worldwide. Prevalence rates of current drinking are highest among 15–19-year-olds in the WHO European Region (43.8%), followed by the region of the Americas (38.2%) and the Western Pacific Region (37.9%). WHO (2018) has argued that drinking at a young age is now a predominant activity, which could lead to debilitating health effects. According to the WHO (2018) findings on alcohol abuse worldwide, generally, 44.8% of total recorded alcohol consumption is in the form of spirits. The second most consumed type of beverage is beer (34.3%) followed by wine (11.7%) (WHO, 2018). There have been only minor changes in beverage preferences since 2010 (WHO, 2018). The largest changes took place in Europe, where the share of total recorded consumption of spirits decreased by 3% whereas that of wine and beer increased (WHO, 2018).

In the African region, the nature and frequency of alcohol abuse differ greatly between countries (WHO, 2011). This is due to the differences between countries for ethnic diversity, religion, level of welfare and industrialization, availability of alcohol, acceptability of alcohol in society, and political and economic stability (WHO 2011). Although some African countries are not reporting high levels of alcohol abuse, it was reported by WHO (2011) that giant alcohol companies such as SABMiller, Heineken, Diageo, Carlsberg, and Anheuser-Busch InBev promote their products globally, targeting places where their products are not yet popular (WHO, 2011). Consequently, low-income countries and emerging markets with large populations such as South Africa, Nigeria, Malawi, Uganda, Brazil, India and China have been targeted recently by global alcohol corporations (WHO, 2011).

Consumption of commercial beverages is expected to rise in the coming years as economic conditions continue to improve in some African countries and because of increasing alcohol marketing and promotion activities by the global alcohol industry (WHO, 2011). The WHO (2011) further noted that adolescents and young adults have become the specific target audience for alcohol marketers. This could imply that alcohol control policies protecting the youth from the harmful effects of alcohol need to be stricter. The WHO (2018) claims that the youth population, which constitutes the largest proportion of the population in African

countries, has increased and is expected to further increase their alcohol consumption (WHO, 2018).

In assessing the prevalence of alcohol consumption among South African youth, Morojele and Ramsoomar (2012) found that the average age at which youth start drinking alcohol in South Africa is 13 years. Of particular concern was the finding that 35.2% of Western Cape learners in Grades 8 -11 binge drink – more than any other province in South Africa (WCG, 2017). As such Morojele and Ramsoomar (2012) concluded that alcohol consumption in South Africa is of particular concern because it has implications for violence, transport-related fatalities, homicide, suicide, and unintentional deaths. Similarly, Matzopoulos *et al.*, (2014) found that there is a significant proportion of school-age adolescents who are misusing alcohol which leads to absenteeism from school and academic failure. This may increase their likelihood of drug abuse and risky sexual behaviour, which has the potential to reduce human capital formation processes and reduce the ability of citizens to participate in and contribute to society (Matzopoulos *et al.*, 2014). Altogether, this shows that South African youth are likely to be targeted by alcohol manufacturers in the coming years, with profound consequences for the health of individuals and the functioning of the country.

The implications of youth alcohol misuse are extremely alarming considering the age at which the youth start to use and misuse alcohol. Higher Health, (2021), argues that young people are at a definite predisposition to being vulnerable to alcohol misuse, as young people are more likely to consume alcohol with the desire to have fun, be free and take risks. It is further argued that young people are less likely to consider alcohol as a drug, which is classified as a depressant which means it slows down the central nervous system (Higher Health, 2021). Alcohol is a drug that hinders a person's ability to think rationally and distorts one's judgement (Higher Health, 2021). In a study conducted by Mafa (2020) describing the context in which youth consume alcohol in the Limpopo Province, it was found that risky behaviour is associated with alcohol consumption. The study participants revealed that, when they are under the influence of alcohol, they tend to use other drugs, engage in unprotected sex, and fight with other drinkers and their families (Mafa, 2020).

The consequences of alcohol misuse can result in various harms such as vehicle crashes or walking on the road under the influence of alcohol (Mafa, 2020). Alcohol abuse among the youth also results in risky social behaviour, which may lead to the contraction of sexually

transmitted diseases, teenage and unplanned pregnancy, as well as children born with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (Adebiyi and Mukumbang, 2021).

The Western Cape Government (WCG, 2019), through their Youth Risk Behaviour Survey (YRBS), found that past-month binge drinking in the Western Cape province among learners in grades 8 to 11 was 35,2%, to be higher than the national average of 25,1% and more than any of the other provinces. The Western Cape Government (WCG, 2019) finds this extremely alarming, because excessive alcohol misuse may have health debilitating effects. The WCG (2017) also argues that the human brain only fully develops in one's late twenties and that alcohol consumption impairs brain development in children and adolescents, causing brain shrinkage, dementia, physical dependence, and increased neuropsychiatric and cognitive disorders distorting the brain chemistry. Consistent with this, Spear (2018) conducted a study on the effects of adolescent alcohol consumption on the brain and behaviour. The study revealed that adolescents who consume alcohol may experience deficits in verbal learning, attention, and visuospatial and memory tasks (Spear, 2018). Considering the above, the Western Cape Government has identified harm caused by alcohol use as a priority issue for the province (WCG, 2017). It is important to investigate youth access to and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle as such studies expose the problems and where solutions to such problems can be sought. This can also be used as a projection tool to assist other communities.

2.2.2 Factors that Enable the Youth to Access and Abuse Alcohol

Now that the relevance of this research has been established, it is important to consider different factors that affect the accessibility of alcohol to youth in South Africa. In the South African context, the trajectory of alcohol consumption dates to the 17th century when Dutch settlers landed in South Africa (Gossage, *et al.*, 2014). It is recorded that at that time, farmworkers were compensated with food and wine instead of money. The wine was given to farm workers five times a day, and this was called the Dop system (Gossage *et al.*, 2014). This socio-cultural practice of regular drinking over the last 300 years is believed to be manifest in risky or harmful drinking in certain areas of South African society, especially the Western Cape (Gossage *et al.*, 2014).

The Dop system was initially abolished in 1963. This meant that alcohol was not to be used as a means of payment for farm workers (Clarke, 2020). Banning the Dop system in 1963 was not successful, and it was only through the new Liquor Bill of 2003, which was promulgated in 2004 which officially outlawed the Dop system and further emphasized that liquor was not to be given to labourers as a form of compensation (Clarke, 2020). It is reported by May *et al.*, (2019), that the labourers were given wine, simply because they expected it and thought it was due to them. May *et al.*, (2019) argue that alcohol dependency might have been sustained by the farmers' willingness to pay with wine and that it was intensified by the labourers' desire and expectation of it. The relationship between alcohol and wine farm workers might demonstrate how alcohol dependency might have been created within families and how this culture and acceptance of alcohol as part of everyday life, has trickled down to more recent generations. The Dop system was accepted as part of everyday life, so much so that farm owners called it inhumane for labourers to not taste the wine they had produced, as it was common practice for all farmworkers across Africa to be compensated with the fruits of their labour, be it in crops or livestock (May *et al.*, 2019).

The advent of apartheid added to the burden of abusive and unregulated use of alcohol (Charman, Petersen and Piper, 2013). The apartheid government enforced alcohol access controls to manage townships by keeping liquor out of these areas or controlling supply (Charman *et al.*, 2013). The informal liquor market was thus directly influenced by discriminatory racial laws that sought to reduce the number of venues where black persons could access liquor and the forms of liquor they could purchase. There was a demand for alcohol in the townships, but this demand was not met because it was illegal to buy and sell alcohol. Although shebeens were illegal they began to gain popularity and were welcomed by many in the township as they offered a space for recreation, and socialising and created income for the business owners. Since then, shebeens around townships of South Africa have not been licenced and because their very existence was deemed illegal, they were not and could not be regulated by the state (Charman, *et al.*, 2013).

Post the apartheid regime, the South African government developed the National Liquor Act of 2003 amended in 2016 (NLA), which works towards regulating the production, distribution, and trade of alcohol (Faull, 2013). The NLA requires that provincial legislation should adhere to the broad objectives regulating the liquor trade, promoting opportunities for new entrants (especially historically disadvantaged individuals such as shebeen owners) and mitigating the

harmful effects of liquor abuse (SEDA, 2010). Charman, Peterson, and Piper (2013) argue that the NLA has been met with many challenges, such as failing to articulate and attract the informal sector to the formal sector and thus, the alcohol access control policy in South African townships remains to be implemented. Faull (2013) agrees that a similar trend happened in the Western Cape, where the local government failed to effectively communicate the Western Cape Liquor Act to those who are in the informal sector.

Consistent with the above, according to a report by the South African Medical Research Council [SAMRC] (2017), there were 1,400 unlicensed shebeens and only 35 legal shebeens in Khayelitsha. Faull (2013) states that shebeens in the Western Cape have been subjected to constant raids by police in recent years, because they are operated illegally, however the raids do not help, because when one closes another opens up. Alcohol is in high demand, and this is an opportunity to make a profit because unemployment is high in South Africa (Faull, 2013). It is suggested by Faull (2013) that there is a circular causality present in the relationship between alcohol abuse and poverty, and shebeens seemingly perpetuate this cycle because shebeen owners sell alcohol on credit. This suggests that even when customers do not have money, they can still consume and pay at a later stage. Morojele and Ramsoomar (2012) argue the same point, as they point out that plausible reasons for the youth to abuse alcohol lie in environmental stressors, such as poverty, unemployment, and crime. Access to alcohol, poor policing, and large-scale alcohol marketing targeting the youth perpetuate the use of alcohol by the youth in South Africa (Morojele and Ramsoomar, 2012).

Mbandlwa (2020) argues that substance abuse is significantly higher in the townships of South Africa. Mbandlwa (2020) found that alcohol abuse in South Africa is significantly influenced by socioeconomic stresses. The study found that most of the township population is comprised of the youth, and young people were found to be unemployed, and this creates a vacuum that is filled by consuming alcohol (Mbandlwa, 2020). This is consistent with the findings by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA, 2021) that the official unemployment rate among youth (15-34 years) was 46.3% in Quarter 1 of 2021.

Factors of unemployment and poverty were also identified as contributing to alcohol abuse among the youth in Cape Town. Hlomani (2013) conducted a study to investigate alcohol abuse among female high school learners in Cape Town. The results of this study were critical in terms of the legislation regulating youth access to alcohol. Hlomani (2013) argued that

although local alcohol traders know that it is illegal to sell alcohol to persons under the age of 18, they continue to sell to minors because there is a lack of policing and law enforcement in areas where alcohol is sold. This study also found that alcohol abuse at an early age was linked to environment and context, such as community traditions and easy access to alcohol by the youth (Hlomani, 2013).

A long history of a culture of drinking alcohol, from colonial to apartheid times, where farm employees were compensated with food and alcohol might show that several key factors contribute to alcohol abuse among the South African youth. The long culture of accepted alcohol use has overlapped with post-apartheid South Africa and is exacerbated by poverty, unemployment, and a lack of recreational facilities for the youth population in most South African townships.

2.2.3 Factors that Prohibit the Youth from Abusing Alcohol

To develop policies to prevent alcohol abuse in youth, it is essential to identify factors that prohibit alcohol abuse. At an international level, South Africa has received immense pressure from the World Health Organization to draft a policy to combat alcohol abuse in the country (Department of Trade and Industry [DTI], 2016). According to the (DTI, 2016) The National Liquor ACT (NLA) of 2003 amended in 2016 is an important step in responding to South Africa's alcohol abuse and related social issues (DTI, 2016). The WCG (2017) have noted have been several other policies that are targeted at reducing alcohol abuse in South Africa, such as the National Youth Policy, and the National Drug Master Plan (Western Cape Government [WCG], 2017). Inter-ministerial Departments such as the Department of Health, the Department of Education, the Department of Social Development and the Department of Trade and Industry are all affected by the scourge of alcohol abuse in South Africa (WCG, 2017. As set out in the NLA of 2016 under clause 4.3.9.4:

‘To ensure effective regulation of the liquor sector requires that a large number of provincial and national bodies (including National Liquor Regulator [NLR], Municipalities, Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries [DAFF], South African Revenue Service [SARS], South African Police Service [SAPS], Department of Health [DoH], Department of Justice and Constitutional Development) [DoJ and CD] work together as seamlessly as possible to coordinate regulatory response, share data and ensure the success of enforcement activities. Departmental inspectorates must act in a coordinated manner with SAPS, SARS, DAFF,

Department of Health as well as provincial inspectorates. Therefore, there is a need for a coordinated training programme for inspectors and the DTI must take the lead in this matter (WCG, 2017).’

It is the responsibility of the Department of Social Development (DSD) to conduct awareness campaigns on substance abuse and its consequences in communities and schools, targeting youth and families (Dube, Khosa, and Nkomo, 2017). The DSD further advises on the available resources for rehabilitation, while the Department of Sport addresses the use and implications of drugs and alcohol in sports activities (Dube, Khosa, and Nkomo, 2017). The Departments of Health and Education collaborate with the Department of Social Development in strengthening the educational campaigns (Dube, Khosa and Nkomo, 2017).

The Western Cape Government has realized that although there is a lot of legislation to combat the abuse of alcohol in the Western Cape, the legislation is not synchronized and is not coordinated, thus not effective for the Western Cape Government [WCG], 2017). The Western Cape Government (2017) suggests that to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the Western Cape Liquor Act (WCLA) all relevant policy and legislature need to be coordinated. To remedy this the Western Cape Liquor Act [WCLA] was passed. It greatly empowers the provincial government to intensify enforcement and set the tone for alcohol production, distribution, and consumption (Charman *et al.*, 2013). Adams and Lesch (2016) are critical of South African alcohol control policies, arguing that they are based on international research and guidelines. Adams and Lesch (2016) further state that although the WCLA places much attention on the issuing of licenses to liquor outlets, only 30% of liquor outlets are registered and licensed while the rest are not licensed and therefore operating illegally. Adams and Lesch (2016) claim that the success of alcohol regulation policies is dependent on the support of the community. As such it was proposed in the Western Cape Alcohol-Related Harms Reduction Policy (2017)- White Paper that communities need to play an active part in the implementation and enforcement of these policies (Adams and Lesch, 2016).

Apart from the legislation and policies to respond to alcohol abuse, South Africa has seen many prevention and substance abuse programs, that have yielded some positive results (Edburg *et al.*, 2017). The Department of Social Development (DSD) financially supports community-based Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that work towards alcohol and drug abuse prevention across South Africa (Ngcobo, 2019). The Department of Social Development has

partnered with various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), to respond to the alcohol and drug abuse scourge in South Africa. The South African National Council on Alcohol and Drug Dependence (SANCA) is one such organisation that was identified to be successful in fighting drug and alcohol abuse in South Africa as argued by Ngcobo (2019). SANCA runs programmes such as TADA (Teenagers Against Drug Abuse); YADA (Youth Against Drug Abuse); Poppets (Puppet education for preschool and early school children); Life Skills Education and Pupil Support programmes (Ngcobo, 2019).

Another national NGO is The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication which focuses on HIV and violence prevention through alcohol control (Soul City Institute [SCI], 2013). The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication conducts mass media campaigns, social mobilisation, and advocacy activities (SCI, 2013). Soul Buddyz is a special project for children focusing on issues related to substance abuse including relationships, sexuality, bullying, abuse, corporal punishment, disability, road safety and other accidents, like burns and drowning (SCI, 2013). Like the Soul City Institute of South Africa, Nweti in Mozambique and Breakthrough in India have had a measurable impact on both individual and social change improving the quality of people's lives in a meaningful and sustained way (SCI, 2013).

Ngcobo (2019) identified faith-based organisations as important role players in alcohol and drug abuse prevention in communities. Mathibela and Skhosana (2021) argue that there are many NGOs in South Africa. They are not well-financed and, as such render inconsistent services. This is consistent with what happened to the Hermanus-based NGO Clive Prins Youth Substance Treatment Programme, which had to shut down because there was insufficient funding. Mathibela and Skhosana (2021) suggested that the government and civil society can play a bigger role by supporting NGOs so that they may have a more sustainable impact.

2.2.4 Efforts to Limit the Availability of Alcohol to South African Youth

It is now clear that alcohol regulation policies should specifically be designed with the South African context in mind. The NLA sees the need to expand the liquor industry in townships. This has proven difficult to achieve because the township shebeens find it hard to meet all the compliance standards stipulated in the NLA. The Department of Trade and Industry ([DTI], 2013) has argued that when shebeens fail to obtain a licence it is mainly due to a lack of

resources, such as space, fences, and toilets, amongst others. This suggests that policy developers need to consider this background when developing liquor policies, especially if they want to incorporate the informal sector into the formal sector. The Draft Liquor Bill of 2016 has suggested some changes and most of them are concerned with regulatory standards rather than addressing the question of why township shebeens fail to obtain liquor licensing.

The Liquor Draft Bill of 2016 recommends the following:

- Restrict the advertisement of liquor and methylated spirits.
- Restrict the sale of alcohol to persons below the age of 21.
- Regulate the proximity of the location for manufacturing and the distribution of liquor.
- Provide further conditions when issuing a liquor license (Draft Liquor Bill of 2016).

It is noteworthy to look at what the Draft Liquor Bill amended in 2016 recommends compared to what research suggests. Mudavanhu (2013) conducted a study in Grabouw, investigating why the youth abuse alcohol. The study found that significant numbers of youth abuse alcohol because they are bored and there are no recreational facilities in their community (Mudavanhu, 2013). Another reason for youth substance abuse was attributed to unemployment (Mudavanhu, 2013). This is highly relevant in South Africa, and consistent with youth unemployment statistics, because the current official unemployment rate among youth (15-34 years) was estimated to be 46,3% in the fourth quarter of 2021 in South Africa and this number slightly decreased in 2022 (StatsSA, 2022). In the first quarter of 2022, unemployment decreased by 0.7% to 45.6% compared to 2021 fourth quarter, where it was at 46.3% (StatsSA, 2022). These statistics highlight the severe unemployment crisis among the youth in South Africa, which is closely linked to substance abuse, underlining the need for effective intervention strategies to address both issues simultaneously. This suggests that it is important to regulate the production and distribution of alcohol. It is also important to look deeper into the factors that make fertile ground for the scourge of alcohol abuse by SA youth. The literature above suggests that factors such as the lack of recreational facilities and poverty may be contributing factors to the abuse of alcohol by the youth. This also suggests that the government would need to make land available to expand township economies. The Amendment Bill of 2016 is thus in conflict with what the research suggests, as it seeks to enforce more laws on the production and sale of alcohol rather than addressing the underlying causes of alcohol abuse. This would mean that the closure of many shebeens, which were estimated to create two million jobs in South Africa (SLF, 2017), would exacerbate the factors that increase alcohol abuse.

In line with this, Charman *et al.*, (2013) and the Draft Liquor Bill of 2016 found that no amount of regulation could have prevented the illicit sale of alcohol in poverty-stricken townships during the apartheid period. This teaches us that the problem of alcohol abuse by the youth cannot be solved only through more law enforcement. Poverty has been identified and argued to be one of the main factors for alcohol abuse among the youth (Hlomani, 2013). This suggests that there needs to be an intensive effort by the government to create more job opportunities for the youth and provide more recreational facilities in the township rather than more law enforcement (Mudavanhu, 2013).

2.3. Alcohol Policy and Legislation in South Africa

After having identified the most suitable theoretical frameworks for the study, that will serve as a tool for the researcher to understand and analyse data obtained in the study, an essential part was to provide a concise and critical overview of current alcohol legislation that governs alcohol production and trade in South Africa. Both these legislations are briefly discussed below. The National Liquor Act [NLA], 59 of 2003 amended in 2016, and the Provincial Liquor Act of the Western Cape (2008) form part of society's macro system (Newman and Newman 2015). Newman and Newman, (2015), further describe the macrosystem as comprising laws and law enforcement practices, government agencies, political parties, social policies, healthcare resources, economic systems, educational resources, media, and many values and symbolic forms. These pieces of legislation are currently in use to not only regulate the production and manufacturing of alcohol but to also reduce the harms associated with alcohol abuse.

2.3.1 National Liquor Act [No. 59 of 2003: Liquor Act, 26 April 2003]

By way of history, before 1994, all liquor production and redistribution were regulated through the 1989 Liquor Act (DTI, 2016). This Act did not consider the harmful effects of alcohol, it mainly focused on profit maximization (DTI, 2016). Thus, the benefits of the liquor trade were not balanced with the negative effects of alcohol use (DTI, 2016). When the new democratic government of 1994 came to power, they had to consider ways to include those who were excluded from trading alcohol in places like the townships. More importantly, the democratic government has had to weigh the harmful effects associated with alcohol consumption, against the production and trade of alcohol in South Africa. As such in 1997 a policy framework that sought to regulate the registration of alcohol and law enforcement strategies, to enforce liquor

registration was proposed (DTI, 2016). In 1998, the DTI tabled a bill to replace the existing system of regulation, with a more rigid national, provincial, and local government regulation system. This bill was later referred to the Constitutional Court, which found some attributes of the bill unconstitutional. After a long consultation period, the Constitutional Court was satisfied with having a centralized national system for the registration of manufacturers and distributors of liquor (DTI, 2016).

To this end, the NLA came into effect in 2004 and it was intended to regulate alcohol production and redistribution at a macro level, (DTI, 2016). This Act governs the liquor sector in South Africa and stipulates that each province sets its own Liquor Act, aligned with those of the NLA (Herrick and Lawhon, 2013). Before this act was passed, every province in South Africa through its Provincial Liquor Authorities would regulate all the value chains associated with alcohol production and trading (Herrick and Lawhon, 2013). With the NLA, there needed to be one national liquor regulating authority responsible for setting the standards for the manufacturing and distribution of alcohol at the national level (Herrick and Lawhon, 2013).

The NLA is primarily concerned with the regulation and manufacturing of alcohol at a national level (DTI, 2016). The Act also stipulates that at a macro level, a manufacturer can only produce 100 million litres of beer per year, 4 million litres of wine and 2 million litres of spirits per year. While the act sets the national standard for manufacturers, it also responds to social asymmetries that stem from alcohol abuse (DTI, 2016). To reduce harms related to alcohol abuse the NLA passed a draft bill in 2016, which recommends the reduction of unlicensed liquor outlets, although Manamela and Snyman, (2020) found that across South Africa there are more unlicensed informal liquor outlets than there are licensed ones. The draft bill also recommends that the legal age for drinking alcohol be increased to the age of 21 instead of the current 18 years old (Manamela and Snyman, 2020).

2.3.2 Provincial Liquor Act: The Western Cape Liquor Act

As discussed above, the NLA requires all provinces to develop their liquor regulations (DTI, 2016). Once developed, the provincial liquor legislation would fall under the administration of the provincial liquor boards, which are responsible for the wholesale manufacturing and distribution of alcohol, at a micro level (DTI, 2016). The provincial liquor boards would be responsible for making sure that manufacturers at the provincial level are compliant with the

rules and regulations governing alcohol manufacturing and redistribution (DTI, 2016). The main purpose of the liquor boards would be to ensure that manufacturers comply with legislation governing the manufacturing of alcohol at the micro level (DTI, 2016). At the provincial level wholesale and alcohol retailers may not produce more than 100 million litres of liquor per year, more than 50 million litres of traditional beer per year and 4 million litres of wine per year (DTI, 2016).

In line with the requirements of the NLA, the Western Cape Government has thus developed the Western Cape Liquor Act (WCLA), 4 of 2008, which echoes the aims and objectives of the National Liquor Act 59 of 2003. According to the Western Cape Liquor Act 2008, a person may not sell liquor unless licensed to do so in terms of the National Liquor Act 59 of 2003, and it is an offence to contravene this law. As such the Western Cape alcohol-related Harms Reduction Policy, (2017) White Paper was developed by the Western Cape Government, which recognizes the general negative impact that alcohol has on society. According to the Western Cape Liquor Act 4 of 2008 amended in 2016, it is unlawful and a crime to sell, give, or supply liquor to a person under the age of 18 years – that is, a minor (Alcohol Liquor Act, 2008, amended, 2017). It is also a crime to allow a minor in your care or supervision to consume liquor, except for worship associated with the celebration of religious observance (Alcohol Liquor Act, 2008). Whether registered to trade alcohol or not, no person is allowed to offer a minor that is under the age of 18, alcohol. An owner of a liquor outlet has the responsibility to ensure that a person under the age of eighteen is not allowed access to a liquor outlet (Alcohol Liquor Act, 2008). This may suggest that an owner or manager needs to ask for an identity book that identifies someone to be over the age of 18 before entering liquor outlets. The proposed research study will turn to the Western Cape Liquor Act 2008, which primarily focuses on alcohol licencing and regulations in the Western Cape. The Zwelihle Community is under the jurisdiction of Overstrand Municipality; therefore, the researcher will also discuss the Overstrand Municipality bylaws which regulate alcohol access and trade in Zwelihle and the greater Hermanus.

2.3.3 South Africa-specific considerations for alcohol management policies

The current literature demonstrates among the youth population around the world that alcohol use is on the rise (Mathibela and Skhosana, 2021). There is evidence to suggest that the South African youth is particularly prone to the risk of alcohol and substance abuse because of the

country's history of apartheid and systemic slavery (Mathibela and Skhosana, 2021). Apartheid produced a racial-spatial divide in rural and urban settings (Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation [SLF], 2017). Apartheid urban planning established townships on the periphery, often close to industrial centres though distant from white neighbourhoods and the central business districts (SLF, 2017). Access to land and entrepreneurial activity was restricted in the township, hence the informal economy in the township (SLF, 2017). The apartheid regime excluded black Africans from the formal market and the environment within which townships operate is still an issue as informal businesses operate on-premises that are zoned for residential living. SLF (2017) asserts that enforcing compliance through the NLA and Provincial Liquor policies is only half the job done. They argue that policy developers need to take into consideration the historically antagonistic relationship between law enforcement and the township informal economy, where under the Apartheid system, shebeens were generally illegal and police were regarded as agents of oppression (SLF, 2017). Liquor policy developers need to keep this background in mind before they compose new policies.

Many interrelated policies work together to regulate the distribution and sale of alcohol. One such policy is the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013. The post-apartheid government developed the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) which sets out a national, provincial, and municipal framework for land use management with the specific political objective of facilitating spatial justice (SLF, 2017). At the national level, SPLUMA develops the standard for regulating land use across the tiers of administration. At the provincial level, the mandate is to mainly maintain public infrastructure and to also restrict land use based on environmental health. The provincial government is also mandated to restrict land use on cultural and heritage sites (SLF, 2017). The municipal or local government has the widest range of responsibilities concerning land use, as they set the bylaws and zoning rights for various land use purposes. It is at the local government where the conflict arises because it is at this level where the land use policy determines the spaces and places at which businesses are situated, the times of trading, and the specific requirements to trade legally (SLF, 2017). The local government also assigns each land unit with a specific category of use which has terms and conditions stipulating the kind of land uses that can occur on the property and limiting how buildings can be built on the property (SLF, 2017).

Conflict may arise between local government and township living because the residential property is not only used as a residence but is also utilized as a space from which to generate a

livelihood (SLF, 2017). Township life and economy are primarily mixed-use, where on a single property multiple uses can occur, from residential, and retail to cultural/religious activities (SLF, 2017). This mixed-use characteristic is a direct response to the reality of unemployment and economic difficulty, which was born in apartheid South Africa and is still alive and well in democratic South Africa (SLF, 2017). It is recommended by the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (SLF) that failure to recognize this dynamic, will result in land use management schemes that exclude and are irrelevant to the poor, and the cycle of poverty and alcohol abuse will persist (SLF, 2017).

This might suggest that it is significant that policymakers and other interventions geared towards alcohol abuse prevention among the youth understand how legislation, political climate, and other macro influences of the past, directly influenced the microsystems, such as racial laws that were implemented and prejudiced against certain racial groups. To address the issue of alcohol abuse among the youth, all spheres of the ecological system must be acknowledged. If they are not, the conflict as highlighted by SLF (2017), might persist if the historical context that shapes the current environment is not addressed in all spheres of the ecology theory. This is pertinent to the needs of the Zwelihle youth environment.

The Overstrand Municipality has developed its liquor trade by-laws for Zwelihle and the greater Hermanus. The by-laws apply to the licensed outlets selling alcohol to the public for consumption, on and off the licensed premises (Overstrand Municipality, 2011). According to the Overstrand Municipality liquor trading by-laws, licensed premises can sell alcohol on any day from 10h00 to 02h00 of the following day (Overstrand Municipality, 2011). It also states that for consumption off the premises, alcohol can be sold from 08h00 to 20h00, and contravention of these by-laws is punishable by imprisonment, a fine, or both (Overstrand Municipality, 2011). Municipal by-laws need to carefully plan for the issue of abuse of alcohol and drugs in Hermanus. Alman, Cele, and Fortuin (2014) previously established in their risk assessment study of Zwelihle that drugs and alcohol abuse are among the high-risk factors that hinder human development in Zwelihle. The Western Cape Alcohol-Related Harms Reduction Policy White Paper suggests that community involvement should play a central role in the formulation of alcohol control policies (WCG, 2017). For this study, it was noteworthy to see how the community perceives the Overstrand by-laws and to what extent community integration is achieved by this approach. In addition, it is also important to evaluate SA's current alcohol management policies in the context of SA's history.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

To investigate the reasons for alcohol abuse amongst youth in the Western Cape, a theoretical framework was established to incorporate ecological and social learning theories. According to LeCompte and Preissle (1993), a theoretical framework is a set of interrelated concepts, that can be used to guide research to predict and explain the results of the proposed research study. Grant and Osanloo (2014) stated that a theoretical framework is a structure that guides research by relying on formal theory, constructed by using coherent explanations of certain phenomena and relationships. The study made use of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and made use of the social learning theory by Bandura (1969) both of which are discussed below.

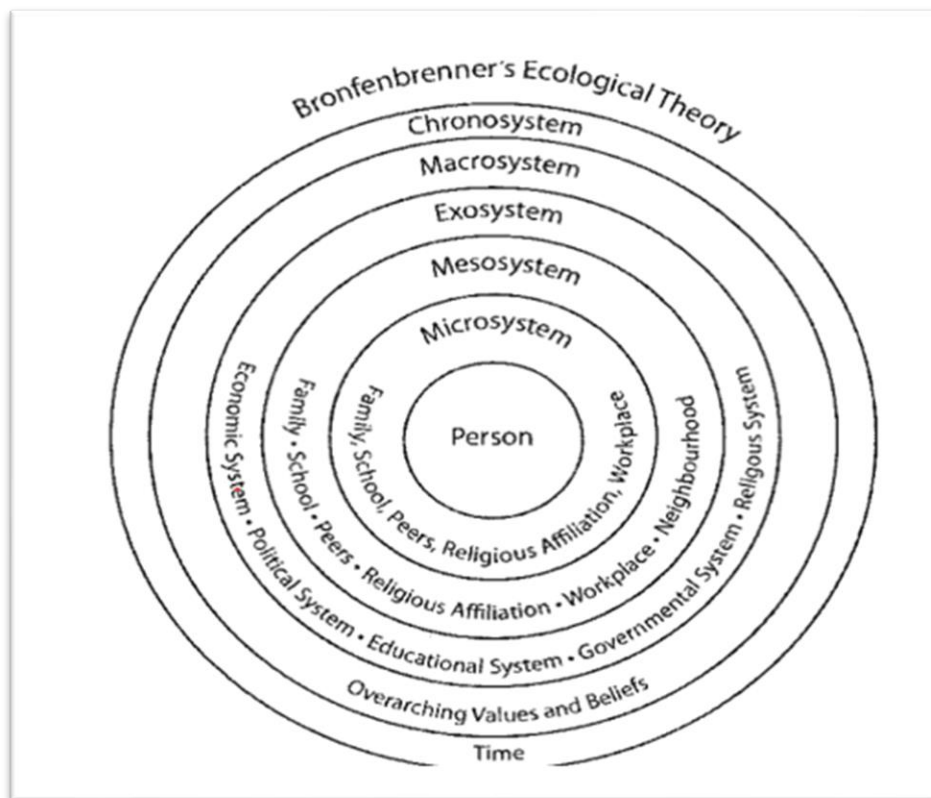
2.4.1 The Ecological Systems Theory

Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory was used in this study because it is a holistic framework within which one can locate all the different elements of a complex problem and the connections between these (Jack, 2012). The ecological systems theory (EST) focuses on human development within the context of the system of relationships that form one's environment (Bronfenbrenner 2000). This means that individuals are influenced by their environment, and at the same time their interaction with the environment becomes important in shaping their characteristics, as their interactions are influenced by the individual and systems they interact with (Bronfenbrenner 2000). This theory suggests that the interaction between the child's developing biology, immediate family, community environment, and sociopolitical landscape will ultimately fuel and steer the child's development.

The ecological systems theory's primary focus is on the interconnectedness of relationships between people and their environment (Tracy and Brown, 2011). It contends that individuals and their environments cannot be understood separately (Jack, 2012). It teaches social scientists that societal issues need to be studied and understood in the context from which individuals come (Tracy and Brown, 2011). This suggests that there are many systematic and interrelated causes of societal problems (Jack, 2012). This study examined the issue of youth access and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle, South Africa, and evaluated the effectiveness of current alcohol policies. In this context, the ecological systems theory was an appropriate theoretical framework to guide the investigation. This theory was particularly relevant because it considers the societal views and multiple factors that contribute to the problem of alcohol abuse among the youth in Zwelihle.

To understand alcohol abuse by the youth of Zwelihle one needs to understand how the environment shapes certain behaviours and the way people perceive themselves in relation to their environment. The ecological systems theory explains that an individual is born into five systems that exist and are interconnected, namely, the Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, and Chronosystem, presented in Diagram 1 and discussed below.

Figure 1: Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Theory (The source was extracted from Ryan, 2018)



The Microsystem

Bronfenbrenner (2000) argues that the microsystem is an individual’s immediate environment, where an individual forms relationship, socially, emotionally, and physically. It is at this phase, where an individual teaches themselves about the world, through their immediate environment such as family, siblings, and neighbours (Bronfenbrenner 2000). The microsystem consists of relationships and interactions between all people and events in a person’s immediate environment such as family, neighbourhood, or protective environment (Bronfenbrenner, 2000). At the micro level relations are two ways, from person to person. In the case of Zwelihle, and the youth abusing alcohol, the family environment makes up the microsystem. This means

that interventions and services directed at assisting youth struggling with alcohol abuse need to consider the ecology from which the young person forms relationships and interacts, such as with parents, children, friends, and colleagues. Understanding the influence of the microsystem would help to identify how the immediate environment influences the young person to abuse alcohol and to assess the efficacy of other systems such as the mesosystems which are interconnected in nature and operate as the second structure to the microsystem.

Mesosystem

Bronfenbrenner, 2000 states that the mesosystem is the point at which a child, parent, or family interacts. It serves as the bridge between two or more settings in which the developing individual actively participates. Ryan (2018) further emphasises that the mesosystem creates a sense of community and expands the circles of interaction. For instance, a child's interaction with their teachers in school and their immediate family exemplifies the mesosystem. The ecological systems theory argues that for a child to fully develop, there needs to be seamless and non-contradictory communication with their parents, teachers, churches, and other members of their community. Then the child or developing person will develop a strong sense of identity and strong values. This suggests that for the young people of Zwelihle to thrive in life and to keep away from alcohol abuse there needs to be coherence in terms of the immediate social structures that the microenvironment interacts with. Institutions such as schools, clinics, and churches need to be coordinated. This suggests that if the home environment abstains from alcohol the young person might also abstain, however, if there are illegal shebeens who sell alcohol to minors, it might be difficult for the young person to abstain from alcohol. Understanding the mesosystem and its implications for alcohol abuse among Zwelihle youth is critical for developing effective prevention and intervention strategies that address the multiplicity of complex social and environmental factors that contribute to this issue.

The Exosystem

The exosystem is the context in which the developing person is not actively involved but the consequences of those contexts or environments greatly impact the developing person (Bronfenbrenner, 2000). The exosystem consists of people, organisations, and institutions, with which the developing person does not have direct continuous contact and communication but can directly or indirectly impact a person's life. In the case of Zwelihle youth, the exosystem might be influenced by their parents' work hours, lack of community resources, or after-school

care programs for children. The young people of Zwelihle struggling with alcohol abuse might benefit from group and community work sessions with social workers or psychologists.

The Macrosystem

The macrosystem refers to the society that frames the structure and relationship among other systems (Newman and Newman, 2020). “*The macrosystem has laws and law enforcement practices, government agencies, political parties, social policies, health-care resources, economic systems, educational resources, media, and many values and symbolic forms of influence that create the social, political, and financial contexts for development*” (Newman, and Newman, 2015:293). Bronfenbrenner (2000) argues that the macrosystem in which one finds oneself contributes significantly to determining the who, what, when, how, and why one builds and maintains relationships and certain behaviours. This is also influenced by circumstances that are beyond one’s control, such as politics, community values, and traditions, without which an individual would fall prey to many adversities.

Mathibela and Skhosana (2021) argue that there are historical government policies that still haunt people who live in townships and that the South African youth is particularly prone to the risk of alcohol and substance abuse because of the country’s history of apartheid and systemic slavery. Apartheid produced a racial–spatial divide in rural and urban settings (Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation [SLF], 2017). Apartheid urban planning established townships on the periphery, often close to industrial centres, distant from white neighbourhoods and the central business districts (SLF, 2017). Access to land and entrepreneurial activity was restricted in the townships, hence the informal economy in the township (SLF, 2017). The apartheid regime excluded black Africans from the formal market and the environment within which townships operated. This is still an issue, as informal businesses operate on premises that are zoned for residential living. Poverty has been identified and argued to be one of the main factors for alcohol abuse among the youth (Hlomani, 2013). This suggests that there needs to be an intensive effort by the government to make job opportunities available for the youth and provide more alternatives for recreational facilities in townships rather than more law enforcement (Mudavanhu, 2013).

The Chronosystem

The chronosystem is a vital perspective for researchers to study current family and social behaviours in the context of historical events that may have shaped the current situation. As noted by Bronfenbrenner (2000) the chronosystem is influenced by changes over time, including events such as deaths and divorces. In the case of Zwelihle, research findings suggest that alcohol abuse is a socially learned behaviour that has been perpetuated over time. For instance, May *et al.*, (2019) discovered a high prevalence of children born with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome in places where the Dop system was administered. This highlights the lasting impact of historical events on current societal challenges, particularly in the context of South Africa's struggle with alcohol, which can be traced back to apartheid. The chronosystem perspective can provide valuable insights into the complex interplay between historical events and current social issues. Apartheid was a system that enforced racial segregation and allocated resources and infrastructure based on race. This included access to education, as well as the Group Areas Act, among other laws (Larkin, 2022). These pieces of legislation played a significant role in shaping individual and societal identities, as they controlled how people saw themselves and dictated whom they could marry and what jobs they could aspire to (Larkin, 2022).

Jankie's (2020) study findings on spatial inequality in Zwelihle revealed that Zwelihle is a low-income community, with a significant portion of the population working in manual labour jobs in restaurants and wine farms, which historically were reserved for people of colour (Jankie, 2020). Given the legacy of apartheid and the restrictions it imposed on people of colour, Charman *et al.*, (2013), argue that the National Liquor Act (NLA) of 2003 should address this history in townships. Currently, the NLA of 2003 focuses primarily on regulating shebeens with law enforcement, whereas a more holistic and systematic approach is necessary, as the root of the problem is systemic.

The study of alcohol abuse among youth in Zwelihle requires a systemic approach that considers the various systems of influence that shape human behaviour. The ecological systems theory provided a useful framework for identifying and analyzing these systems (Tudge *et al.*, 2021). This theory identifies the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem as crucial environmental systems that interact with individuals and influence their development (Tudge *et al.*, 2021). This theory focuses on the quality and context of the environment that individuals interact with, recognizing that both the immediate and larger

environmental interactions are critical to understanding human development (Tudge et al, 2021).

2.4.2 Social Learning Theory

The social learning theory suggests that people can learn behaviour by observing others in an environment, through the process of association and reinforcement (Bandura and Walters 1977). There are three core principles of this theory; the first principle suggests that people can learn through observation; the second principle is the notion of internal cognitive learning; and the third principle governing this theory is the modelling process (Nobavi, 2012). These principles are discussed below.

The first principle of observational learning is primarily governed by voluntarily imitating observed behaviour without any form of positive or negative reinforcement (Nobavi, 2012). Observational learning involves three basic modes of learning, the first of which is role modelling (an individual demonstrating or acting out behaviour) (Nobavi, 2012). The second mode of learning is verbal modelling, which involves descriptions and explanations of behaviours (Nobavi, 2012). The third mode of learning is symbolic modelling, which involve real or fictional characters displaying behaviours demonstrated in books, television, and other kinds of mass media (Nobavi, 2012).

The second principle is internal cognitive learning, which is primarily concerned with internal rewards, such as pride, satisfaction, and a sense of accomplishment. This principle emphasizes cognitions and thoughts that a person has. This implies that the external environment is not the only way people learn behaviour (Nobavi, 2012).

The third principle is the modelling process, which is governed by four processes of learning: attention, retention, reproduction, and motivation (Nobavi, 2012). Attention suggests that the person must pay attention to the behaviour exhibited, the more striking or different something is the more likely it will get attention. Likewise, if something is prestigious or is socially acceptable the more likely it will receive attention (Deming and Johnson, 2019). Retention comprises the observer being able to remember the behaviour they have seen, repetition of the observed behaviour will likely make the behaviour memorable (Deming and Johnson, 2019). Reproduction is primarily concerned with the observer replicating the behaviour they

have seen (Deming and Johnson 2019). Motivation means that learners must be motivated to model a certain behaviour; reinforcement and punishment play an important role in this regard (Deming and Johnson, 2019).

Social learning theory was an important model underpinning this study as it teaches social scientists that certain behaviours are learned over time, that people tend to observe behaviour, internalise their feelings about this behaviour positively, and then assimilate it. Most importantly this implies changing undesired behaviour. This is evident in the study conducted in South Africa by Hoque and Guhman (2012), which assessed the relationship between parents' alcohol use and adolescents' alcohol use. It was found that if parents and family members use alcohol, there is a high chance that the children will use alcohol (Hoque and Guhman (2012). Communities need to invest time and effort in helping people overcome an undesired culture and behaviour and start behaving in a way they perceive as desirable (Hoque and Guhman (2012).

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the pertinent literature and policies relevant to the objectives of the study. The theoretical framework for the study was established, incorporating Brofenbrenner's (1962) ecological systems theory and Bandura's (1969) social learning model. This theoretical framework was established to identify and analyse various causal factors and the significance of government and communities in addressing the harmful effects of alcohol among the Zwelihle youth.

The review of the literature regarding the alcohol policy and legislation governing alcohol production and trade was discussed. The review of the literature revealed that the NLA of 2003, amended in 2016, has not done much to allow township liquor economies to grow. The NLA has focused much attention on law enforcement and regulations that are irrelevant and exclude township economies. The literature, therefore, suggested that municipal land use management systems need to be simplified and made more flexible so that they can accommodate a mixture of residential, business, cultural, and social uses. The literature review also discussed that the prevalence of alcohol abuse is increasing worldwide, and that the youth is a target market for alcohol manufacturers. Secondly, this review identified key factors that contribute to alcohol abuse while the main factors that encourage alcohol abuse are the lack of recreational facilities,

boredom, and high levels of unemployment. The unemployment statistics show unemployment but not necessarily how it relates to alcohol abuse. The literature review has shown that lack of employment may lead to alcohol and other substance abuse. Subsequently, the NLA and WCLA were tasked to evaluate current alcohol regulation legislation in South Africa. In particular, the relevance of South African-specific considerations for alcohol management policies was highlighted. The literature has suggested that the problem of alcohol abuse in South Africa has its root causes in the country's history of colonialism and apartheid, (Gossage, *et al.*, 2014). This suggests that it is these root causes that need to be the focus of interventions to reduce alcohol abuse among the youth in South Africa. The following chapter discusses the various methodologies that were employed in the execution of this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth overview of the research design and methodology utilized in this study. Pandey and Pandey (2021:18), define research methodology as "the methods, techniques, and procedures used to implement the research design or research plan, including the underlying principles and assumptions that guide their application". Punch (2005: 62) defines a research design as "all the elements involved in planning and executing a research project, from identifying the problem to reporting and publishing the results". This plan is crucial as it outlines how the research was conducted, which affects the type of results obtained. The chapter includes the following components: research design, research site, sampling, recruitment and data collection methods, and reflexivity.

3.2 Research Design and Approach

This study utilized an interpretive research design to explore the accessibility and availability of alcohol among Zwelihle youth and the factors that facilitate or hinder this. The selection of the interpretive research design was based on various factors, including the nature of the problem being studied, the characteristics of the population, and the personal experiences of the researcher as a qualified social worker. According to Punch (2005), research design encompasses all the elements involved in planning and executing a research project, from identifying the problem to reporting and publishing the results. It involves making decisions that enable the researcher to answer the research question as effectively and efficiently as possible.

This interpretive research paradigm assumes that individuals construct the meaning of their experiences. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), the role of the researcher is to explore these complex and varied meanings instead of imposing his ideas or categories onto the participants. This paradigm considered the participants' views of the situation being studied as their "truth." To elicit participants' meanings, the researcher used open-ended questions and carefully listened to what participants said or did in their life settings (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). These questions typically took the form of discussions or interactions with other individuals. The participants' meanings were negotiated between their present circumstances and experiences and their past. These meanings, which were not always readily visible, were uncovered through deeper conversations and meaning-making with others, aligning this

philosophical approach with social constructivism, as described by Creswell and Creswell (2018).

The study employed a qualitative methodological approach, which was grounded in the researcher's social work discipline and people-centred beliefs. This approach was chosen because it aligns with the view that individuals are experts on their own experiences and lives, as argued by Assoulin, O'Keeffe, and Szczepanska (2022). They assert that social workers consider service users to have valuable knowledge regarding the problems they face. Similarly, the people of Zwelihle were regarded as experts on their lives, perceptions, and experiences, positioning them to provide authentic insights into the issue of youth substance abuse in Zwelihle.

Furthermore, Francis and Hong (2020) contend that it is essential to choose a research paradigm whose assumptions align with the subject under study. Muzari *et al.* (2022) highlight that a qualitative approach is characterized by a focus on the process rather than the outcome, a quest for in-depth understanding of actions, and an emphasis on understanding social actions within their context without generalizing. This approach is rooted in examining how understandings are formed, how meanings are conveyed, and how roles are enacted. Fouche and Delport (2002) note that the qualitative approach is renowned for exploring participants' perceptions, meanings, and experiences.

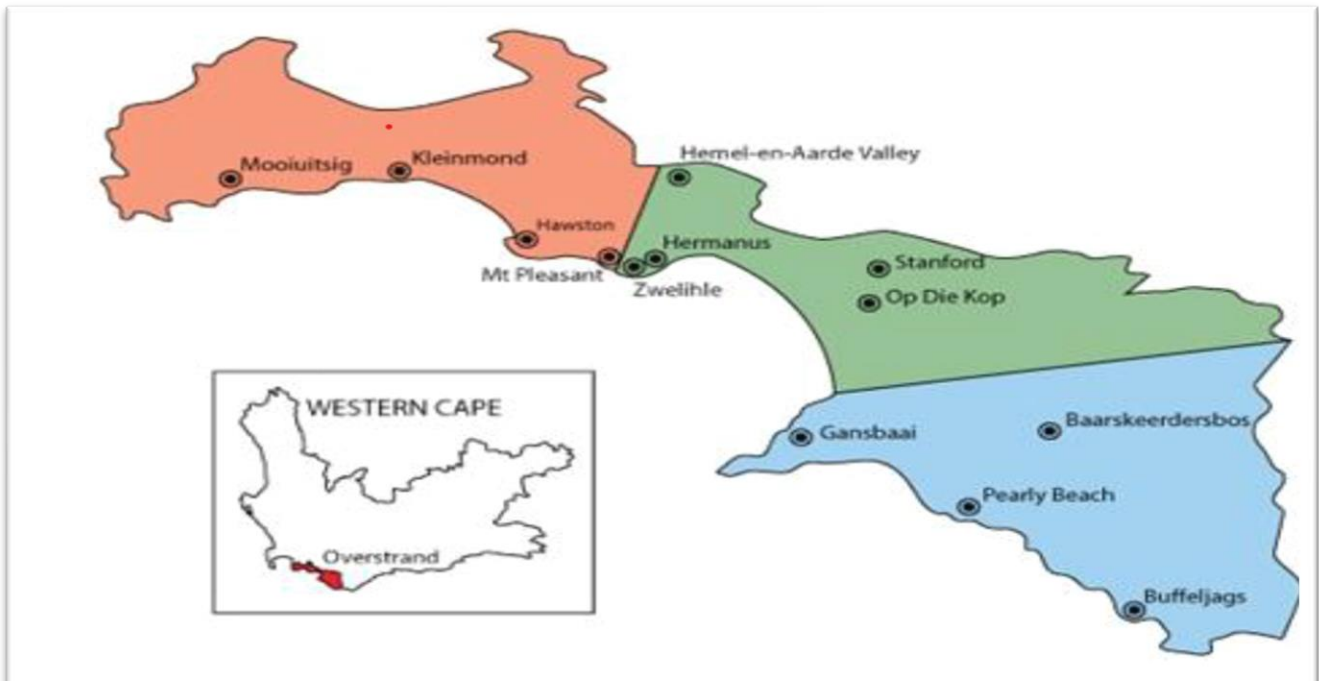
Given these strengths, the researcher adopted a qualitative paradigm for this research. The intention was to engage continuously with participants, probing and understanding their meanings and perceptions regarding alcohol access and consumption among Zwelihle youth. This method was best suited for the research as it sought to understand youth perspectives on alcohol access and consumption, and to evaluate the efficacy of policy and legislation in preventing alcohol abuse among the youth.

3.3 Research Site and Context

The community in which the study was conducted, is situated in Hermanus, the town is managed by the Overstrand Municipality which is on the Southwestern coast of the Overberg municipality (Overstrand IDP Review, 2022/23). The history of Hermanus dates back to 1830 when it was established as Hermanuspetersfontein (van der Westhuizen, 2021). Initially, the

town was developed as a fishing community, with the Hawston and Mount Pleasant areas being the first inhabited by fishermen. The suburb of Zwelihle, however, was only established in 1963, following the forced removal of black people from Mount Pleasant under the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950) to a new site on the peripheries of greater Hermanus (Alman, Cele, and Fortuin., 2014). Before this, Hermanus was known as one of the few towns in the Western Cape with mixed-race residential areas. In 1963, under the Bantu Laws, Hermanus was declared a white-only area, resulting in the relocation of black people to present-day Zwelihle.

Figure 2: Map of Overstrand region (map was extracted from Alman, Cele, and Fortuin, 2014).



The population of the Overstrand was estimated to be 110 971 people in the year 2022, which was expected to increase to 124 826 in the year 2023 (Overstrand IDP Review, 2022/23). The Overstrand Municipality population is made up of urban areas such as Hermanus, Kleinmond, Gansbaai, and Standford (Overstrand IDP Review, 2022/23). The increase in population was attributed to the ability to work from home, which enabled workers to move away from economic hubs to small towns such as Hermanus. This trend may present increased economic activity and income generation for the Overstrand Municipality. The increase in population would also result in increased demand for housing, employment opportunities as well as

demand for service delivery and infrastructure maintenance (Overstrand IDP Review, 2022/23).

The participants of this study were all residents of the greater Hermanus area, with a particular focus on the suburb of Zwelihle, which loosely translates to “beautiful land”. Zwelihle in Hermanus forms the largest population in the Overstrand, totalling 25 963 in the year 2023 (Overstrand IDP Review, 2022/23). The Zwelihle population is not inclusive of the 2018 land invasions which resulted in an estimated 5000 population increase in the area (Overstrand IDP Review, 2022/23). The population per racial group in the Overstrand Municipality reveals that the African black population was the largest at 43% followed by 32% of the Coloured population. It is worth noting that, unlike the rest of greater Hermanus, Zwelihle has a relatively higher population of young people, contrary to how it was previously known as an attractive location for retirees (Jankie, 2020). The phenomenon of the young people's population growth in a place like Zwelihle and the proliferation of informal settlements can be argued to contribute to the income inequalities in Hermanus.

Zwelihle was identified as a low-income community in the last census conducted in 2011 (Jankie, 2020). The community of Zwelihle compared to the greater Overstrand has always shown lower developmental standards, characterised by dilapidated infrastructure, such as sewerage, stormwater pipes, overpopulated schools, and insufficient formal housing. The socio-economic profile of the Overstrand municipality also revealed that the Overstrand municipality accounted for 43% of all substance abuse-related offences (Overstrand IDP Review, 2022/23). When comparing the numbers of people with access to the internet, between Zwelihle residents and the greater Overstrand, (Jankie, 2021) found that only 2% of Zwelihle residents have an internet connection at home. Jankie, (2020) reported that only 1% accessed the internet from their place of work and 76% had no internet access at all (Jankie, 2020). Greef (2020) and Jankie (2020) assert that these social issues and the divide challenges might have been worsened by the state of disaster due to COVID-19.

Despite the risk factors identified by Alman, Cele, and Fortuin, (2014), Zwelihle continues to experience issues with poor infrastructure, inadequate town planning, a lack of management concerning alcohol and drug abuse, police corruption, overpopulation, and a lack of recreational resources (Jankie, 2020). Considering the challenges facing Zwelihle, this study aimed to investigate the experiences and perspectives of participants from the community of

Zwelihle. Despite the identification of risk factors by Alman, Cele, and Fortuin, (2014), Zwelihle continues to face these issues, highlighting the need for further research. The participants of this study were cognizant of the challenges confronting their community, including inadequate infrastructure and town planning, as well as a general lack of management concerning various social issues in Zwelihle. Consequently, it can be inferred that the lack of political involvement may exacerbate feelings of hopelessness among young people, potentially leading them to resort to alcohol abuse.

The selection of Zwelihle as the study location is underpinned by various compelling reasons intricately linked to both the community's socio-economic fabric and the researcher's personal or professional motivations. Like numerous townships across South Africa, Zwelihle faces pronounced socio-economic adversities, typified by high rates of unemployment, entrenched poverty, and limited access to essential resources and opportunities (Mathibela and Skhosana, 2021).

Furthermore, the researcher's decision to focus on Zwelihle was also influenced by a deep-seated personal and professional attachment to the community, driven by a desire to effect positive change within its confines. This desire was rooted in the researcher's own upbringing in Zwelihle and past involvement in community initiatives, fostering a sense of responsibility and commitment to address prevalent social issues. As elucidated in the researcher's positionality statement, the researcher has had intimate ties to Zwelihle, having been raised within its borders, and having directly witnessed the impact of substance abuse prevention programs being dismantled. Through this research project, the researcher endeavoured to shed light on the ramifications of these program closures, particularly concerning their effects on the youth populace of Zwelihle.

3.4 Population and Sampling

In order to gather data, the researcher employed specific sampling methods and processes to ensure the selection of participants who could provide relevant insights into substance abuse issues among the youth of Zwelihle.

3.4.1 Population Definition and Delimitations

Babbie (2013:134) defines the population as “the theoretically specified aggregation of the elements in a study”. Babbie (2013) conceptualise the term ‘population’ as people who have the qualities and characteristics that the researcher is looking for. Populations of research interest create boundaries for the scope of a study and provide environmental and context cues for the reader. Such boundaries place natural delimitations upon the research to afford the researcher the proper focus so as not to present a one-size-fits-all set of results (Bridier and Casteel, 2021).

In this study, the population consisted of two distinct groups:

1. **Youth of Zwelihle:** Individuals aged 18 to 35 years.
2. **Professional Individuals:** Those working in the NPO sector in Zwelihle, assisting youth addicted to alcohol and other illicit substances.

3.4.2 Sampling Method

Francis and Hong (2020) define a sample as a subset of a greater population selected as a smaller number with the aim to learn about the greater population from the smaller sample selected to represent the greater population. Therefore, this implies that a sample is a smaller number of a selected population which represents a bigger population. The sampling technique employed by the researcher was non-probability sampling, which Babbie (2013) describes as any technique in which samples are selected in some way, and not suggested by the probability theory so that not everyone gets the same chance to be selected from the population (Babbie, 2013).

3.4.3 Purposive Sampling

There are three forms of non-probability sampling: haphazard sampling, quota sampling, and purposive sampling (Babbie, 2013). The researcher employed the purposive sampling technique which is defined as participants being selected because of certain characteristics (Robinson, 2014). Robinson (2014) further asserts that purposive sampling is also called the judgement technique, a process of selecting key informants, who meet the criteria and have the qualities that would answer the research questions and meet the objectives of the proposed study. Robinson (2014) argues that in purposive sampling the researcher decides what needs to be known and identifies the people with that knowledge and who are willing to share that knowledge. Robinson (2014) argues that purposive sampling is useful when the researcher

selects certain participants based on the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon being studied as they believe that certain categories of individuals may have a unique perspective to explore and, therefore, their participation in the sample must be ensured (Robinson, 2014).

In practice, this approach enabled the researcher to select two distinct samples: fifteen (15) youth aged 18 to 35 years from Zwelihle, and five (5) professionals who work with youth struggling with substance abuse in Zwelihle. This selection process ensured that participants had the necessary characteristics and knowledge to provide relevant and insightful data regarding the accessibility and availability of alcohol among Zwelihle youth and the factors influencing this issue. By utilizing purposive sampling, the researcher was able to focus on individuals who were most likely to provide relevant and rich data, thereby enhancing the depth and quality of the findings. This sampling method was crucial for understanding the complexities of alcohol access and consumption among Zwelihle youth and evaluating the efficacy of related policies and interventions.

3.4.4 Sample criteria for the sample of 15 young people

According to the National Youth Policy of South Africa [NYP] (2015), youth is anyone from the ages of 15 to 35 years. However, for the purposes of this research youth referred to those whose ages ranged from 18 to 35 years.

According to Lewis (2019), it typically takes two years for an individual to assimilate to a new culture. For the sample to be considered they needed to come from Zwelihle and have resided in the community for over two years. Thus, sample eligibility criteria were broken down as follows:

1. Persons between the ages of 18 to 35 years old; and
2. Who has been living in Zwelihle for at least two years.

The sample of youth did not discriminate against race, gender, educational status, or employment status. The purpose of including this sample of youth was to understand the phenomena from their perspective as young people living in Zwelihle. Data from the Zwelihle youth sample was collected using the focus group method.

3.4.5 Sample criteria for the sample of five professionals

There were several eligibility criteria for the sample of professionals in this study. The first criterion was that they needed to have at least two years of professional experience working with youth struggling with substance abuse in Zwelihle. This experience was crucial because it ensured that the professionals had a deep understanding of the specific issues faced by this community.

Secondly, the professionals selected for the sample were required to possess a counselling qualification. Counselling professionals are trained to adopt a holistic approach to treatment, considering psychological, social, and environmental factors. This comprehensive perspective is invaluable for understanding the multifaceted nature of substance abuse and for developing effective prevention and intervention strategies. Therefore, professionals such as social workers, psychologists and social auxiliary workers, who had experience handling cases of substance abuse among youth in Zwelihle, were pivotal in providing the specialized knowledge and practical experience necessary for the study. Their unique perspectives contributed significantly to a rich, holistic understanding of the substance abuse issues facing the youth of Zwelihle.

The selection of participants for the sample of professionals was not based on race or gender, however, their educational background was considered. To be eligible for participation, individuals were required to hold a higher education certificate qualifying them as a psychologist, social worker, social auxiliary worker, or qualified child/youth counsellor in Zwelihle. The inclusion of substance abuse professionals was based on their unique experience in treating Zwelihle youth, which was expected to provide valuable insights that might differ from those of the general community. This approach was intended to yield a rich, holistic understanding of the substance abuse issues facing the youth of Zwelihle.

The sample selection was thus broken down as follows:

1. Must have worked with youth struggling with substance abuse in Zwelihle for at least two years.
2. Must be a qualified professional by holding a higher education certificate that qualified them as a psychologist or social worker, social auxiliary worker, or a qualified child/youth counsellor.

3. Must be able to express themselves in English and isiXhosa.

By adhering to these criteria, the study aimed to ensure that the selected professionals could provide in-depth, relevant insights, thereby enhancing the overall quality and reliability of the research findings.

3.5 Recruitment

Given (2012) argues that recruitment is the process wherein the researcher identifies research participants and invites them to join the study. Recruitment of research participants entails presenting potential participants with information about the study, before their enrolment, to help establish interest and willingness to serve as research subjects (Given, 2012). For this research study, flyers, local radio advertisements, community Facebook pages, and emails were planned to be employed. The section below will discuss how the researcher recruited participants for the one-on-one interviews and the focus group interviews.

3.5.1 Recruitment for Focus Group Discussions

The researcher leveraged on the Zwelihle community Facebook page which is commonly utilised by Zwelihle residents to promote and increase awareness or participation about a certain activity in the community. The researcher posted the request for study participants, outlining the title of the study, aims and objectives of the study, risk, and benefits of participating in the study as well as eligibility to participate. Gelinas *et al.*, (2017) assert that in academic research, recruitment via social media is common in qualitative research, however, one needs to be aware of the potential risks associated with the online recruitment of study participants and to mitigate against them. As such for this process ethical considerations had to be robust for participants who indicated interest in participating in the study. The ethical considerations included a risk assessment undertaken by the researcher and approved appropriately by the university's ethical clearance committee. The ethical consideration as approved by the ethics clearance committee outlined respect and transparency for participants. This was achieved by providing the participants with knowledge about the researcher, the background of the study, and the research intentions.

Participants were also given an informed consent form that outlined the title of the research, the purpose and the objectives of the research. Participants were given sufficient time to read the informed consent form prior to the interviews taking place. Participants were also informed

about the potential risks and benefits of the study. Voluntary participation and confidentiality were emphasised and explained to the participants. The researcher also encouraged participants to ask questions.

This proved to be successful as many participants indicated interest in the study. After contacting the interested individuals, the researcher discovered that many of them thought that the invitation to participate in the research was a job opportunity for them. The researcher thus had to be very clear about participation, emphasising that it was completely voluntary and that there was no financial benefit for participation.

3.5.2 Recruitment for One-on-One interviews

As discussed in the reflexivity section, the researcher is familiar with Zwelihle and the greater Hermanus area, as he was brought and did work in Zwelihle. Although this was not endogenous research, or insider research, there were characteristics that were similar, such as the researcher already having access to the research participants' email addresses and phone numbers as the researcher had previously been a colleague in the NPO sector in Zwelihle. Endogenous research has been defined "as research which is undertaken within an organization, group or community where the researcher is also a member" (Flemming, 2018:1). The endogenous methodology is significantly advantageous for insider researchers, because their involvement or familiarity, with communities or with organizations where they may work or are involved in. This research was also collected in similar conditions, because as the researcher has lived and worked in Zwelihle, the researcher was able to develop research questions with a deeper understanding of some of the issues that this community faces.

Research conducted with such methods faces valid scrutiny for the potential of compromised objectivity and research bias. To account for this, from the beginning of the research process, as suggested by Flemming and Zegwaard, (2018), the researcher had to be reflexive, and be aware of one's own experiences and one's personal values that might influence the research process and outcome. Furthermore, the researcher had the opportunity to consult with the research supervisor from an outsider's perspective, which might have aided in identifying bias from the researcher. Once this process was completed the researcher therefore recruited the five (5) professional participants through their email addresses. The researcher sent them an information sheet with all the information they would need for the study, such as the title of

the research, the rationale and background, research questions and objectives of the study. Five face-to-face interviews were conducted, two of which were conducted in person and three were conducted via Microsoft Teams.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

Interviews are used when the researcher wants to understand the world by investigating participants' opinions, and their ways of living and to clarify their understanding of specific phenomena in their communities (De Vos *et al.*, 2007). United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2011) assert that the objective behind data collection is to capture data that allows for the analysis to lead to meaningful formulation of credible data to the proposed questions (USAID, 2011). To achieve this objective, the researcher employed the use of an interview guide for the one-on-one semi-structured interviews as well as for the focus group discussions.

In this study, data was collected in two ways; firstly, by means of focus group discussions with the youth sample set, and secondly, by means of semi-structured structured one-on-one interviews with the sample of professionals. Qualitative face-to-face interviews allow for the interviewer to elicit the meaning of key themes and to engage with the participants as well as observe their behaviour as they answer questions or participate in a discussion (Babbie, 2013). It is argued by Strydom (2002) that the aim of qualitative interviewing is to engage the participants in a conversation. This is particularly instrumental in the case of South Africa where not everyone is literate.

3.6.1 Rationale for Using Focus Group Discussions

The researcher chose to employ focus group discussions for the 15 young participants as they are argued to be one of the most popular ways of data collection to investigate complex social phenomena because they give the researcher the opportunity to explore research participants' opinions (Almeda, Faria and, Queiros, 2017). Furthermore, the focus group setting allows the researcher to gather data quicker as opposed to one-one-one interviews (Almeda, Faria and, Queiros, 2017). Focus groups can offer a wide range of information as the researchers seek clarification and meaning behind a research participant's response. Therefore, the researcher came to the group interview with a focus group discussion guide containing an introduction and other information on the research being carried out. The interview guide contained opening

questions, body interview questions and closing questions. In the opening statements the researcher remained friendly but did not create the impression that he was there to form friendship with the research participants (Almeda, Faria, and Queiros, 2017). To achieve this, the researcher made it clear to the participants that they are the ones with the required knowledge. The researcher is merely there to facilitate and ask the research specific questions. The researcher was therefore at the mercy of the research participants as they remain the main source of information. The researcher prepared open ended questions, designed to elicit full meaningful answers, using research participants' knowledge and feelings (USAID, 2011).

Furthermore, consistent with this paper, focus groups can be used in conjunction with other methods to help confirm, extend, or enrich understanding and provide alternative insights (Baillie and Gill, 2018). As such, the researcher interviewed five professionals who have experience in working with young people struggling with substance abuse.

3.6.2 Rationale for using Semi-Structured One-on-One Interviews

In relation to the face-to-face individual interviews, the Jordan Civil Society (JCS) (JCS, 2012) argues that using the semi-structured interviews involve a series of open-ended questions which define the subject under discussion. JCS (2012) recommends using an interview schedule as a data collection instrument as it allows participants to freely talk about issues, furthermore they guide the conversation and keep the interview focused on the main objectives of the study. The open-ended nature of the questions allows the interviewer and the interviewee to focus on some aspects in more detail. The interviewee can ask for clarity if needed and the interviewer can probe and ask the interviewee to elaborate on some initial response (JCS, 2012). It is further argued by Rahman (2017) that when the interviewer asks open-ended questions, it allows for the respondents to construct responses that engage the interviewer. As such the open-ended questions allowed the participants to choose their own words and express themselves freely as they answered questions during which time the interviewer was taking note of the body language of the participants, as the non-verbal body language adds meaning to the stories shared by the participants (Neuman, 2000).

3.6.3 Data Collection Instrument

The data collection instrument utilized in this study comprised semi-structured interview schedules, serving as guides for both face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions.

USAID, (2011), suggest that a research guide should be designed to steer and direct the conversation during the interview process, ensuring that discussions remain aligned with the research questions and objectives. As such with the assistance of the supervisor the one-on-one interview and focus group discussion guides were designed with the overall research questions and objectives in mind. The guide allowed the researcher to probe, ask questions, and seek clarity.

Using an interview guide assisted in creating credibility of the results (USAID, 2011) because it was created with the overall research questions in mind, and this assisted in keeping the interview questions consistent and in line with the research questions (McGrath, Palmgren, and Liljedahl, 2019). The interview guide employed was semi-structured, this allowed the interviewer to explore deeper meanings attached to the participants' perspectives on alcohol abuse in Zwelihle (McGrath, Palmgren, and Liljedahl., 2019). The interview guide also assisted in bringing participants back to the topic when they were giving responses that were not related to the interview purpose.

The researcher would have conducted a pilot study with people who were not participants of the study, however, due to time constraints, this was not achieved. The absence of a pilot study meant that some practical issues may have only been identified during the actual data collection process. However, extensive effort was put into the rigorous development of the interview guide. The interview questions were meticulously designed, reviewed, and refined through multiple iterations with supervisory input. This thorough preparation ensured that the interview schedule was both comprehensive and clear, which helped to mitigate potential issues that might have arisen without the benefit of a pilot study.

3.6.4 Data Collection for Focus Groups

Baillie and Gill (2018) define focus groups as a process where a collective or a group of people are gathered by a researcher for the purpose of getting data guided by an interview schedule containing research questions. There was a total of 15 participants in the focus group discussions. They were divided into two groups of seven and eight participants respectively and were interviewed at different times. The duration of both interviews was 45 to 60 minutes. The interviews were conducted in isiXhosa, a language that was easily understood by everyone involved.

Cypress (2018) advises researchers to prepare an interview guide for focus group comprising of a list of questions for interviews before the commencement of the interviews. The researcher went into the focus group interview with a list of questions based on the research questions and objectives, please see Appendix C. The focus group interviews were conducted at the researcher's home. Blackstone (2017) asserts that academic research interviews can be held at a researcher's home or at the participant's home. Blackstone (2017) advises researchers to select a venue big enough to host a group discussion, and researchers need to safeguard against noise and disruptions. To create as neutral a space as possible, the researcher made sure that the home was accessible to everyone and free from noise and disruptions. The interviews were all conducted after working hours, from 18h00 to 20h30, as the researcher was aware that some people might be at their places of employment during the day.

However, there were some foreseeable potential challenges in using the researcher's home for the interviews. One potential issue was the lack of a formal setting, which might have affected the participants' perception of the research's seriousness and importance. Additionally, there were concerns about privacy and confidentiality, as participants might not have felt entirely comfortable discussing sensitive topics in a home environment. There was also the challenge of ensuring that the home remained free from interruptions and distractions during the interviews, which required careful planning and coordination. Despite these challenges, the researcher took measures to mitigate these issues and ensure the focus group discussions were conducted smoothly and effectively.

To address the perception of lack of a formal setting, the researcher set up a dedicated room within the home, arranged it professionally, and emphasized the importance of the research to the participants. To alleviate concerns about privacy and confidentiality, the researcher assured participants that all discussions would remain confidential and took steps to ensure that the space was private and secure. Additionally, participants were encouraged to share openly, and reassured that their input was valuable and respected. To prevent interruptions and distractions, the researcher scheduled the interviews during quiet times and arranged for family members or housemates to be absent or quiet during the sessions. By implementing these strategies, the researcher created a conducive environment for the focus group interviews, helping participants feel more at ease and facilitating effective data collection.

3.6.5 Data Collection for One-on-One Interviews

The second method of data collection comprised of one-on-one interviews, made up of the sample of five participants who were chosen because they have previously worked with Zwelihle youth struggling with substance abuse. The selected participants have knowledge of the community of Zwelihle and have experience in working with the youth struggling with substance abuse, such as alcohol and illicit drugs. The five participants were interviewed using the one-on one, face-to-face interview method. Babbie, (2016) teaches social researchers that an interview is an interaction between an interviewer and a research participant, in which the interviewer has a general plan of enquiry, including topics to be discussed, but not a particular set of question that must be answered in a particular way. Semi-structured, one-on-one interviews require a researcher to have developed a semi-structured interview guide comprising a list of questions based on the main study themes for the participant to speak to in the interview (Cypress, 2018). As such the researcher prepared an interview guide for the one-on-one interviews which grounded and guided interview as the research interview guide was based on the research objectives and questions. The interview guide allowed the researcher to fully explore and engage an individual's opinion, thereby gaining rich and detailed information from the participants (Burton, 2000). De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2002) further assert that semi-structured, one-on-one interviews allow the researcher to gain rich detail on the views, beliefs, and experiences of the participants, please see Appendix C for the interview schedule.

3.6.5.1 Group Discussions Interview Schedule

The interview guide for the focus group interviews was constructed with the assistance of the supervisor through a series of engagement with the aim to revise and finetune to open ended questions derived from the research study questions. The interview schedule guide assisted in keeping the researcher focused on the eliciting relevant data of the research topic. Mukherjee *et al.*, (2018) emphasises the importance of allowing the participants to answer fully with minimal fear of right or wrong answers, thus the interview schedule needs to be comprised on open ended questions. The interview schedule was constructed with open ended questions and follow-up questions. The interview setting requires for the interviewer to be fully present and focused on the interview, by listening, showing that they are listening and not asking loaded questions with jargon (Mukherjee *et al.*, 2018). Thus, having prepared an interview schedule

assisted structuring and guiding to the interview to fully engage the participants while also guiding the researcher to elicit the most relevant data from the research participants.

3.6.5.2 One-on-One-Interview Schedule

Semi-structured, one-on-one interviews require a researcher to have developed a semi-structured interview schedule comprising a list of questions based on the main study themes for the participant to speak to in the interview (Cypress, 2018). As such, with the assistance of an experienced supervisor the questions were developed with the theoretical framework in mind after reviewing a lot of literature on the subject matter of alcohol abuse. One-on-one interviews by their nature and setting allow the researcher to fully explore and engage an individual's opinion, thereby gaining rich and detailed information from the participants (Meho 2006). De Vos, et al., (2002) further assert that semi-structured, one-on-one interviews allow the researcher to gain rich detail from the views, beliefs, and experiences of the participants.

3.6 Data Collection Apparatus

The data presented in this research was collected and recorded using a smartphone as a recording device. This was done so that the researcher could focus his attention on facilitating the interviews. Using a voice recording device to collect verbatim data proved to be useful, as the researcher did not have to focus all their attention on taking notes by hand, but rather could engage in the discussion meaningfully and pick up on the participants' nonverbal cues. To avoid noise disruption, the recording cellphone was put on silent, so that no notifications and other messages would disrupt the recording (Matlala and Matlala, 2018).

3.7 Data analysis

Data analysis is the systematic way in which the researcher makes sense of the data collected (Tesch, 1990). The data collected from the participants was analyzed using Tesch (1990) framework. This process involves interpreting the data in a systematic way in which the researcher gets a sense of the whole data by disassembling the data into themes and categories and thereafter interprets the information by finding a relationship between the coded themes and categories (Tesch, 1990).

The framework utilized for analysis consists of eight (8) steps, as proposed by Tesch (1990). These steps are outlined as follows:

1. ***Familiarisation with the data:*** After transcribing the recorded interviews, the researcher carefully read through the transcripts and jotted down initial ideas as they came to mind. The entire document was examined to gain an understanding of the participants' perspectives and to obtain a general sense of the information. These reflections were then recorded, with the researcher reading into the participants' overall tone and associated meanings behind what they were saying.
2. ***Coding the data:*** A single transcript was selected, and the researcher identified the main ideas by noting them in the margins of the transcript. The purpose here was not to analyse the substance of the ideas but rather to group all chunks of data with similar meanings into clusters.
3. ***Searching for themes:*** After analysing all the transcripts, the researcher grouped the ideas and topics according to their similarities. A list of topics or ideas related to the study's objectives was formed. The themes were organized into overarching topics, as well as unique and leftover topics, to be sorted into categories and subcategories.
4. ***Testing the coding scheme on a sample of text:*** In this step, the identified themes and categories were applied to the remaining transcripts. The themes and categories were converted into codes and recorded in the appropriate sections of the complete transcripts. This process aimed to determine if any new themes emerged as more transcripts were analysed.
5. ***Refining the coding scheme:*** This step involved transforming the identified topics into descriptive categories. The researcher sought ways to reduce the overall list of categories by grouping topics that were related to one another.
6. ***Recoding the data:*** Codes and categories were further refined to fine-tune the framework.
7. ***Drawing conclusions from the coded data:*** At this stage, the researcher gathered all data belonging to each theme, category, and subcategory and conducted a thorough analysis. The findings were written according to the established framework.

8. **Reporting the methods and findings:** The researcher provided actual quotes related to the categories and themes. Additionally, a critical examination of the study findings was conducted concerning existing literature.

Tesch (1990) asserts that these steps are not linear they involve an iterative process of coding, re-coding, and refining the data and theoretical framework to arrive at a deeper understanding of the data and the themes that are emerging. It is important to approach data analysis systematically and thoroughly to ensure the validity and reliability of the results. Overall, the Tesch (1990) approach to data analysis is a valuable tool for uncovering themes and relationships in data and for improving the rigour and reliability of research results.

3.9 Data verification

Data verification is an important part of qualitative research, just as it is in the quantitative paradigm. Without validity, research becomes fiction and thus loses value as it cannot be applied to social phenomena (Cozby, 2009). This study adopted the four constructs developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability to avoid bias and enhance trustworthiness.

3.9.1 Credibility

Credibility in qualitative research refers to the quality of the results of the study, trustworthiness, and believability from the perspective of the subject or participants (Creswell, 2009). Simply put, credibility means that the researcher needs to ensure that the results reflect the responses and views of the participants. To achieve this the researcher put several measures in place: a) recorded the interviews; and b) ensured that the researcher probed and sought clarity to capture the meaning behind what the participants were saying and reflecting. Honesty in research participants was maximised by emphasising that their participation was voluntary, by giving the participants the right not to disclose sensitive information, and by ensuring confidentiality.

The researcher ensured credibility by transcribing these responses as they were presented by the respondents. This assisted the researcher to convey the meaning that the respondents intended to convey. The researcher also reviewed the literature and theoretical frameworks that sought to broaden our understanding of alcohol abuse among young people globally,

continentally, nationally in South Africa, and more especially in the Western Cape focusing on Zwelihle, Hermanus.

In addition to the above measures, to enhance credibility of the study the researcher had to be transparent about their motivations for conducting the study and that of study participants to engage in the study. Outlining the motivations for the researcher and the study participants was significant during participant engagement from recruitment throughout the research project as this might have contributed to trustworthiness and reliability of the research project, because this showed that there are no ulterior motives that could pose harm to the study participants, and by being transparent the motivations of the study participants were easy to determine as the recruitment form stated what the research was about and also outlined what study participants would be required to do.

Furthermore, the study design was constructed in a manner that would allow study participants to add information, thus improved credibility and contributed to rich quality data collection. The research questions were open ended, which allowed participants to process their thoughts and give elaborate feedback. The process facilitated a deep understanding of the topic under study and ensured that the views and experiences reflected were that of the study participants. The researcher also adhered to and implemented research ethics principles one of which are transparency in which the researcher assured participants that they can withhold certain information, they were also informed that they can excuse themselves should the need arise. This allowed participants to understand the voluntary nature of their participation, and they were also assured confidentiality and all participants understood the confidentiality principle, which might have also enhanced the feeling of safety to participate.

In the data analysis section, Shufutinsky, (2020) posits that as researchers we might have good motivations to conduct research, however in the process of research we also bring ourselves in the research context along with our social and cultural upbringing, life experiences, personal perspectives, life experiences, values, and prior knowledge, all of which are ever present in the course of research from its beginning to its end. The challenge for researchers is normally to play a dual role. The researcher also involved a peer to review the transcribed data, this was done to safeguard for any potential bias and to also to clarify interpretations and to explore meanings. This was particularly important, because the researcher had to involve a peer to also review the transcripts. By involving a peer, the researcher sought to maintain objectivity

throughout the study, ultimately enhancing the credibility and reliability of the research findings.

A crucial component in ensuring credibility would have been the implementation of member checks. This process typically involves providing participants with copies of transcribed data, allowing them to verify whether the transcripts accurately represent their interview responses and ensuring that no alterations have been made. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, this step could not be carried out as intended. Despite this limitation, other measures were in place to maintain credibility and rigour in the study's methodology.

3.9.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the generalisability of the results to other populations and contexts and is achieved through detailed descriptions of the participants and setting, as well as consideration of the broader social and cultural context (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Transferability refers to external validity and focuses on the extent to which the results of the study can be applied to other situations (Creswell and Poth, 2026). To ensure transferability, a detailed account of the study process is provided, including limitations and boundaries that define the scope within which the study results can be generalized. Transferability also refers to the same study yielding similar results if it were to be conducted elsewhere (Stahl and King, 2020). To determine the extent to which the findings of this study have applicability to other contexts or with other respondents, several factors were be considered, as suggested by Stal and King, (2020):

To understand the scope and depth of the research methodology, it is essential to provide a concise overview of the participants' demographics. This includes key factors such as age range, gender distribution, and other relevant characteristics. By clarifying these details, readers can gain insight into the diversity of perspectives gathered and presented throughout the research process.

Zwelihle, the community under study, is characterized by its status as a low-income area with a significant population. Drawing from literature by Janke (2020) and the Overstrand Integrated Development Plan (2023/2023), it is evident that Zwelihle shares common socioeconomic challenges typical of many townships in South Africa. Janke's (2020) research in the

community of Zwelihle highlights that majority of Zwelihle residents are engaged in low-skilled manual labour, reflecting the community's socioeconomic profile.

The researcher outlined all the processes of obtaining this data so that other researchers could draw their own conclusions. The researcher adopted methodological triangulation which is a widely used strategy in qualitative research that involves collecting data from multiple sources and methods to increase the reliability, validity, and generalisability of the results (Stahl and King, 2020). To broaden the scope of the study, the researcher employed two data collection methods with two sample sets, specifically one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions, to enhance the depth and breadth of the findings. Additionally, the researcher sought to obtain data from diverse age groups and demographics, contributing to the study's representativeness and generalisability (Stahl and King, 2020). The researcher utilised multiple data collection techniques and gathered information from a variety of individuals. The study's findings can be more comprehensive and applicable to a wider range of populations.

The first cohort of interviews were the focus group interviews held with fifteen 15 young people from Zwelihle, who were recruited via Facebook. Blackstone, (2017) suggests that academic interviews can be conducted at several venues such, as a quiet restaurant, office or at the researcher's or participants' homes. The researcher chose to utilize his home which was big enough to accommodate the group members, and the researcher had full control of access to the premises at the times that were allocated for interviews.

At the introductory phase, the researcher, introduced himself and discussed ethical considerations, such as confidentiality and privacy, and reiterated that this was an academic exercise. To foster a sense of trust and rapport among participants, the researcher utilized icebreaker activities and introductory exercises to help break down barriers and facilitate introductions. These activities served to create a relaxed atmosphere and build connections among participants, laying the foundation for productive discussions. During the focus group process, the researcher assumed a facilitative role. The researcher asked open-ended questions, probe and sought clarification where necessary to validate participants' responses.

The second cohort of interviews was the one-on-one interviews, with substance abuse professionals, some of them did not come from Zwelihle, however they were once substance abuse practitioners, assisting Zwelihle youth struggling with drugs. Their ages ranged from 30

to 75 years old. Their interviews were conducted online, through MS Teams. The one-on-one interviews lasted forty (40) to forty-five (45) minutes.

Both the focus group and one-on-one interviews were facilitated by the researcher alone, utilising an interview guide. The research guide was developed to and specifically tailored to respond to the research questions and address the objectives of the research study. Below is an example of one of the questions included in the interview guide: *Are you aware of any factors that allow or make it easy for youth to access alcohol in Zwelihle?* All the interviews were tape recorded so that they can be transcribe capturing the exact words as reflected by the participants. Focus group interviews were conducted in isiXhosa a language that both participants and researcher were conversant in, to make sure that they understand the questions and gave appropriate answers.

3.9.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the quality of the researcher's detailed report and consistency in explaining the process undertaken to conduct the study, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work (Shenton, 2004). In addition to the points raised by Shenton (2004), it is argued that a well-defined and comprehensive research design that outlines the methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation is essential for ensuring consistent and reliable results. As such, the researcher in this study took great care to provide a thorough explanation of the purpose of the study, and the research design, including the selection of the qualitative methodology, research questions, population, and sample, as well as the data collection and analysis methods. By providing these details, the researcher ensured that the study was transparent and replicable, enabling other researchers to verify and build upon the findings (Shenton, 2004).

3.9.4 Confirmability

The concept of confirmability in qualitative research refers to the quality of the researcher's report findings, in representing the experiences and ideas of the participants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). In other words, the researcher aims to discover and report the truth, rather than create a subjective interpretation of reality. To ensure confirmability, the researcher used a recording device to capture and store the contents of the interviews. This allowed for a third party, such as a supervisor or examiner, to review

the data and confirm the findings, thereby increasing the objectivity and reliability of the research results. In addition to this, the researcher employed other strategies to enhance the trustworthiness of the research, such as member checking, triangulation, and peer review, which can help to increase the validity, verification, and transferability of the research results. By incorporating these strategies, qualitative researchers can increase the credibility and robustness of their findings and contribute to the advancement of knowledge in their field of study (Shenton, 2004).

3.10 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is an important component of qualitative research, as it helps to ensure the validity and accuracy of the research findings by enabling researchers to reflect on and account for their own biases and preconceptions (Holmes, 2020). In addition to data verification, the process of researcher reflexivity also enhances the trustworthiness of research. Reflexivity in academic research is argued to be the researcher's self-awareness and ability to reflect on their biases in the process of conducting research (Creswell, 2009). It reflects how research is conducted, its outcomes, and results (Holmes, 2020). Reflexivity requires an explicit consciousness and self-assessment (Holmes, 2020). This process includes a researcher's ability to identify preconceptions brought into the study by a researcher, representing previous personal and professional experiences, pre-study beliefs about how things are, and what is to be investigated, motivation, and qualifications for exploration (Holmes, 2020).

The researcher disclosed that they have lived and worked in Zwelihle and are familiar with organizations that could attract a diverse range of participants relevant to their study. The researcher has developed a professional network with various organizations and allied professionals in Hermanus due to their previous work and residency in Zwelihle. The above-mentioned factors might have influenced the literature review and data-gathering process. This was the researcher's first attempt at comprehensive research such as this, there the questions asked may have been influenced by the researcher pre-existing knowledge and experiences.

The researcher was mindful of his body language, maintaining an open and welcoming posture and neutral facial expressions. The researcher conveyed active listening through gestures such as nodding, leaning forward, maintaining eye contact, probing, and making validating gestures to encourage participants to express their thoughts freely, which may also be influenced by the

context and background of the researcher comes from. The responses elicited from the participants might have also been influenced by the researcher's ability to build rapport and make communication to get the data that was necessary.

To avoid the above potential biases and to conduct a thorough study of the community, the researcher needed to avoid preconceptions and capture the genuine ideas, beliefs, and experiences of community members regarding youth and substance abuse in Zwelihle. This was achieved through a thorough and rigorous process of constant engagement with the university supervisor fine-tuning the research process. The objectives, literature review and interview guide were fine-tuned in collaboration with the university supervisor.

At the outset of the interview process, the researcher utilized a research guide to ensure transparency and clarity with the participants. It was emphasized to the participants that data collection was part of a formal academic process, distinct from social activities. Any deviation from expected behaviour would constitute a breach of the professional oath taken by Social Workers and Psychologists. This emphasis was particularly important given the researcher's positionality.

3.11 Limitations

Participation bias

It was concerning to the researcher that participants who were recruited for the group interviews might have shown interest in the study only because they thought it was a job interview. Although the researcher was clear on what the purpose of the study and the interview was for in the various calls for participation, it was apparent that the Facebook post recruiting study participants was viewed as a prospect of a job or employment. The extent of voluntary participation might have been compromised although the researcher did include a disclaimer that participants could withdraw their participation if they came to the interview thinking it was a job interview. This clear communication for their participation in the study was important for the research purpose and to manage unrealistic expectations. This might have ensured their fully informed consent to voluntarily participate in the research study. One participant did withdraw from the group participation before it started, and those who remained, knew that this was a completely voluntary participation.

Gender and Age Bias

The researcher made efforts to recruit a diverse sample, the demographic composition might not fully represent the broader youth population in Zwelihle. However, although the study was about young people of Zwelihle, the focus on younger participants in the group interviews and older participants in the professional interviews could result in a gap in understanding the perspectives of middle-aged residents or professionals who might have different viewpoints. However, their experience in working with young people struggling with substance abuse and the number of years they have spent in Hermanus and Zwelihle mitigated this bias, as they were able to give a historical account for Zwelihle and more conventional account for Zwelihle. An added constraint to wider generalisation is that the research participants were mostly female, as gender representation was more than half the focus group participants. The one-on-one interviews were all made up of women.

Scale and Context of the Study

This study was conducted on a relatively small scale, focusing specifically on the youth of Zwelihle, a township in Hermanus, South Africa. Due to non-probability sampling, which is performed without randomisation and a small sample size, the results of this study cannot be generalised or transferred to the population from which the sample was drawn. However, Levitt, (2021) argues that in qualitative research, the intention is not generalise the population but the phenomenon. Levitt, (2021) argues that the goal of generalization in qualitative research is different from that in quantitative research in that, it focuses on understanding the nuances and differences within the data itself. This implies that the insights gained from analysing the variations in the data are used to understand the larger context or experience of the phenomenon, rather than making broad statements about a larger population (Levitt, 2021).

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the procedure for selecting the appropriate research methodology for the current study. It described the study's objectives and goals, research context, and the procedures for sampling, recruitment, data collection, and data collection instruments. The next chapter will present the findings obtained from this study.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the research participants' demographic profile, which is used to gain insight into the research participants. The demographic profiling was useful in establishing rapport with the participants as well as collecting basic information. Thereafter, follows a framework for discussing findings which was informed by the nine steps of data analysis developed by Tesch (1990). The final part of this chapter entails a detailed discussion of the findings, using the framework as a logical guide for presenting the data which would be further analysed relative to other studies found in the literature as well as against the theoretical models underpinning this study.

4.2 Participant demographic information

Table 1: Group interview participant demographic profile

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Years living in Zwelihle</u>	<u>Nationality</u>
#1	35	Female	13	South African
#2	23	Female	7	South African
#3	18	Female	8	South African
#4	24	Male	24	South African
#5	33	Male	31	South African
#6	25	Male	7	South African
#7	18	Female	4	South African
#8	18	Female	7	South African
#9	18	Female	7	South African
#10	18	Male	18	South African
#11	18	Male	4	South African
#12	20	Male	12	South African
#13	20	Female	15	South African
#14	29	Female	5	South African
#15	21	Male	5	South African

Demographic data in Table 1 were derived from the research participants' self-administered forms, as outlined in Appendix D. The information presented in Table 1 is data from the sample of youth in Zwelihle who engaged in the focus group interviews. A total of 15 participants were interviewed, 8 of whom were female and 7 were male. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 35 years, with an average age of 23.4 years. Most of the participants were between 18 and 25 years old. The participants in this sample of youth were predominantly young South African adults who had spent a considerable amount of time living in the community of Zwelihle. The gender distribution was almost even.

Table 2: Professional Participants' demographic profile for the one-on-one interviews

Participant	Age	Sex		Years In Hermanus	Nationality
#16	70	Female		50	South African
#17	31	Female		8	South African
#18	67	Female		24	South African
#19	59	Female		20	South African
#20	80	Female		30	South African

Like Table 1 above, the data presented in Table 2 was data collected from professional psychologists and social workers who worked with youth struggling with alcohol-related problems. These participants also conducted a self-administered form as presented in Table 2.

Table 2 below presents demographic information collected from the sample of five professional participants. The participants were all female and South African. Their ages ranged from 31 to 80 years old. The length of time that the participants have lived in Hermanus, ranges from eight years (8) to fifty (50) years, with an average of 26.4 years. The sample of professional participants in the study were experienced South African women who had lived in Hermanus for a considerable amount of time. They represent a different demographic than the youth participants in the group interview who were predominantly young adults.

4.3 Framework for discussion of findings

Table 3 is discussed below, providing a structured framework for discussing the study's findings related to youth alcohol abuse in Zwelihle.

Table 3: Framework for discussion of findings

Themes	Category	Subcategory
THE AVAILABILITY OF ALCOHOL	Ease of Availability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alcohol Is Offered At Home • Illegal Shebeens
FACTORS THAT ALLOW THE YOUTH TO ACCESS ALCOHOL	Apathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liquor Regulation Apathy and Corruption • Apathy In The Community • Apathy In The Family • Apathy From School Teachers
	Environmental Influences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overpopulation • Thriving Shebeen Industry
	Media and Entertainment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media Influence
FACTORS PROHIBITING YOUTH ALCOHOL ACCESS	Lacklustre Interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One Sports Field
PARTICIPANT RECOMMENDATIONS	Community Programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community & Family-Centred Interventions • Recreational Facilities

Table 3 above is the framework of analysis used to analyse the data: (Tesch (1990)). Initially, the data was transcribed from the voice recordings to make it more manageable. Following a review of the data and an assessment of emerging themes, responses were categorised and noted. Table 3 below presents the main themes related to youth access and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle, along with the categories derived from the collected data. This approach allowed for a clear presentation of the findings in a way that facilitated further analysis and interpretation.

4.4 Discussion of Findings

In this section, the findings of the study will be presented per the study’s main research objectives. These findings were corroborated by incorporating participant quotes, relevant literature, and the theoretical models underpinning this study. The purpose of using this

approach was to present a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the data, which will allow for a deeper understanding of the factors that contribute to youth access and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle.

4.4.1. THEME 1: THE AVAILABILITY OF ALCOHOL

Emerging as a prominent theme from the data that explored the availability of alcohol to Zwelihle youth, was the ease of availability of alcohol. This theme includes factors that relate to how easily the youth can access alcohol in their environments. The subcategories under this theme include alcohol being offered within the home environment, and illegal shebeens.

4.4.1.1. Category 1.1: Ease of Availability

Based on the responses from all participants, the community of Zwelihle faces a significant challenge with alcohol availability and abuse, which impacts not only the youth but also minors and adolescents. The view that Zwelihle is struggling with the regulation of alcohol, and therefore abuse thereof, was common among the participants. It was also evident from the research participants that the availability of unregulated alcohol stems from a dynamic breakdown of key structures within society, such as family life, schooling, and the general lack of law enforcement. This, in turn, has facilitated a situation of hopelessness in the community, to the extent that people can sell liquor to minors without fear of adverse consequences.

Subcategory 1.1.1: Alcohol Is Offered At Home

There are many laws and policies, such as the National Liquor Act (NLA) of 2003, that were created to protect the young and vulnerable against the harmful effects of alcohol abuse. However, in Zwelihle, alcohol is readily available to minors within the confines of their homes. The study findings indicate that minors not only consume alcohol at shebeens but also receive it at home from their parents. The participants further noted that this cultural practice of alcohol consumption is modelled behaviour passed on from parents to their children. The prevalence of parents offering alcohol to their children, as well as unregulated shebeens operating with impunity, were said to make it easy for underage and general youth in Zwelihle to access alcohol. Study participants reflected on the way parents would offer their children money to buy alcohol and how parents have a nonchalant parenting style that does not reprimand or instil disciplinary measures to prevent the youth from using alcohol.

“I do think that parents play a contributing role in allowing their youth to experiment with alcohol, because some young parents would feed their babies alcohol.” (Participant 1: Youth).

“Two weeks ago at Zwelihle a little boy he lives right there close to Marikana. This one boy, of 11, he is sniffing glue. His parents know that but they allow him, he’s 11, he went with his sister, that is 17 years, and they went shebeen hopping. He came out seven o’clock the morning. He was sitting outside, his mother opened the door. but he was he was zoned out, you know, and the mother said. Can I give you something? You know, she wasn’t upset that he was out the whole night because she knew he was with his sister. And she offered him a piece of bread and you know. And he got a terrible attack there an epileptic fit and he went into a coma. So, he’s still in Tygerberg as this moment.” (Participant 19: Professional).

“I think that parents need to step up on that one, because a young person can be inspired by a positive role model from his community, however it is the parents that need to make sure that they support and discipline in the process of achieving whatever it is that inspires the child. Because in Zwelihle parents spoil their children, they do not motivate them to work hard in order to achieve what inspired them, the parents rather want to buy things for their children, rewarding them for no achievement at all.” (Participant 11: Youth).

“I agree, because sometimes parents tell us not to drink, but then when the big festive season of December comes, they offer us money to go out. They say aren’t you bored? I see your friends going out”. (Participant 3: Youth).

The study revealed that parental influence contributed to the youth of Zwelihle accessing and abusing alcohol which might perpetuate the cycle of alcohol abuse in the community. Participants indicated that young people get offered alcohol at home by their parents, and if a minor leaves home to go out and drink alcohol, there seems to be no negative consequences such as a reprimand but rather it seems to be positively reinforced by parents or guardians.

Ceka and Murati (2016) argue that parents have the potential to model a positive or a negative role for their children and their study found that instead of reprimanding against early-age drinking, parents were seen to be condoning the behaviour. Rachel, Roman and Donga. (2022)

conducted a study on parental factors and influences that lead to antisocial and deviant behaviour in adolescents across three different provinces in South Africa, including Lamberts Bay in the Western Cape Province, Calvinia in the Northern Cape, and Philippolis in the Free State Province. Their study yielded similar findings when it came to parental supervision and instilling discipline in their children to sway them away from antisocial behaviours, such as drugs and alcohol. Rachel, Roman and Donga, (2022) discovered that various factors contributing to deviant behaviours in adolescents were associated with parental disengagement, lack of discipline, absence of support, indifference, and the failure to model positive behaviours for their children. Their study concluded that young individuals whose parents were not actively involved in imparting values and discipline were more prone to initiate early alcohol and drug use, as well as experiencing higher rates of school dropout (Rachel, Roman and Donga, 2022).

Consistent with these findings was a qualitative study conducted by Cele *et al.*, (2022) among 404 high school learners, exploring motivations behind alcohol use among high school learners. The home environment emerged as the primary influence where young people learn to use alcohol through modelled behaviour by their family members. Of the learners interviewed, a substantial proportion (79%) of the respondents reported that their family members were alcohol consumers, indicating the home environment as the primary place of influencing young people's drinking habits. Another 70% of the respondents reported that their friends were current drinkers. When asked where they consumed alcohol, before participating in the study, 50% reported having consumed alcohol at parties, while 25% of the participants reported having drunk at home, and 25% drank at social/traditional gatherings. These findings indicate that parental attitudes towards alcohol play a crucial role. If parents and guardians display a condoning attitude and accepting behaviour towards alcohol, their children might perceive alcohol as something acceptable and appropriate and the children might be interested in experimenting with alcohol.

Added to this, parents were said to be offering their children money for alcohol on major festivals like Christmas, in cases where their children were bored. Another motivating factor behind parents providing alcohol to their children was the concern that their children may receive money for alcohol from individuals engaging in transactional sex, commonly referred to as sugar daddies or sugar mommies (also known as "Blessers" in South Africa). The phenomenon of sugar dating is not only found in Zwelihle but has been on the rise in the last

decade, particularly thriving in the United States of America colleges and in South African universities which had 3 million student members who wished to become sugar babies on a sugar dating site (Stice, 2021). Crankshaw and Freedman (2023) conceptualise transactional sex as a phenomenon where mostly younger people, particularly women, engage in sexual exchanges for money and other benefits. Transactional sex differs from commercial sex work because within transactional sex economic support is provided within an intimate relationship, whereas commercial sex work involves an explicit purchase of sex outside the confines of an intimate relationship (Crankshaw and Freedman, 2023).

“To add on to the point of P3, sometimes parents give money to children on purpose so that they won’t go to a blesser or a sugar daddy for money, which might create other problems such as the safety of the child and other things such as sex. I would not say that parents send their children to drink, but I think it’s a matter of concern for who the children could turn to for money.” (Participant 6: Youth).

“I also want to bring the issue of blessers or sugar daddies. In Hermanus we have an issue with the illegal abalone poachers, who make a lot of easy money and seduce our youth with alcohol. They date youth girls and lure them with alcohol, and then the youth start like that, to be addicted to alcohol in Zwelihle.” (Participant 2: Youth).

Transactional sex has been argued to have adverse health and social outcomes, including poor sexual and reproductive health outcomes, such as unintended pregnancies, unsafe abortions, and other sexually transmitted infections and diseases (Crankshaw and Freedman, 2023). Added to this is the power imbalance in transactional sex that has been the subject of debate regarding its tendency to thrive in the context of age-disparate conditions, where typically older men would provide money and or luxurious gifts and trips to much younger women in exchange for sex. As a result of these reasons, the study found that parents would resort to offering their children money for alcohol as a means of protecting them from engaging in transactional sex, given the associated safety concerns.

Subcategory 1.1.2 Illegal Shebeens

The participants in the study suggest that the availability of alcohol is not solely attributable to legal sources such as licensed bars and liquor stores, but also to illegal shebeens that operate

without regulations. Participant 18, a professional working with youth substance abuse within the Zwelihle community, pointed out that the lack of monitoring and oversight by authorities contributes to the proliferation of shebeens and the sale of alcohol to underage individuals. This can result in a range of negative consequences, including increased alcohol-related harms such as drunk driving, violence, and health problems, as well as broader social impacts on communities. In Participant 18's own words:

" It's freely available around every corner basically, due to the sheer number of shebeens. Competition is intense, so they will allow anyone to come in, because they're fighting for business. Any money is good money, regardless of the source. A 12-year-old or a 60-year-old, it doesn't matter to them." (Participant 18: Professional).

Having comprehensively reviewed the literature on the rise and advent of shebeens in South Africa, one can appreciate how they are still relevant in the context of South African Townships. For one to fully appreciate the proliferation of shebeens in South African townships, one needs to understand and appreciate the context and political climate under which they rose to relevance. Masola *et al.*, (2019) assert that the word “shebeen” is an Irish term that loosely translates to “illicit alcohol”. Much like in the United Kingdom, [UK] illicit alcohol started in the 1930s with laws that prohibited African immigrants who were not allowed to visit regulated alcohol outlets. It is argued by Masola *et al.*, (2019), that African immigrants saw a gap in the market and raised enough capital to form beer gardens in Manchester, which were much needed and appreciated by African immigrants who were not allowed in regulated alcohol establishments, because not only did the shebeens serve alcohol, but they also provided leisure and socialisation and provided a platform for black musicians to perform their art.

Similarly, scholars such as Charman *et al.*, (2013); SLF (2017) as well as Mathibela and Skhosana (2021), have argued that the advent of shebeens in South African townships was directly influenced by discriminatory racial laws which prohibited black Africans from selling and purchasing alcohol. The advent of shebeens in South Africa might be argued to also have been directly influenced by colonial racial laws which might have compelled Africans to resort to illegal means for survival. It is argued by Vosloo (2020) that during colonial times, the British colonial government forced people out of a rural non-capitalistic tax economy to a wage labour economy, which was accessible in urban and city areas. One such law was the head tax law, which was implemented in 1906, and received a lot of resistance from the people of

KwaZulu-Natal (Miller, 2021). This resistance was called the Bhambatha resistance which saw two thousand black Africans return to their rural homesteads revolting against the head tax laws (Miller, 2021). It is argued that the Bambatha rebellion was overcome by British colonial rule, and this saw a lot of African labourers return to the city for wage labour. It is also argued that Africans faced economic hardship and struggled to survive in the city, as the wage labour did not meet the economic demands (Miller, 2021). This also saw black women starting to migrate to the city, and it became a common trend for black families to supplement their wages with help from women and children (Binder 2017). Women at the time were also prejudiced against as domestic work was reserved for men, as black women did not have to carry passes, and this subjected black women to informal work (Binder, 20217). Some resorted to brewing alcohol and ran shebeens and others turned to prostitution, all of which were illegal at the time because they did not have licenses to operate their businesses. These informal activities provided economic security and financial independence for some black families. It is argued that business for women brewing and selling alcohol was thriving, so much so that they made more money than the men in the manufacturing industry at the time.

Legislation such as the 1908 Native Beer Act, stipulated that Africans could only drink African beer and the city was the only agent licensed to brew and sell it at licensed municipal beer halls (Ngidi, 2020). The 1908 Native Beer Act directly affected black women's economic independence in the shebeen industry and had a detrimental effect on the alcohol business operated by women, which might have solidified the need for black women to operate illegally and underground (Ngidi, 2020). Legislations such as the 1911 Native Regulation Act, the 1913 Land Act Legislations, and the Group Areas Act of 1950, were some of the laws that might regulate people's movements and what they could have access to, and expropriated masses of land which might be argued to have pushed and exacerbated the rural crisis which displaced a lot of black families and pushed them into poverty, because it dispossessed them of good arable land (Ngidi, 2020). According to Ngidi, (2020), the Native Land Act of 1913, impoverished black Africans as they were not allowed enough land to farm, and the land allocated to them was infertile and overgrazed.

The history of the rise of South African shebeens can be understood through the lens of discriminatory racial laws. Shebeens provided a means for economic survival for marginalised black women. Understanding the historical climate and socio-economic climate is of great significance in understanding the role of shebeens in South African townships. As such,

literature teaches that there might have been several reasons for other people to engage in the illegal trade of alcohol, however for black families in South Africa, particularly for black women, shebeens provided a sense of economic security and survival for their families (Ngidi 2020).

Current conditions in South Africa and results obtained from this study mirror similar trends and patterns for the popularity of shebeens in Zwelihle. Unemployment equates to people in Zwelihle resorting to alcoholism or opening a shebeen. The current unemployment rate in South Africa is the highest in the world with 32% of the population unemployed (StatsSA, 2023).

The latest Overstrand socio-economic profile published by the Western Cape Government (WCG), has revealed that in the Overstrand, unemployment is currently at 15%, which was the highest unemployment figure in the entire Overberg District in 2020. Participants also alluded to the base problem which is unemployment, and poverty. Participants also described that other dynamics such as alcoholism start to erupt and compound on the baseline problem, which causes a more dynamic social problem. Other compounding social problems and dangers that are associated with alcoholism were identified to be alcohol dependence, liver cancers, and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (Desai *et al.*, 2019). Alcohol is also associated with various social ills, such as unsafe sex which might perpetuate the spread of various sexually transmitted diseases, domestic violence, and child neglect (Desai *et al.*, 2019). Cupido (2020) confirms this by asserting that there is a link between poverty and substance abuse. Socio-economic factors such as poverty, inequality, and unemployment remain key elements for the increased use of substances and the development of substance use disorders (Cupido, 2020). The study participants were also aware of the relationship between unemployment and shebeens resulting in people starting a shebeen business and others who lose employment resorting to alcohol.

“Yeah, that we need to be concerned because there are many shebeens. And I even know about people running private shebeens, you know, sort of just. I know some people who just bought a big fridge and then they sell from their houses. So, this means even if the big shebeens are being closed you know that there are people selling from their houses.”

(Participant 19: Professional).

“With unemployment, we see other people who lose jobs and open a shebeen to support their families and that is how access is made easy for the youth because there is competition to sell, this means that people will sell to underage people.” (Participant 9: Youth).

Despite the National Liquor Act [NLA] of 2003 (amended in 2017), which prohibits the sale of alcohol within a 500-meter radius of early childhood development centres, schools, places of worship, and sports and recreational facilities, participants in the study described a situation in which shebeen owners not only contravene these laws but also sell alcohol to underage people. The amended policy stipulates that managers of facilities selling alcohol must take measures to ensure that all patrons are 18 years of age or above (NLA, 2017). However, the participants noted that in practice, shebeen owners are not adhering to these regulations and are continuing to sell alcohol to minors. Some participant 4 emphasize on this point, by stating the following:

“I think that people are aware of alcohol policies, but I think they do not care. Because using your own knowledge you know that children are not supposed to drink at a certain age. But they still capitalize on that, because they know that formal shebeens in Zwelihle would not take underage minors, however some people capitalize on this and cater alcohol for these underage people. Even the minors will go to these places because they know that there is no supervision. Even the underage people know that some of these places are not safe, but they also do not care, they just want to drink. So, people are aware of the policies, but do they care? No.” (Participant 7: Youth).

This is corroborated by the following participants.

“Exactly as I said earlier on that every street in Zwelihle has a shebeen and shebeen owners are not interested in age restrictions, therefore they will not turn minors away because they are customers who bring in money. And therefore, it is easy for the youth to access alcohol.” (Participant 4: Youth).

Yes, my brother, I think that Zwelihle youth, has easy access, because every corner you turn in Zwelihle there is a shebeen or a place of alcohol. this also means if there is a place that is expensive, then you can go to the cheapest one. So yes, the youth of Zwelihle have a very easy access to alcohol. (Participant 1: Youth).

The Western Cape Government [WGC] (2017) has reported on the alarming rate at which adolescents in the province consume alcohol. The WCG (2017) has raised concern for the alarming rate at which adolescents consume alcohol because the human brain only fully develops in one's late twenties. Alcohol consumption impairs brain development in children and adolescents, causing brain shrinkage, dementia, and physical dependence, increases neuropsychiatric and cognitive disorders, and causes distortion of the brain chemistry (WCG, 2017). Spear (2018) conducted a study on the effects of adolescent alcohol consumption on the brain and behaviour. The study revealed that adolescents who consume alcohol may experience deficits in verbal learning, attention, and visuospatial and memory tasks.

The NLA (2016) has argued that an increase in alcohol outlet density has been associated with high levels of adverse alcohol harms, such as road accidents, hospital admissions, teenage pregnancies, Foetal Alcohol Syndrome, and other social ills.

Participant 16 further commented that the problem of illegal shebeens and substance abuse is not an isolated issue, but rather part of a larger collection of social problems. They noted that it would be challenging to address substance abuse problems in the community without addressing other social problems such as unemployment, poverty, and gender-based violence. Participant 16 suggested that for many people, using alcohol may be a way to cope with the difficult realities of their lives. In their own words:

"This problem is not in isolation. We have other social problems in the community. It's difficult to fight substance abuse problems if people are unemployed, poor, or facing gender-based violence. For some people, alcohol is a mechanism to escape their reality."

(Participant 16: Professional).

To understand alcohol abuse by the youth of Zwelihle one needs to understand how the environment shapes certain behaviours and the way people perceive themselves relative to their environment. The study made use of the ecological systems theory, which will be used to guide the discussion section. The ecological systems theory's primary focus is on the interconnectedness of relationships between people and their environment (Tracy and Brown, 2011; Jack, 2012). The ecological systems theory explains that an individual is born into five

interconnected systems that exist, namely, the Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, and Chronosystem.

The history of South Africa's racial laws has taught us about the rise of shebeens in South Africa, and the conditions under which they thrived back in colonial and apartheid times. The results of the study mirror similar conditions and context for the persistence of shebeens in South Africa. Notably, poverty akin to the conditions experienced in colonial times emerges as a fundamental underlying issue that fosters the continued existence of shebeens in South Africa. This suggests one of the interventions necessary to combat alcohol abuse in South Africa would be to target the issue of poverty.

4.4.2. THEME 2: FACTORS THAT ALLOW THE YOUTH TO ACCESS ALCOHOL

This section discusses the themes and categories that emerged from the objective exploring factors that allow the youth to access alcohol. These factors are categorised into three broad categories: Apathy, Environmental Influences, and Socialization and Culture.

4.4.2.1 Category 2.1: Apathy

This category includes factors that relate to a lack of interest, concern, or empathy toward preventing the youth from accessing alcohol. The first category; apathy, relates to the lack of concern and care exhibited by the community of Zwelihle. Participants in the study reported observing widespread societal disregard for the issue of alcohol abuse among parents, the local municipality, and law enforcement authorities. The subcategories that emerged out of this category were: liquor regulation apathy and corruption, apathy in family life, apathy in the community, and apathy among schoolteachers.

Subcategory 2.2.1: Liquor Regulation Apathy and Corruption

According to the Western Cape Liquor Act 4 of 2008 (amended in 2016), it is unlawful and a crime to sell, give, or supply liquor to a person under the age of 18 years that is, a minor (Alcohol Liquor Act, 2008, amended, 2017). It is also a crime to allow a minor in your care or supervision to consume liquor, except for worship associated with the celebration of religious observance (Alcohol Liquor Act, 2008). Whether registered to trade alcohol or not, no person is allowed to offer a minor that is under the age of 18 alcohol. An owner of a liquor outlet has

the responsibility to ensure that a person under the age of 18 years is prohibited from accessing a liquor outlet (Alcohol Liquor Act, 2008).

Study participants indicated that they were aware of such laws and alcohol policies that are meant to regulate alcohol access, however not much is done by officials to educate the community about what the policies are meant to do. Results indicated that participants were aware that minors are not allowed in alcohol outlets, and that one needs to have a liquor license for one to trade in alcohol. Participants argued that these policies are ineffective because they are aware that in the context of Zwelihle children and teenagers do have access to alcohol outlets and nothing gets done to hold the contraveners of this policy to account. Participants indicated that alcohol laws are only spoken about on paper but not implemented in practice. Participants noted the following when asked about the efficacy of alcohol laws:

It's not really effective, because some community members do not even know what those laws are about. That information was supposed be shared with the people. We do not know that there is a need for policy compliance, we do not know what is in there, all we know is this is the age limit when I drink, but what happens to someone if a child is found consuming alcohol in their establishment? What are the consequences of that, we have never seen that. We know that you are not allowed to have a minor in your premises as a liquor outlet. But what happens to those who break this law? What are people supposed to say? Also, people are not easy to talk about these things because they are protecting their own or its fear of speaking up, because essentially you would be targeting someone's bread. (Participant 16: Professional).

I fully agree. Because people do not care for that, and shebeen owners and other people have told themselves that this is not my child, so whatever happens to the child I do not care because it is not my child. (Participant 10: Youth).

Some participants highlighted the disconnect between alcohol trade laws, and how they are implemented. The participants pointed out that alcohol legislation is ineffective due to a lack of community involvement and awareness about it. This is linked to a lack of awareness and information sharing in the community about the dangers of underage drinking and how the laws are for the benefit of the community. It was identified that it was important to disseminate alcohol laws to the public. Without proper knowledge, people may not see the need for policy

compliance and compliance with the law. This suggests that all information about the operationalisation of these policies should take priority so that communities can know what to do in case someone in the community is in breach of these laws. Presently, participants argue that there is a lack of clarity regarding the specific penalties associated with policy breaches, leading to a limited understanding of the necessary actions to be taken in such circumstances. Moskalewicz *et al.* (2013), surmise that it is a common trend that the public has limited opportunities to influence alcohol policy. As such historical examples as the American prohibition of the 1920s and the Soviet anti-alcohol policy in the mid-1980s demonstrate how these initiatives were effectively resisted due to a lack of public support or opposition. The Western Cape Government in their Alcohol Harms Reduction, (2017) policy has identified ten (10) key areas for policy and intervention, two of which were community leadership and community engagement. Policing Forums within communities were identified as key agents to play a more active role in identifying problematic alcohol outlets and the alcohol licensing process (WCG, 2023).

“First things first we need to strengthen our policies and act on them, but also, we need to have a much better community involvement, make them aware of this, have the dialogue, have the conversation, have the imbizo, invite the shebeen owner, sit down with them and teach them. But they might say we are unemployed, but then we need to tell them about what should be done, what is allowed and what is not allowed. So, in that way people will feel empowered to have had a word of input in the process. Because it does not help to say we are going to close the shebeens down, because where are they going to get their income? Because at the end of the day that is how they make money. So, I think if we can have an open conversation about these things, because we do not talk about these things. So have these talks with the community, have community buy-in and try to get the services to the people, find programs that create opportunities, services that create entertainment for the youth.”

(Participant 16: Professional).

There are things that they can do to prevent their kids from falling vulnerable to these kinds of people that target their children. Oh, I'm sure that most you know indeed most of the parents and the teachers and community members that I've spoken to are very aware of the laws that you cannot sell alcohol unless you have a license to do so and that you can't sell to under eighteens. That kind of legal aspect, people are very well aware of, not that they give it to any attention. I don't think. I don't think it means much. But you know, in this country you

sort of watch people don't even stop at stop streets. You know that's how much the law means.

So I think you know, I think that there's a, there's a flagrant disregard for policy and law. And but I do think that you know the law, there are laws to protect people. I understand that.

And I know that. And there are policies. However, those laws on are not enforced and it's until those laws are going to be enforced. And people are brave enough to enforce them. That is when we'll see a difference, I think. (Participant 18: Professional).

Participants were aware that criminal activities are meant to be reported to the South African Police Services. Participants described a breakdown in governance trust, where authorities responsible for regulating the availability of alcohol are corrupt and may fear for their safety since they reside in the same community and frequent the same shebeen as other community members. Essentially reporting an illegal shebeen, would result in someone's livelihood being taken away. The study results indicate a complex situation where the South African Police Services [SAPS] and local government law enforcement agencies face significant risks as they fear being targeted and abused should they act on the illegal alcohol trade. The responses from some participants confirm the findings of Perkins (2022) who studied safety concerns of the South African Police Service [SAPS] in the Western Cape Province. Perkins (2022) found that 58% of police members feared for their lives and safety concerns were increasing. The Western Cape Government [WCG, 2017] estimated that there were 3,483 unlicensed liquor outlets in the province, and this number may continue to rise due to the fear of law enforcement agencies acting against illicit alcohol trade activities. The fear of enforcement may lead to more social problems because law enforcement is argued to play a twofold role in the regulation of the alcohol trade, which is a combination of compliance and law enforcement (WCG, 2017). Law enforcement agents ensure that liquor license holders and applicants comply with the law and assist in identifying and addressing the issue of unlicensed liquor outlets.

"I think if I look back at it now, I would say that perhaps there was fear involved in that. If somebody reported it, there would be consequences for them and the school was aware that there was drinking going on. The police were aware, they certainly were because if we told them and law enforcement also were aware that there was illegal drinking going on, particularly at the taxi rank and but they all seem to be." (Participant 17: Professional).

"Umm. Yeah, I know that alcohol is freely available in Zwelihle. Yeah, I mean the taxi rank is a point in case it seems like over weekends. There is a sale of alcohol at the taxi rank and it

seems like children at schools and young adults at schools can access alcohol without any problem. I've heard of 13-12-year-olds buying alcohol and not being refused. And to be served. So it is a problem. It is a big, big problem and law enforcement are not able to do anything about it because the officers stay in Zwelihle and will become targeted by the vendors of the alcohol. So. Hmm, it's a big, big problem and. And so the access is. It's free, freely available, and then the other issue about young children starting to experiment and to use alcohol. I've heard of children as young as 8-9. Who have readily have access to alcohol in with their families approval. So it's not a good scenario really. Yeah.” (Participant 18: Professional).

“Yeah, I don't think so. Even if they are. Even if they are told at a parent meeting or at the school, They're not going to do anything about it, I don't think there is a lot of parents who know of any bylaws. And if you don't trust the government or the municipality or whatever, you know, the powers that be so that you don't really wanna get involved.” (Participant 19: Professional).

Participants further expressed that alcohol availability is exacerbated by government officials who know their duties but rather choose to exploit the situation. It has been argued by Lamb (2021) that SAPS has shown a lack of strong reputable leadership because, over the years since the dawn of democracy, senior SAPS officials have been implicated in corruption. Lamb (2021) notes that since 2008, four national commissioners and three provincial commissioners have been relieved of their duties due to involvement in corruption. Included in the list of four dismissed national commissioners, is the current Minister of SAPS Minister Bheki Cele (Lamb, 2021). This suggests that corruption and ethical violations may be prevalent in the organisation and that those in leadership positions may not be fulfilling their duties and responsibilities appropriately. It raises questions about the government's ability to effectively address issues such as the availability of alcohol and other criminal activities. Participants were aware of some legislation that is meant to regulate the alcohol trade. They were aware that these laws were not being adhered to and not only were the shebeen owners aware, but SAPS were also aware of the noncompliance. However, they refrained from acting due to their alleged involvement in the illicit trade of alcohol.

“Because the government officials, in my opinion, have investments in the alcohol business and the smoking tobacco business. It's countrywide. It's religiously practised. It's just a microcosm of what is happening in the rest of the world and South Africa, yeah.”

(Participant 17: Professional).

“You ask if legislation is effective, well we know that a place of alcohol is supposed to be a few meters away from a school but here there is a big and famous shebeen which is literally behind a school, and an early childhood development centre. So, these shebeens are literally behind a school, so I do not see those policies and laws being practised.”

(Participant 16: Professional).

Study participants highlighted the pervasive nature of corruption. Some participants noted that law enforcement plays a limited role in regulating alcohol access in Zwelihle. They further stated that some law enforcement officials reside in the community and consume alcohol in illegal shebeens with the general community. In their own words:

“Law enforcement plays a limited role. What we have observed is that some law enforcement officials drink in shebeens with us.” (Participant 4: Youth).

“The problem is that when they do their raids, shebeen owners become friendly with the law enforcement officials and offer them money. So, the law enforcement and police would choose to take the money, rather than to raid the shebeens.” (Participant 5: Youth).

“We have also heard that they do not just confiscate the alcohol, they [police] also take the money and claim that it was sought through illegal means.” (Participant 3: Youth).

“So, they are just making quick cash, because they also confiscate alcohol from one shebeen and sell to another half price.” (Participant 5: Youth).

The participants' sentiments on corrupt practices amongst law enforcement are consistent with the findings by Lamb (2021), in a study conducted in Nyanga, Cape Town, where 50% of the shebeens sampled, reported that they had paid a bribe to the police. Bribery and abuse of power are the most common forms of corruption within the South African Police Service (Rajin and Snyman, 2020). Mathibela and Skhosana (2021) argue that generally illegal substances make their way into communities through trafficking and organized crime. Mathibela and Skhosana

(2021) further contend that the combination of organized crime, the trafficking of illegal substances, and the lack of resources and political will to combat these crimes, ultimately leave the most vulnerable population as targets for the illegal practices in society.

The mistrust in the system and blatant corruption mentioned by the participants create fertile ground for criminality to go unpunished in the community. Some participants noted that law enforcement agents employed by the municipality are not knowledgeable about the laws they are meant to enforce. This is consistent with the findings of the Western Cape Government (WCG, 2017), which revealed that liquor inspectors and SAPS officials are not always familiar with the law.

“The municipality might be aware of this, but the problem, might be the law enforcement officers themselves because they too sometimes do not know the law.” (Participant 10: Youth).

“The municipality might be aware of this, but the problem might be the law enforcement officers themselves because they too sometimes do not know the law. Because sometimes they can arrest you for public drinking, but when you ask them about the charge, for which you are being arrested, they are unable to articulate it. It happened to us when my friend and I were walking from the mall, we were stopped by law enforcement agents, because my friend was drinking publicly, but the officer did not know what the charge was.” (Participant 13: Youth).

Participants concurred with the notion that community members have become disillusioned with law enforcement due to the high level of corruption in the SAPS. Added to this sentiment was the lack of comprehension of roles and responsibilities by law enforcement agents. Additionally, the lack of meaningful community involvement was argued to exacerbate the situation, thus making it easy to infer that criminality, particularly related to illegal substances, is likely to thrive unchecked in the community.

Subcategory 2.2.2: Apathy In The Community

According to some of the participants, quoted below, the prevalence of alcohol consumption in Zwelihle is influenced by the fact that most people in the community use alcohol. The participants reported that parents have modelled behaviour that would encourage the youth

towards alcohol consumption. Participants observed that while the community is aware of policies regulating the responsible use of alcohol, they do not care much for them, as drinking parties are a common occurrence in some streets from Friday until Monday. Participants also noted that almost all parents in Zwelihle drink, which normalises alcohol use for the youth.

“I think in Zwelihle, the majority of people are alcohol drinkers, maybe in one street you can find that there is probably two houses that are not alcohol drinkers. So, I would say that the community of Zwelihle might be aware of policies regulating responsible use of alcohol, but I think we they do not care much for them. Some streets here have reputations that every Friday it’s a drinking party till Sunday and Monday people are drinking for the last time till Friday again.” (Participant 4: Youth).

“If the child can see from the whole community that the culture of alcohol is not endorsed, then the child might learn a different culture from that of alcohol use. But here in Zwelihle almost all parents drink, that’s why Zwelihle youth drinks, because they saw it from their parents and probably thought that this is a way of life and there is nothing wrong with it because the elders are doing it.” (Participant 6: Youth).

Dorasamy and Mbandlwa (2020) argue that people in townships are more likely to abuse alcohol than those in suburban areas due to their economic situation and the stress caused by economic hardship. This finding is consistent with Jankie's (2021) study conducted in Zwelihle, which found that the community has a high percentage of unemployed young people. These results are consistent with a report by StatsSA (2023) which indicated that approximately 55.5% of the population (equivalent to 30.3 million people) is living in poverty at the national upper poverty line and 25% of the population (13.8 million people) are experiencing food poverty.

These problems, in most cases, tend to contribute to the crime levels in a country as people will likely look for other ways to provide for themselves and their families. People become involved in criminal activities, as they become desperate and are on the edge for survival hence the proliferation of shebens in South African townships (Dorasamy and Mbandlwa (2020).

A study was conducted by du Toit *et al.*, (2018), to investigate the impact of unemployment in the context of two townships in Johannesburg, South Africa. The results yielded overwhelming

mental health impacts where participants in the study attached the effects of unemployment to stress, depression, and suicidal ideations (du Toit, 2018). Du Toit *et al.*, (2018) elaborate on how the mental effects associated with unemployment are exacerbated by stigmatisation and shame as unemployed people are perceived to be lazy and are not trying hard enough. Du Toit *et al.*, (2018). states that Dorasamy and Mbandlwa (2020) argue that the pain of unemployment is not only physical but also has psychological effects because unemployment affects them as parents and as community members, because they are not contributing to the economy and might be perceived as a liability. For this reason, Dorasamy and Mbandlwa (2020) state that the significant contributing factor that leads to alcohol abuse in townships is the lack of motivation and unemployment. The financial and emotional burden placed on this group in particular puts them at further risk as they may take alcohol to deal with the hopelessness of their situation. This leads to even further risk because they might need more money to sustain the drug or alcohol addiction.

It is noteworthy from the participant responses, that the prevalence of alcohol use in Zwelihle is largely influenced by the community's culture of alcohol consumption, modelled behaviour by parents, and difficult economic factors that contribute to stress and abuse of alcohol. Despite being aware of regulations governing the responsible use of alcohol, community members' attitudes and behaviours towards alcohol consumption suggest a disregard for these regulations.

Subcategory 2.2.3: Apathy In The Family

Participants reported that, in some cases, alcohol is made available in the home setting, and parents were identified as the main problem in making alcohol available. It was reported that some parents were implicated in offering alcohol and financial means to their children either to buy alcohol or consume alcohol with them. One of the youth participants noted that younger parents, who may have had teenage pregnancies, give their children money for alcohol out of fear of not appearing cool to their children. This highlights the apathy towards responsible parenting and the promotion of alcohol use as a normative behaviour.

“I think that contrary to yesteryears, parents these days are much younger because of teenage pregnancies. So younger parents give children money to buy alcohol, out of fear of not being cool to their children.” (Participant 10, Youth).

The issue of wanting to be cool or friends with their children was emphasised when Participant 10 explained that offering alcohol to their children was linked to some level of peer pressure, where young parents do not want to appear uncool or inconsistent with popular culture, indicating that alcohol consumption in Zwelihle is accepted as a part of everyday life. This narrative is consistent with the professional participants' views on this when they described that alcohol availability is influenced by how society views it. The issue of young teenage parents has been noted, and Participant 10 provides a reason why parents might want to offer children money. This is linked to some level of peer pressure, where young parents who do not want to appear "uncool" or to be inconsistent with popular culture, would rather offer alcohol or money for alcohol to their children. This indicates that alcohol consumption in Zwelihle is accepted as part of everyday life, and this is consistent with the reflections of Participant 16 who described that alcohol availability is influenced by how society views it.

"Our homes also have alcohol addiction, almost fifty to sixty percent of our homes use alcohol and we have also normalized it in our society, it's part of our everyday lives. So, when we do it, our children see nothing wrong with it," (Participant 16: Professional).

The apathy towards responsible parenting and the normalisation of alcohol use in Zwelihle suggest a need for targeted interventions aimed at changing attitudes and behaviours towards alcohol consumption. This could involve education campaigns, community engagement, and stricter enforcement of regulations governing alcohol use.

The glamourisation of alcohol is consistent with the findings by Chauke and Malatji (2018) who found that alcohol marketing makes the alcohol look glamourised and appealing. Letsela *et al.*, (2019) further expound on alcohol marketing, by noting that alcohol industries have intentionally targeted young people, especially young women. Monitoring Alcohol Marketing Practices in Africa, as cited in Letsela *et al.*, (2019) undertook research on alcohol marketing practices in four African countries. They found that alcohol advertisements were heavily concentrated on platforms that are frequented by the youth (Letsela *et al.*, 2019). They found that on all platforms, alcohol was advertised with strong themes of glamour and success.

The research participants highlighted the strong influence of parental involvement, or lack thereof, on alcohol use by youth and underage drinkers in Zwelihle. It was reported that reputable and prominent figures in the community consume alcohol, and parents and other

guardians also contribute to the availability of alcohol to youth. In some streets, most people were reported to consume alcohol, and participants noted that parents often use alcohol for all celebrations, even those that are inappropriate for alcohol consumption, such as children's parties.

Youth Participant 10 highlighted the negative impact of this parental behaviour on the youth, as children begin to associate celebrations with alcohol, which normalises its use and leads to a higher risk of underage drinking. This demonstrates the need for parents to model responsible alcohol use and to consider the impact of their behaviour on the youth in their community. By promoting responsible behaviour and creating a culture where alcohol use is not synonymous with celebrations, parents can help reduce the prevalence of underage drinking in Zwelihle.

“You see that is the problem, kids associate celebrations with alcohol. In some case you might find that parents are hosting a party for a 1-year-old baby, but then you will also find a lot of alcohol in that party, although it’s a party of a baby. So, children grow up with that thing in their mind, when there is a celebration there must be alcohol.” (Participant 10: Youth).

These findings are consistent with that of Crowley, et al. (2018), that in homes where the parents or guardians use substances, it may increase the availability of that substance to their underage youth. Parental substance use is a predictor of early to late adolescent substance use (Crowley *et al.*, 2018). Some participants raised their concerns regarding underage youth who have parents who use alcohol and may inadvertently be influenced by their parents to use it. This influence on the underage youth may also influence the friends of the underage youth (Crowley *et al.*, 2018). Consistent with the findings of Crowley et al. (2018) some participants argued that if an underage youth comes from a family of substance users, then that child might also use. Some participants noted that it does not matter if a child comes from a family that does not use alcohol, because if that child is a friend to a child who comes from a family of alcohol users, then they might also be influenced by the friend who comes from a family of users. In their own words:

“I would say that it depends on the family to which a child is born into, if there is a culture of not using alcohol, that child might follow the lead of their parents and not use alcohol. The

same thing applies to children born into families of alcohol users, that child will also use alcohol.” (Participant 1: Youth).

“I would say that it doesn’t matter if the parents do not drink alcohol, because a child might be influenced by their neighbours who might be alcohol users. So, I can say that parents have a limited control over the actions of their children. (Participant 7: Youth).

“Sometimes parents give money to children on purpose so that they won’t go to a blesser or a sugar daddy for money, which might create other problems such as the safety of the child and other things such as sex. I would not say that parents send their children to drink, but I think it’s a matter of concern for who the children could turn to for money.” (Participant 6: Youth).

Youth Participant 11 expressed concern that parents in Zwelihle were not motivating their children to work hard and achieve their goals, but rather spoiling them with rewards for no achievement at all.

“I think that parents need to step up on that one, because a young person can be inspired by a positive role model from his community, however it is the parents that need to make sure that they support and discipline in the process of achieving whatever it is that inspires the child. Because in Zwelihle, parents spoil their children, they do not motivate them to work hard to achieve what inspired them, the parents rather want to buy things for their children, rewarding them for no achievement at all.” (Participant 11: Youth).

Participant 4 highlights the concerning behaviour of some young parents in Zwelihle who prioritize their social lives over the well-being of their children. These parents feed alcohol to their babies and young children to make them drowsy so they can go out with their friends. This practice not only endangers the child's health and development but also demonstrates a lack of responsibility and disregard for the child's needs. Participant 14 agrees that parents in Zwelihle play a contributing role in allowing their children to experiment with alcohol, including young parents who are also trying to live a "young person's life." This behaviour is especially alarming given the already high levels of alcohol use and acceptance in the community, which can lead to safety concerns and underage sexual activity, exacerbating gender-based violence.

While there is not much in the form of literature on young parents who feed alcohol to their children, Erickson's (1969) psychosocial development theory identifies eight stages through which a healthily developing human should pass from infancy to late adulthood. In each stage, the person confronts, and hopefully masters, new challenges. Each stage builds upon the successful completion of earlier stages. The challenges of stages that are not successfully completed may be expected to reappear as problems in the future. Teenagers according to this theory are at the 5th stage, which is called identity vs role confusion, which suggests that they are still adolescents who are still developing their identity and roles in life. Falling pregnant can lead to confusion and conflict as they try to balance their new role as parents with their existing identity exploration, this is perhaps why young parents in Zwelihle would feed alcohol to their children because they are still young and are still interested in exploring their identities.

“Yes, I want to add to this point, in Zwelihle we have young parents, who also want to live the young person's life, for example when a young parent who has child, and the child would not go to sleep, so that the young parent can go out with their friends, the young parents would feed alcohol to their infant or child so that the child could be drowsy and go to sleep while the parent is out partying.” (Participant 4: Youth).

“I do think that parents play a contributing role in allowing their youth to experiment with alcohol, because some young parents would feed their babies alcohol.”

(Participant 1: Youth).

Participants in the study revealed several ways in which parents influence alcohol use among youth and underage drinkers in Zwelihle. Some parents intentionally give their children money to buy alcohol, believing they should drink at home rather than seek money from sugar daddies or blessers, which can lead to safety concerns and sexual activity. This might reflect a genuine concern because gender-based violence is prevalent in the country. According to a study conducted by Brink, et al, (2021), 77% of women in Limpopo, 51% in Gauteng, 45% in the Western Cape, and 36% in KwaZulu-Natal experienced some form of GBV, with men being the main perpetrators of this violence. This alarming trend, coupled with the poverty and acceptance of alcohol in Zwelihle, could push youth towards engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships and exacerbate GBV.

The link between alcohol abuse and higher levels of GBV is argued to stem from broader societal misogynistic and patriarchal violence which glorifies the mistreatment of women. The Centre for the Study of Reconciliation and Violence [CSRV, 2016], argues that it was these rigid cultural norms that encouraged men to act violently against women. Men who used alcohol and abused their partners would then blame their abusive behaviour on the alcohol they had consumed, thereby not being held accountable for their actions (CSRV, 2016). It was argued by CSRV (2016) that women who live with men who are heavy drinkers are 5 times more likely to be assaulted by their partners. Alcohol also becomes a risk factor for GBV when both partners consume alcohol, as the individuals may get into an argument, and alcohol might exacerbate the situation because alcohol affects the higher functioning of the brain, inhibiting memory, flexible thinking, and self-control (Guglielmi and Masters, 2022).

Alcohol consumption is associated with heightened neurotransmission in the brain, mostly the prefrontal cortex, which is known to release pleasurable chemicals in the brain, reinforcing the need to want to consume alcohol again. The Department for Planning Monitoring Evaluation [DPME, 2022], asserts that one reasonable explanation for the association between alcohol and GBV is that with alcohol consumption physical and cognitive functions are altered and lowered. DPME (2022) argues that it might be difficult for a person to read social cues and interpret facial expressions, therefore the likelihood of arguments because of misunderstandings may be heightened, thereby leading to violent acts, some of which are GBV.

The phenomenon of parental alcohol provision is well researched both globally and in South Africa although the motivation behind this behaviour differs from the reasons provided by some participants in this study. Kaynak *et al.*, (2013) assert that providing an underage person with alcohol, a space to drink or drink alcohol with them is called parental provision. One of the reasons provided for parental provision was to socialise their children by providing them with alcohol in a safe and secure space (Kaynak *et al.*, 2013). However, the study participants described a different cohort of parents in Zwelihle who are much younger and might offer their children alcohol, so that the child would be drowsy and go to sleep. In the context of South Africa, young parents or teenage parents are prevalent particularly in the South African black townships (Ntshayintshayi *et al.* 2022). As such in the 2018-2019 period, 5% of girls between the ages of 14 to 19 years were found to be pregnant (Ntshayintshayi *et al.*, 2022). Teenage pregnancy was argued to present with adverse social and psychological as well as financial effects on them. Teenage parents experience stigma and estrangement from families and

communities. It was argued that this led to depression as they felt that they disappointed their families and the communities (Ntshayintshayi *et al.*, 2022). Given these adverse social, financial and psychological effects, it can be argued that teenage parents might turn to alcohol as a means of escaping their reality (Ntshayintshayi *et al.*, 2022).

According to the Western Cape Government (WCG, 2017), Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) is a group of defects that is caused by people who drink while they are pregnant. While FAS is 100% preventable, the WCG (2017) notes that their prevention campaigns and principles of sobriety during pregnancy are at odds with what happens in real life. Participant 16 offers some clarification on this issue, pointing out that individuals with FAS have a higher likelihood of adverse neurological effects and may struggle to comprehend the future implications. Further arguing that increasing knowledge and information about the dangers of alcohol during pregnancy is essential, as many people in their community do not fully understand why alcohol is harmful during pregnancy beyond a general sense of it being "bad". The WCG's (2017) own data supports the urgent need for increased awareness and education about FAS, given that South Africa is argued to have the highest prevalence of children born with FAS ranging from 6-30%. A study conducted in the Western Cape by a FAS task team found that out of 1000 babies born, 55 had FAS. The Western Cape Government has reason to be concerned about the high rates of FAS, as Lubbe *et al.*, (2017) stated that not only is South Africa leading the world with more children born with FAS but are argued to be five times higher than Croatia, the country with the second highest rate of people diagnosed with FAS. Children born with FAS are 2.5 cm shorter, 6.5 kilograms less in weight and have a 2.5 smaller head circumference than children born without FAS. As such, Lubbe *et al.*, (2017) assert that academically, FAS learners normally perform significantly worse than learners without FAS.

People with fetal alcohol syndrome, typically have low IQ levels as their peers, cannot comprehend, so the future is blurred, but I think the more people have knowledge and information, for people to understand the dangers, because I do not think people understand the reason why, because no one comes and tells our community about dangers of alcohol, all they know is that its bad, but how is it bad, they do not know why is it wrong. (Participant 16: Professional).

To address this issue, comprehensive and effective prevention campaigns that provide practical tools and strategies for women to avoid alcohol use are essential, particularly when pregnant.

Policymakers and healthcare providers also need to take proactive steps to invest in research to better understand the causes and consequences of FAS and implement evidence-based prevention and intervention programs that target high-risk populations. Mathibela and Skhosana (2021) suggested that the government and civil society can play a bigger role by supporting NGOs so that they may have a sustainable impact.

Subcategory 2.2.4: Apathy In School Teachers

The study uncovered troubling findings regarding the behaviour of the teachers in Zwelihle. Participants reported instances of teachers arriving at school drunk and even drinking while teaching. A professional participant recounted seeing a drunk teacher in the classroom. Additionally, participants noted that teachers and learners alike could be found in shebeens and that physical fights between teachers and learners were not uncommon. In Participant 19's own words:

"I've seen and I've known teachers in Zwelihle that were drinking while they were teaching. I saw that with my own eyes." (Participant 19: Professional).

Participant 1 specifically mentioned witnessing teachers getting into physical fights with their students, while Participant 5 recounted teachers admitting that the lines between teacher and learner blur in shebeens. Unfortunately, this behaviour is not unique to Zwelihle, as reports of teacher misconduct in South Africa are alarmingly common. In South Africa, it is reported that it is common for school educators to engage their learners inappropriately as reports from Zuma *et al.*, (2016) reveal. While there is a low proportion of educators who abuse alcohol, Ndlovu (2022) reports that 38% of the country's 80,000 registered educators engaged in assault and unwanted sexual relationships with learners.

"We also meet a lot of teachers in the shebeens, and they tell us that in shebeens there is no teacher and there are no learner." (Participant 5: Youth).

"I saw that. I saw that and the sad thing about this is that a teacher with a school that is already overpopulated has access to how many multitudes of kids that are seeing that, and then they think that is correct. That's the right thing to do. They told me that this one and this one are drinking in school. The learner saw that and they knew that, that he will sit in class

and do nothing and the kids can make noise and just do whatever. Uh, I've seen some of them walking. The kids will tell me that's the teacher that is drunk at school. Come to school smelling of alcohol already.” (Participant 19: Professional).

The ecological systems theory considers the individual and the broader environment from which an individual comes (Carelse, 2018). Newman and Newman (2020) posit that the mesosystem is the point at which a child, parent or family interact with immediate systems outside the home, such as schools, churches and other immediate systems in the community. The child or developing person will develop a strong sense of identity and strong values if the communication received from the other interrelated systems is coherent and consistent. This sentiment was also seen in the results of this study. Study participants indicated that there was a conflict in the messages they were seeing because they were aware of alcohol policies which regulate the alcohol trade. Study participants witnessed shebeen owners selling alcohol illegally without any serious recourse. Most notable was the fact that some participants were aware of teachers who drink in local shebeens and sometimes get into fights with their learners. Participants indicated that it is not helping for parents and teachers to warn the youth against the use of alcohol while they are indulging in it. Understanding the mesosystem and its implications for alcohol abuse among Zwelihle youth is critical for developing effective prevention and intervention strategies that address the complex social and environmental factors that contribute to this issue.

4.4.2.2 Category 3.1: Environmental Influences

The second category that emerged from this theme was concerning the environmental conditions that were argued to contribute to the Zwelihle youth accessing and abusing alcohol. Participants reported a high level of overpopulation, and it was found that various environmental issues contribute to youth alcohol access in this community. This category will focus on two significant environmental factors identified by participants in the study: overpopulation and the thriving shebeen industry. Understanding how these factors contribute to youth alcohol access is crucial in developing effective strategies to address this issue in Zwelihle.

Subcategory 3.1.1 Overpopulation

Overpopulation was identified as another factor that contributes to alcohol access by the Zwelihle youth. Some participants described how difficult it might be to discipline a child in a small and overpopulated town, where people have no privacy. These results find resonance in the study conducted by Donga *et al.*, (2022), who sought to research barriers to effective parenting to adolescence in resource-constrained and densely populated communities. Their study found parenting and providing care for adolescent children in densely populated and poor communities was associated with need and deprivation, financial constraints, domestic abuse, alcohol, and drug dependence, as well as lack of effective parenting and little to no imparting values of discipline to a child (Donga *et al.*, 2022). The reasons given for the lack of effective parenting were also associated with the socio-economic environment they found themselves in, as Lawana and Booysen (2018), argue that people who live in informal settlements are at a disadvantage because they are normally excluded from service delivery. Lawana and Booysen (2018) state that people who live in townships struggle to access basic service delivery such as water and sanitation, some people use communal toilets and wait in long lines to access water. People in townships struggle to access education and health facilities. Lawana and Booysen (2018) further assert that people who live in overcrowded informal settlements tend to be vulnerable to various social ills such as crime, violence, and alcohol dependence.

A study undertaken by Sibanda (2021), aimed at exploring dysfunctional parent-teacher partnerships within a South African township, established a connection between the challenges of disciplining a child in an overpopulated community and the subsequent development of alcohol dependence. The challenge was associated with sociocultural and economic factors and highlighted that most parents and caregivers' primary concern was to economically provide for their children (Sibanda, 2021). This is consistent with Cupido (2020), who found that there is a strong link between substance use and social disadvantage, which includes low educational attainment, increased difficulty in finding and remaining employed, financial instability and poverty (Cupido, 2020). This means that in an area like Zwelihle, where there is overpopulation and a scarcity of jobs, parents, and caregivers' primary concern is to provide for their children, as the Western Cape Government (2021), has revealed that in the Overstrand, unemployment is currently at 15%, which is the highest unemployment figure in the entire Overberg District in 2020.

Their study also found that people in townships were more likely to perform menial labour, because of little to no education attainment (Sibanda, 2021). The implications of this would entail that they may have to wake up early in the morning for work leaving their children to take themselves to school. The prevailing issue of parental illiteracy had far-reaching implications insofar as the disjuncture between school and home literacies was concerned because parents did not have sufficient time to spend with their children (Sibanda, 2021). School teachers expect parents and caregivers to supervise children and get involved in schooling activities. Teachers were not only dissatisfied with the lack of parental involvement they also highlighted how they were not prepared to deal with issues of ill-discipline from their pupils (Sibanda, 2021). In the study by Sibanda (2021), it was found that parents and caregivers acknowledged that they were not literate and thus had no skills to assist their children with homework.

This lack of a transactional relationship between the school and home environment compounded by the intricate interplay between poverty, overcrowding of people and shebeens, who model alcohol abuse, could be argued to be some of the factors contributing to the youth having easy access to alcohol.

I am sure if you look at Zwelihle, how overcrowded it is, I mean, the amount of people that have been squashed into that little area. (Participant 18: Professional).

“And I know the kids don't go to school if they drank the night before so much because they can't sit still. They will just sit and sleep. So, I think very often the whole social media thing is too big and I don't think it's really used right. Right and appropriately. So, they brag about this drinking and using other stuff or their sexual behaviours.” (Participant 19: Professional).

We also live in small towns, and we are overpopulated, so people have no privacy. Just look at the Marikana and Dubai. So, if there was more room in between houses, maybe things would be better, because you find that one parent is doing well in disciplining their child, but the neighbour isn't, and you are not at home from 8 to 5, so you don't have knowledge of what is happening to your child. (Participant 16: Professional).

It is noteworthy that participants have expressed concerns about the overpopulation in Zwelihle, despite the expansion of Zwelihle and the creation of new informal settlements named "Dubai" and "Marikana" in Hermanus, located between Sandbaai and Zwelihle, as reported by van der Westhuizen (2021). This may indicate a lack of municipal involvement in effectively managing and addressing the needs of Zwelihle residents, as previously identified by Alman, Cele, and Fortuin, (2014) in their risk assessment of Zwelihle.

Subcategory 3.1.2 Thriving Shebeen Industry

Some participants expressed that, in Zwelihle, there is a growing ‘alcohol culture’ and socialisation is normally facilitated by alcohol consumption. Participants suggested that in the context of Zwelihle, access to alcohol is also facilitated by the overpopulation of alcohol outlets. Several participants expressed that in the community of Zwelihle, there is a shebeen on almost every street.

“Yes, my brother, I think that Zwelihle youth has easy access because every corner you turn in Zwelihle there is a shebeen or a place of alcohol. This also means that if there is a place that is expensive, then you can go to the cheapest one. So yes, the youth of Zwelihle have very easy access to alcohol.” (Participant 18: Professional).

“Yeah, we need to be concerned because there are so many shebeens. And I even know about people running private shebeens, you know. I know some people who just bought a big fridge and then they sell from their houses. So, this means even if the big shebeens are being closed, you know that there are people selling from their houses.” (Participant 19: Professional).

Participant 19 highlights the extent to which the shebeen industry is thriving due to their many customers across all age ranges. Participant 5 also highlights the ease at which the community can open a shebeen when one loses one’s employment. The phenomenon of a shebeen being used as a source of income stems from the apartheid period. Larkin (2022) argues that shebeens served the purpose of creating income in townships in a time when women were not allowed to work because they were not permitted to hold passes. The shebeens also served as a form of socialisation and entertainment because the government of the time would not invest in any recreational facilities for the people living in the townships. Some participants mentioned that there was not much in the township in the form of recreational facilities. Morojele and

Ramsoomar (2012) argue the same point, as they indicate that plausible reasons for the youth to abuse alcohol lie in environmental stressors, such as poverty, unemployment, and crime. Factors such as access to alcohol, poor policing, and large-scale alcohol marketing targeting the youth have been discussed as those factors that perpetuate the use of alcohol by the youth in South Africa (Morojele and Ramsoomar, 2012).

The thriving shebeen industry has been argued to be influenced by the lack of the NLA to appreciate the challenges that township economies might face because of their historical disposition (Jankie, 2020). Charman *et al.*, (2013) contend that the NLA of 2003 is potentially setting townships up for failure, as it seeks to include shebeens in its regulatory framework. This is because many shebeens in townships are situated within residential areas, and, as the study reveals in the case of Zwelihle, are not located 500 meters away from places of recreation, worship, and schools (NLA), all of which would render their liquor license applications unsuccessful (WCG, 2016). Barriers to accessing liquor licenses for township shebeens were associated with lengthy bureaucratic and administrative processes which were not easy to interpret (WCG, 2016).

Much like in the apartheid era, people in townships continue to sell alcohol for survival purposes. The NLA of 2003 recognizes the need to transform the township alcohol economy by creating opportunities for the alcohol trade to flourish. Yet it still emphasizes the importance of enforcing strict laws on informal alcohol traders. This creates a dilemma that may render policies governing the alcohol trade inefficient and ineffective in places like Zwelihle. According to the principles of the ecological theory, the NLA would constitute the macro system (Newman, and Newman, 2020). Although the NLA seeks to alleviate the negative impact of alcohol abuse at the micro level, it is evident that the NLA has inadvertently negatively influenced the microsystem and other systems, because the legislation of alcohol regulations does not reflect an understanding and appreciation of the historical, political, and economic context under which the township shebeens emerged. Scheba and Turok (2020) highlight the irony which comes with the formalisation of township economies through law enforcement which regulates and determines terms and conditions for operating a business. As such Scheba and Turok (2020) describe and characterise the following factors as those that function as barriers to formalising the township economy. Factors such as low investment in people, places, productive activities, and facilities. High levels of financial leakage and poor resource retention, restricted linkages with formal value chains elsewhere, and poor economic

infrastructure—banks, business services, logistics, serviced land, industrial areas, business parks, and business incubators (Scheba and Turok, 2020). Another structural barrier was low-capacity infrastructure, which was identified as a lack of water, sanitation, and electricity. This can be attributed to the historical neglect of townships. Another significant factor was unsupportive economic institutions and governance. Economic institutions and business governance in townships were argued to not be supportive of township economies (Scheba and Turok, 2020). As such regulatory barriers and bureaucratic administration, were argued as factors that compel townships to remain informal.

Some people who lose their jobs venture into the alcohol trade business because they know that alcohol is popular in Zwelihle. (Participant 5: Youth).

These barriers are interrelated and intercept, as such addressing them would require a systemic approach that would need to include all societal stakeholders. According to the ecological systems, this would mean the inclusion of microsystems, whose primary focus is on the immediate interconnections and relationships (Newman, B.M., and Newman, P.R, 2020). This would entail individuals, families in townships, neighbours, and businesses. The mesosystem level is concerned with the interaction between two microsystems, such as the family interacting with religious institutions, educational institutions, as well as health institutions (Newman, B.M., and Newman, P.R, 2020). The exosystem consists of factors that indirectly impact individuals, such as legislation which regulates and sets terms and conditions to regulate how people behave. These include economic legislation, government legislation, and people's attitudes towards them. The macrosystems level entails the overarching attitudes towards societal, cultural, and historical contexts (Ryan, 2018). In the case of township economies, this would entail the historical neglect and marginalisation of townships and the structural inequalities in townships. The chronosystem level is primarily concerned with the changes over time and their effects on society (Ryan, 2018). In the case of Zwelihle at the chronosystem level, it would be important to consider the historical disposition of Zwelihle, particularly the historical legacies of marginalisation and racial inequalities over time.

4.4.2.3 Category 4.1: Media and Entertainment

This category highlights some external factors such as television and web-based technology which reinforce the alcohol consumption culture through learned behaviours such as

observational learning. This section will discuss the role played by television and media in shaping young people's alcohol consumption.

Subcategory 4.1.1 Media Influence

Participants in the study reported that television and social media can influence risky drinking behaviour amongst young people. Participant 4 explained how young people may model alcohol consumption behaviours they see on social media. Participants observed that television programmes, movies, and drama series' have normalized the idea of using alcohol as a coping mechanism for frustration or stress. As a result, young people may learn from these depictions and adopt alcohol consumption to cope with their problems. Thus, social media and television were argued to play a significant role in the socialization process of young people, shaping their attitudes and behaviours towards alcohol. Behavioural theories such as the social learning theory underpinning this study, postulate that behaviour is learned through observation and imitation (Bandura and Walters, 1977). As such, it was reported by study participants that young people in Zwelihle are at risk of alcohol abuse as a direct influence of social media posts, advertisements, and television content that they consume.

“Yes, I don't know who said that when you have problems, you need to drink, I think it's the TV. So, when the youth have a problem at home, they want to buy a bottle of alcohol. Like it's the television influence, also because there we see that when a character is frustrated or stressed, they empty a bottle of alcohol, so the youth look at that and start to think, no this is something good for me and this is how we deal with stress. Then that's when a young person starts being addicted to alcohol.” (Participant 4: Youth).

Study participants indicated that alcohol consumption among the youth was used as a tool to negotiate entry and acceptance to social settings. It is noteworthy that participants reported that alcohol access was made easy by how the youth associated social identity and status with alcohol consumption. Participant 4 above describes that if one drinks, one is more likely to be accepted as a friend among their peers. This is consistent with the study by Adams *et al.*, (2022) who found that young people associate heavy drinking with being brave and there is an elevation in social status for those who can consume the most alcohol among the youth.

One professional participant reflected on how cigarettes were marketed to young people during their younger years. The participant noted the glamorous advertisements for brands like Peter Stuyvesant, which featured pictures of people enjoying luxurious lifestyles with cigarettes in hand. The message was clear: if you want to live this lifestyle, you must smoke these cigarettes. The participant drew parallels to social media today, where young people feel pressure to show that they are constantly partying and living exciting lives.

“In my day, Peter Stuyvesant, and I can't remember the other brand of cigarettes. What I can't remember, yeah, they would always have these glamorous adverts like, oh my word. I have to go there. They used to have pictures, these people sailing on these beautiful islands, and they all had a drink in their hand or cigarette. So, you have to smoke Peter Stuyvesant in order to enjoy that lifestyle. That was a message that was secretly being sent to you, and I think that's the same as social media today. When kids go out, they wanna show that they're having a party, that there's no dull moment in their life.” (Participant 17: Professional).

Additionally, participants noted that young people use social media to showcase their social status by posting pictures and stories of themselves consuming expensive alcohol and having fun. This behaviour is associated with a higher social status among peers, according to one participant who noted that access to the best shebeens and expensive alcohol and sharing it on social media is a way to elevate one's social status.

“We have noticed the trends on social media where young people like to post good times on social media” (Participant 10: Youth).

“Social media does contribute a lot because, as we previously said, young people like to post about the parties they attended, how fun it was and the kind of alcohol they were drinking. They also brag about places they go to that other young people cannot go to.” (Participant 11: Youth).

Participant 6 highlighted that social media can also contribute to youth access to alcohol by promoting it as a confidence booster. When young people see introverted individuals on social media videos having fun and being happy after drinking alcohol, it can motivate them to want to experience the same feeling of freedom and confidence.

“A young person learns from social media that when one is drunk, then one is happy.”

(Participant 6: Youth).

This can be particularly appealing to those who struggle with low levels of self-confidence. In addition to this, Participant 4 noted that in their community, abstinence from alcohol consumption could result in social isolation or being perceived as weak. Thus, fear of being excluded or not fitting in can lead young people to adopt the culture of drinking and smoking. As a result, alcohol consumption becomes associated with social identity and status among peers.

“In Zwelihle, if one does not drink alcohol, one is considered weak, or they think they are better for not drinking or smoking. Therefore, for fear of being socially isolated, young people then adopt the culture and start drinking and smoking.” (Participant 4: Youth).

“As I said, it is glamourized, and being an adolescent, one is trying to find oneself, you don’t want to miss out if your peers do this, you also want to do it because you do not want to be left out of the cool gang.” (Participant 16: Professional).

Social media influence was a significantly important sub-category that emerged and there appeared to be a lot of consensus amongst the participants around this point. This is alarming considering the amount of time that young people spend on social media since the rise of new technologies, and a study such as that of Hendriks *et al.*, (2020) shows that 95% of teenagers had access to a smartphone, which would enable them to gain access to the internet. On the internet social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and Snapchat were found to be the most prominent pastime platforms frequented by teenagers and young people (Hendricks *et al.*, 2020). This had significant implications for alcohol advertising as alcohol is glamorously presented on social media by social media influencers. Prominent figures in society such as celebrities, may endorse certain alcohol brands on social media (Hendricks *et al.*, 2020). Added to this there is also an emerging trend of new celebrities who are called social media influencers, these are people who grow their audience through their influential presence on social media (Hendricks *et al.*, 2020). Social media influencers are more likely to be persuasive because, unlike celebrities, they are more comparable and approachable (Hendricks *et al.*, 2020). This is also alarming as development theories such as Erikson’s (1968) psychosocial model would argue that the youth who find themselves in the 18–21-year age bracket, are on the cusp between Erikson’s fifth (12-20 years) and sixth (20-40 years) stages

of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1968). An adolescent in the 5th stage (12-20 years), - identity versus role confusion - is in the identity-forming phase of life which is characterised by experimentation with roles and a need for independence (Erikson, 1968). This is a time of transition to adulthood but also emotional upheaval. Common issues that may arise are related to conflict with parents and other authority figures, and confusion about life goals, career choices and further education. Teenagers may want to get approval and validation from their friends and not their parents, which might sway them towards social media where most of their peers would be active. Given the youth stage of psychosocial development, and their heightened need to experiment with different roles, and identities it may be argued that social media is one of the places where young people would discover their identities. This may be true considering that according to Auxier and Anderson (2020), almost 95% of adolescents and young people who have access to a smartphone and the internet use it to engage on social media.

This poses a potential threat regarding alcohol abuse because it is argued that alcohol is a recurring phenomenon on social media (Hendricks *et al.*, 2020). Young people are likely to post pictures of alcoholic beverages in video or picture form, whether at a dinner table or a party (Hendricks *et al.*, 2020). The pictures and videos posted are normally social in nature, depicting people who are having fun, and thus portraying positive associations with alcohol. The posts play a role in the social learning process where alcohol consumption is associated with fun and socialisation which in turn may encourage alcohol use, particularly for younger people who frequent social media.

This is in line with the social learning theory underpinning this study, which suggests that social behaviour is learned through observing others (Bandura and Walters, 1977). This theory would suggest that seeing an alcohol post on social media may lead to a young person rationalising that other people are also using alcohol and it is seen to be socially appropriate and acceptable, therefore they might also start using it, especially if it is endorsed by a celebrity or a social media influencer. Considering the social learning theory underpinning this study, the fact that prominent members of society such as celebrities and social media influencers not only post positively about alcohol, but they also post about how much other young people are also engaged in alcohol consumption might lead to approved alcohol-related norms. The theory of social learning teaches social scientists about the significance of one of its components which is observational learning and what might facilitate the process of observational learning. The

four components of observational learning include a) attention to the model, b) cognitive retention of what one has seen, c) the ability to imitate what one has seen, d) reinforcement contingencies, which determine whether a certain behaviour will be rewarded or not (Bandura and Walters, 1977). This suggests that through social modelling one is likely to imitate prestigious and well-to-do figures of society because imitating them is associated with positive reinforcement.

4.4.3 THEME 3: FACTORS PROHIBITING YOUTH ALCOHOL

ACCESS

Under the theme of factors that prohibit the youth from accessing alcohol, participants have little to no factors that would sway them away from alcohol access. The category that emerged from this objective was lacklustre interventions, with the sub-categories comprising one sports field which was identified as insufficient for the size of the community.

4.4.3.1 Category 3.1 Lacklustre Interventions

This category refers to the lack of effective interventions in Zwelihle aimed at educating and preventing youth from engaging in alcohol-related activities. Interventions aimed at curbing alcohol-related activities in Zwelihle were deemed lacklustre due to the limited recreational facilities, which leaves the youth with few alternatives to alcohol-related activities.

Subcategory 3.1.1: One Sports Field

The study investigated interventions and programmes aimed at educating the youth about the adverse effects of alcohol in the Zwelihle community. The findings revealed that there are not many effective interventions for the youth. The only recreational facility available to the community is a soccer field, but participants agreed that it is not enough as it is primarily used for soccer, while other people might be more interested in other sports like netball. Participant 6 expressed that the lack of recreational facilities meant that young people had no other choice but to go out partying, which led to alcohol consumption. Similarly, Participant 1 agreed that alcohol was the only appealing recreational activity for the youth in Zwelihle.

“When it comes to sports, sometimes I like to be at home and sometimes I get bored, and I tried to look for sport and you find that it is only soccer and I tried to play netball, but as P4 has already said that soccer is not for everyone. Then you’d be like ‘Ag man, I am bored, but there is nothing interesting to do’, and you know that many people are in drinking places, so

one ends up drinking as well. Because I am just sitting at home doing nothing. So, here there is no sport or a place to play games, places like where you put in your money and play games, there is no such place in Zwelihle. There is no other choice, but to choose alcohol because we have more places of alcohol than we have recreational facilities attractive enough for the youth.” (Participant 6: Youth).

“We don’t want to go to drinking places, but we end up enjoying alcohol because it is the only thing we have”. (Participant 1: Youth).

In addition to very few recreational options in Zwelihle, participants highlighted the absence of gaming facilities. This meant that there were limited attractive alternatives to alcohol consumption, leading to young people gravitating towards drinking places. The absence of recreational facilities was further emphasized by Participant 5, who noted that other townships in Durban and Johannesburg have such facilities in their communities.

“I agree with P6, we have seen that other township in Durban and Johannesburg, have recreational facilities in their communities, we also see it in suburbs, but we do not have anything. But the only thing we know is to look at friends who always have access to alcohol, so we also gravitate towards the place that has alcohol because we do not have much to do with our time.” (Participant 5: Youth).

Participants highlighted the irony surrounding the soccer field and soccer tournaments in Zwelihle. They reported that although there is a soccer field in the community, the culture of celebrating with alcohol after winning a soccer tournament is well-established and prominent. The participants noted that this further perpetuates the normalisation of alcohol use and reinforces the idea that alcohol is an integral part of social activities and celebrations. This could potentially contribute to positive attitudes towards alcohol consumption and increase the likelihood of young people using alcohol as a means of socialising and celebrating.

“In Zwelihle, you will find that as much as there is many young people carrying their cooler boxes going to a place of drinking there are some that are carrying their sport bags to the local stadium to play soccer.” (Participant 9: Youth).

“Even when we have a soccer tournament, if a particular team wins, the money that they win will be used to buy alcohol for the team to celebrate their wins.” (Participant 10: Youth).

*"Interventions are occasionally implemented, such as tournaments on Heritage and Youth days, where law enforcement agencies may educate them about the hazards of alcohol."
(Participant 11: Youth).*

"This event is infrequent, and it only takes place on Heritage and Youth Day." (Participant 15: Youth).

These findings align with the research conducted by Mabasa (2018) in Limpopo, which examined the influence of socio-cultural practices on substance abuse among rural youth. The study revealed that alcohol and drugs are frequently used by young people in rural areas to socialise at cultural and community events. This, suggests that any intervention aimed at reducing substance abuse among young people, be it in rural areas or urban areas like Zwelihle, needs to consider the cultural and social context in which it occurs. Additionally, policymakers and other stakeholders need to understand the root causes of substance abuse amongst the youth and design programmes and interventions that address these causes effectively.

In addition to the one sports field, a participant indicated that there is an annual public holiday Heritage Day event where young people were targeted and taught about the adverse effects of alcohol. However, this event was perceived as ineffective by the participants as it only occurs once a year and thus the messaging is not consistent.

4.3.4 THEME 4: PARTICIPANT RECOMMENDATIONS

Participants highlighted that there are some structural issues that, if fixed, can help the situation in Zwelihle. Participants were aware that there is legislation governing alcohol production and, redistribution which also empowers authorities at the national, provincial, and local levels to act against the adverse effects of alcohol. At the national level is the National Liquor Act of 2003 amended in 2016, and provincially is the Provincial Liquor Act, which in the case of Zwelihle would be the Western Cape Government Liquor Act of 2008. However, participants are of the view that these policies are merely drafted, but do not have any effect on service delivery for which they were meant because they are abused. To this effect, participants were

critical of law enforcement and local governance to reduce the scourge of alcohol abuse in Zwelihle. The participants were also aware of the detrimental effects that alcohol might have on the youth. Teenage pregnancy, alcoholism, school dropout, violence and crime were all highlighted as perceived adverse effects of alcohol abuse by the youth of Zwelihle. Recommendations that stood out were community- and family-centred approaches and recreational facilities for the youth.

Category 4.1 Community-Centred Programs

This subcategory encapsulates the recommendations that the study participants saw most important to sway Zwelihle youth away from alcohol. Participants expressed concerns about the immediate family structure, which they argued negatively influences youth alcohol access and abuse. Families were identified as either providing young people with money to purchase alcohol or failing to reprimand them when they consume alcohol. Recreational facilities were a major concern for the participants as they observed that initiatives, activities, and services specifically designed to support and benefit young people living in the Zwelihle community are limited, if any at all.

Subcategory 4.1.1: Community & Family-Centred Interventions

The findings of the study reveal that, in some instances, the family structure is the first point of introduction to alcohol for the Zwelihle youth. The results show that young people in Zwelihle may consume alcohol because someone in their family consumes alcohol. Participants were critical of the fact that parents and leaders in their community model socially acceptable alcohol consumption behaviour to the youth. Participants assert that parents and guardians offer alcohol to their children. The participants recommended that to change the current circumstances in Zwelihle, there need to be family-centred approaches that would teach parents about the harmful effects of alcohol on the youth.

“I wish that in the community we could have centres, teaching people about the dangers of alcohol.” (Participant 2: Youth).

Participants highlighted the culture of alcohol in their community, and how it is viewed. The participants realise the dangers of alcohol and its impact on society. Study participants mentioned health and safety concerns, associated with physical and reproductive concerns such

as GBV and sexual health. Participants were also aware that the youth attach an elevated status to those who consume alcohol in their community. As such, they were of the view that societal culture and familial acceptance of alcohol consumption would result in young people modelling the same behaviour. During the focus group discussion, a participant reflected on this modelled behaviour and how it might be perceived by the youth of Zwelihle.

“I think that some programmes targeted at the youth could help, because children witness someone drunk on alcohol and the younger ones see that as the only way to have fun in Zwelihle. When a child sees people partying with alcohol, they might think that this is fun and my elders do it, so there is nothing wrong with it. We also need to teach our families about the dangers of alcohol to the youth.” (Participant 9: Youth).

Subcategory 4.1.2 Recreational Facilities

Researchers such as Mudavanhu, (2013), Hlomani, (2013) and most recently Mathibela and Skhosana (2021) and many others have argued that alcohol becomes attractive to the youth for many reasons, the most prominent and consistent of which was the lack of recreational facilities for the youth of Zwelihle, thus resulting in boredom. In addition to community and family approaches, participants recommended that there could be more activities offered in schools. Extracurricular activities such as additional sporting activities and creative arts. Participants suggested this as they were critical of the fact that schools apply a blanket approach to teaching and learning, and suggested other ways in which learners can express intelligence with the different talents and skills that they may have. Participants recommended that there should be approaches which can accommodate everyone, suggesting that those who are academically inclined and those who are not, all get equal access to and treatment in education. As such participants suggested that there could be hand-work and other creative arts for those who are not book smart. Thus, combining parental involvement and diversified school activities might provide a supportive environment in which young people could thrive and be swayed away from early initiation to alcohol, and the harmful effects of alcohol.

“We can start at schools, by equipping them with extra curricula activities, so that they can display their talents. They must have different activities so that a child can do something they are interested in rather than just doing it because it is there.” (Participant 9: Youth).

“.. they must also provide learners with a variety of activities, also the facilities must all have a similar standard, and it must be well promoted so that people do not feel like their sport is not important. The facilities as well, must have the same standard, netball, soccer, and all other sporting activities must have the same standard.” (Participant 7: Youth).

Participants also reflected on the facilities that the community has had over the years, and it was found that they only have one sports field and one netball court. Added to this, the participants were also critical and felt that there was a level of discrimination in the services they received. Participants believed that in more affluent suburbs within greater Hermanus, people enjoy a variety of luxurious recreational facilities. Participants recommend that Zwelihle youth could be swayed away from alcohol abuse if they were to be treated with some level of dignity and respect by providing them with recreational facilities that are up to standard and can be attractive enough to a young person.

The findings of the study into youth alcohol access and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle show an interplay between the individual, family, and society at large. The research suggests that the youth of Zwelihle have easy access to alcohol, to the extent that minors as young as 8 or 10 years old are said to be experimenting with alcohol. Alcohol is easily accessible because there are many alcohol outlets in Zwelihle. These findings are consistent with the results of Matzapolos *et al.*, (2014) and WCG (2017) which indicated that early experimentation with alcohol has facilitated a mixture of modelled behaviour and societal influences such as the availability of alcohol outlets. The results also showed that the community is aware of policies developed to fight against alcohol abuse in society, however, those who are supposed to be enforcing the policies are argued to be corrupt, rendering the NLA and provincial policies ineffective. As a result, the study reveals that this situation has left the community with a sense of hopelessness and almost operating in a state of anarchy, given how law enforcement agencies, as well as local municipality officials, are said to be corrupt. The neglect of the NLA, and other laws governing the alcohol trade, has resulted in the township experiencing an infestation of unregulated shebeens.

At the backdrop of this, is the 2003 NLA whose norms and standards stipulate that no persons under the age of 18 may be allowed to enter or receive services in an alcohol trading outlet (Letsela et al., 2019). The Act also stipulates that alcohol trading must operate in a municipally zoned area designated for business, and they should be 500 meters away from a school, place

of worship, and recreational centres (SLF, 2017). In the case of Zwelihle, results reveal that shebeens have mushroomed. Charman *et al.*, (2013) assert that the reason for this can be found in the country's history with alcohol. Under the apartheid regime, alcohol was restricted in townships, and recreational facilities were not provided. This gave rise to demands for alcohol and shebeen owners were typically women, who were excluded from any form of formal and informal labour, as they were not allowed passes. The women operated the shebeens in their homes and the shebeens not only served as places where people could consume alcohol, they also inadvertently served as a recreational social space where people could meet and talk about various social issues (Charman *et al.*, 2013).

The study reveals a similar pattern to that of the apartheid regime, where participants assert that in Zwelihle there is not much for the youth to thrive. As a result of this young people of Zwelihle turn to alcohol because there are many shebeens around their community and alcohol consumption is socially acceptable in the community as most of the community also engages in alcohol consumption. Mahlatsi (2022) argues that it is not by chance that there are so many shebeens in South African townships because of the conditions and context in which the townships find themselves. Townships were created close enough to the central business district, so that black people, for whom the townships were created, could be close enough to CBD and industrial areas so that they could provide manual labour (Mahlatsi, 2022). Townships were not created in the best interests of the people for whom they were created. Mahlatsi (2022) equates the origins of townships to that of concentration camp conditions. Looking at how the townships were designed, they were not meant to thrive as there were no recreational facilities planned or developed for the community, and because of this, alcohol has become an attractive means by which community members (young and old) spend their time (Mahlatsi, 2022).

Mahlatsi (2022) argues it is not by chance that in townships, young people turn everything into a party. Much of this is mainly attributed to the demographic profile of the community and the historical background of the country (Jankie, 2020). It is underdeveloped and built on the periphery of Hermanus CBD. The origins draw back to the apartheid regime which was an inequitable government system (Jankie, 2020). Within the townships, the communities face many troubling issues, these include poverty, corruption, high crime rates and high unemployment rates. Though these seem like typical injustices that any other nation in the world faces, for two of these social injustices South Africa, compared to the rest of the world,

is significantly higher. A report done by StatsSA (2022) highlighted that South Africa is ranked 3rd in the crime index of 2021 with more than 76 crimes being committed for every 100 000 people, with the city of Pretoria being the most dangerous city on the African continent.

Added to this is the high levels of poverty in townships, in a report by the World Bank in 2020 around 55.5% of the population (30.3 million people) is living in poverty at the national upper poverty line and 25% of the population (13.8 million people) are experiencing food poverty. These problems in most cases tend to contribute to the crime levels in a country as people will look for other ways to provide for themselves and their families and people get involved in criminal activities such as opening an unlicensed shebeen and selling alcohol to minors, as people become desperate and put on the edge for survival.

Just like in the apartheid times, one might start to think that people in townships like Zwelihle, have no other choice but to sell and consume alcohol, because just like in the apartheid times, there are still harsh unrealistic demands which seek to control alcohol distribution in places like Zwelihle. The demands often do not consider the context of the township and economy. Charman *et al.*, (2013), contend that the NLA no. 59 of 2003 is potentially setting townships up for failure, as it seeks to include shebeens in its regulatory framework. This is because many shebeens in townships are situated within residential areas. As the study reveals in the case of Zwelihle, places that trade alcohol in the community of Zwelihle are not located 500 meters away from places of recreation, worship, and schools as stipulated in the NLA of 2003. Like in the apartheid era, people in townships continue to sell alcohol for survival purposes. However, the NLA no. 59 of 2003 recognizes the need to transform the township alcohol economy by creating opportunities for the alcohol trade to flourish, yet it still emphasizes the importance of enforcing strict laws on informal alcohol traders. This creates a dilemma that may render policies governing the alcohol trade inefficient and ineffective in places like Zwelihle.

This dilemma is also exacerbated by the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) which works together with the NLA no. 59 of 2003 as it sets out a national, provincial, and municipal framework for land use management with the specific political objective of facilitating spatial justice (SLF, 2017). At the national level, SPLUMA develops the standard for regulating land use across the tiers of administration. At the provincial level, the mandate is to mainly maintain public infrastructure and to also restrict land use based on

environmental health. The provincial government is also mandated to restrict land use on cultural and heritage sites (SLF, 2017). The municipal or local government has the widest range of responsibilities concerning land use, as they set the bylaws and zoning rights for various land use purposes. This creates conflict because townships, as argued by Mahlatsi (2022), were not meant to raise families, they were meant to serve as dormitories to black labourers who provided menial labour for white people of South Africa. When these townships were created, they were made solely for residential purposes. However, now, and in the apartheid years they serve as multi-purpose spaces, where on a single property, multiple activities occur at one time, from residential to retail to cultural/religious activities (SLF, 2017). This multi-purpose characteristic is a direct response to the reality of increased unemployment and economic marginalisation, which was born during the apartheid years in South Africa and still thrives today in democratic South Africa (SLF, 2017).

4.3.5 Summary of Findings

The study revealed several key factors contributing to alcohol abuse among Zwelihle's youth. Prominent among these were:

Lack of Parental Involvement: The absence of active parental guidance and supervision emerged as a critical factor. Many parents were indifferent to their children's alcohol consumption, thereby failing to provide necessary support and discipline. In systems theory, the family is viewed as a subsystem within the broader social system. The dysfunction within this subsystem can negatively impact the development and behaviour of youth, leading to increased vulnerability to alcohol abuse.

Unemployment: High levels of unemployment were a significant driver of alcohol abuse. The lack of job opportunities led many youths to use alcohol as an escape from their harsh realities. Economic systems are interconnected with social behaviours. High unemployment rates create economic stress, permeating into other subsystems like families and communities. The lack of job opportunities forces individuals to seek solace in alcohol, disrupting the social equilibrium and perpetuating a cycle of substance abuse.

Socialization and Culture: Alcohol consumption was deeply ingrained in the social fabric of Zwelihle. It was often associated with social gatherings and celebrations, making it a

normalized and accepted part of life from a young age. Cultural norms and socialization processes are integral parts of the social system. In Zwelihle, the normalization of alcohol consumption at social events reflects a cultural subsystem that condones and even encourages drinking. This cultural acceptance influences individual behaviours, making alcohol use a prevalent and accepted activity.

Limited Recreational Activities: The scarcity of recreational facilities and activities left youths with few alternatives to occupy their time, leading them to turn to alcohol for entertainment and social engagement. The recreational subsystem is underdeveloped, offering few alternatives to alcohol consumption. This lack of recreational infrastructure fails to provide positive outlets for youth, who then turn to alcohol as a primary source of entertainment and social interaction.

Alcohol Outlet Concentration and Density: The high concentration of alcohol outlets, particularly illegal shebeens, made alcohol easily accessible. This proliferation was partly a response to economic hardships, with individuals opening shebeens to generate income. The proliferation of alcohol outlets, particularly illegal shebeens, indicates a breakdown in regulatory subsystems. The easy accessibility of alcohol facilitates its abuse, while economic hardships drive the increase in illegal outlets as a means of livelihood.

Economic Hardships: Widespread economic difficulties, exacerbated by high unemployment rates, contributed to alcohol dependency as people sought to escape their challenging circumstances. These hardships exacerbate other issues like unemployment and the proliferation of illegal alcohol outlets, contributing to a higher incidence of alcohol dependency as individuals seek to escape their harsh realities.

Ineffective Alcohol Trading Policies: Participants highlighted the ineffectiveness of current alcohol trading policies. The regulations failed to control the sale of alcohol, leading to almost every street in Zwelihle having someone trading in alcohol, often to underage youth. When regulatory systems fail, they create an environment where illegal behaviours are not only tolerated but can also be observed without consequence. Youth learn that alcohol can be easily accessed and that the rules can be circumvented, reinforcing the behaviour.

Corrupt Law Enforcement: Inefficient and corrupt law enforcement was cited as a major reason for the failure of alcohol policies. Participants reported that law enforcement officers often colluded with illegal shebeen operators, undermining efforts to regulate the alcohol trade and contributing to the widespread availability of alcohol. Observing corrupt practices within law enforcement teaches youth that illegal activities, such as underage drinking or frequenting illegal shebeens, are permissible. This lack of accountability further entrenches the behaviour in the community.

4.3.6 Conclusion

The findings of this study highlight the multifaceted nature of alcohol abuse among youth in Zwelihle, pointing to a combination of social, economic, cultural, and regulatory factors. The pervasive availability of alcohol, driven by economic hardship and ineffective regulation, combined with a lack of parental involvement and limited recreational opportunities, creates an environment where alcohol abuse can thrive. The findings of this study, analysed through the lenses of systems theory and social learning theory, reflect on the complex interplay of social, economic, and cultural factors that contribute to alcohol abuse among Zwelihle's youth. Addressing this issue requires a holistic approach that strengthens family involvement, provides economic opportunities, enhances recreational facilities, and enforces effective regulatory measures. Additionally, tackling corruption within law enforcement is crucial to ensuring that alcohol policies are upheld, thereby reducing the availability and acceptability of alcohol abuse in the community.

CHAPTER 5: MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the findings of the research study. This chapter will detail the main conclusions of the study emanating from the findings and present key recommendations for the government, policymakers and the community of Zwelihle at large. The limitations and recommendations of the study will also be outlined. The study was aimed at exploring Zwelihle youth's perspectives regarding alcohol use and abuse and their awareness of how effective current alcohol policies are. The study sought to investigate youth access and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle and to get a societal view of how effective current policy approaches are in limiting alcohol abuse by the youth in Zwelihle. As indicated in the methodology chapter, this was done through utilising the qualitative approach, by holding focus group discussions with the fifteen (15) youth participants, and one-on-one in-depth interviews with the five (5) professional participants. The study relied heavily on existing literature to establish similarities and gaps that this study was set to fill. The research aimed to achieve these aims through a series of four distinct objectives.

Firstly, the study sought to explore the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle. Secondly, it aimed to determine the underlying factors that facilitate the availability of alcohol to the youth of Zwelihle. Thirdly, the study aimed to identify the factors that restrict youth access to alcohol in Zwelihle. Finally, based on the findings of the research, the study aimed to provide policy recommendations to the Department of Trade and Industry aimed at limiting access to and reducing the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle.

5.1.1 Main Conclusion for Objective 1: Availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle

The first objective of the study was to ascertain the ease of availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle. The results indicated that youth, as young as eight (8) years old, have access to alcohol. Zwelihle has an overpopulation of shebeens, which operate illegally and are open for business to anyone, regardless of age. Availability of alcohol amongst the youth is influenced by the accepted culture of alcohol and the youth of Zwelihle are displaying modelled behaviour by consuming alcohol. Parental figures and teachers were the main sources of the modelled behaviour as they consumed alcohol in the presence of their children without consideration of

how their behaviour might influence the children or the youth. The culture of alcohol consumption could also be influenced by the proliferation of shebeens in the community which mostly operate illegally without any negative consequences from the law enforcement agencies. The proliferation of illegal shebeens and the lack of effective law enforcement highlight the role of the macrosystem in shaping behaviour. The regulatory environment, or lack thereof, allows these establishments to operate without consequences, thus facilitating easy access to alcohol for minors. The absence of stringent legal measures and their enforcement reflects a societal-level failure that permits these behaviours to persist.

The social learning theory argues that an individual learns social behaviour through observing, imitating, and modelling behaviours and attitudes as well as emotional reactions. In the case of Zwelihle, the young people learn and adopt behaviours and attitudes towards alcohol consumption. The young's modelled behaviour stems from their environment, where shebeens form part of the community's social life. It was found in this study that children as young as eight (8) years old were consuming alcohol because they may have observed and learned from prominent figures in their communities, such as adults, parents, and teachers (Bandura and Walters 1977). The social learning theory is important for demonstrating the social dynamics in which the youth in Zwelihle learn and develop behaviours related to alcohol consumption. Understanding these dynamics is vital for developing policies and interventions targeted at alleviating the ease of alcohol access by the youth of Zwelihle.

5.1.2 Main Conclusion for Objective 2: Factors that facilitate the availability of alcohol to the youth of Zwelihle

The second objective was to explore factors that allow for ease of availability of alcohol among the youth. The study revealed that there is minimal policing of alcohol in Zwelihle. The results reveal that although the community may know about the NLP Act of 2003, it has not been impactful in combating the rising number of unregulated shebeens in Zwelihle. The lack of stringent policing appears to be partly due to law enforcement agencies being ill-equipped to deal with the rising number of shebeens being established in Zwelihle. Participants described how the law enforcement agents consume alcohol in the same shebeens and at the same time, as the youth. The results also revealed that alcohol abuse by the youth of Zwelihle was influenced by rampant corruption in Zwelihle, where law enforcement agents get bribed not to close illegal shebeens. There were some psychological factors which were discussed in influencing alcohol access for the youth. The youth of Zwelihle see alcohol as socially

acceptable, and those who have social anxiety use alcohol to gain confidence. Other factors that influenced alcohol availability were linked to poverty, and overpopulation of informal settlements, which make it difficult for law enforcement to access these places and enforce the law on illegal trading of alcohol and underage drinking. People who lost their jobs started alcohol businesses because there is a market, for both young and old.

Thus, the ease of alcohol availability to the Zwelihle youth was influenced by various interrelated factors which included ineffective policing, corruption, societal attitudes toward alcohol consumption, economic circumstances as well as the behaviour and incompetency of law enforcement agencies to deal with the issue of illegal shebeens and underage drinking in Zwelihle. From the ecological systems perspective, it can be inferred that there are various factors which influence the ease of availability of alcohol to the Zwelihle youth, and that intervention and prevention efforts must consider a holistic approach as the results indicated factors influencing youth alcohol access in Zwelihle dynamic and interrelated.

5.1.3 Main Conclusion for Objective 3: Factors that Restrict youth access to alcohol in Zwelihle

The third objective was to ascertain factors that would deter the youth from accessing alcohol. The results revealed that in Zwelihle there are very few programmes that have made an impactful change to the youth of Zwelihle. Teachers who were supposed to be role models were reported to have been seen in shebeens, drinking, and fighting with the young people they teach. These results suggest that there needs to be a concerted effort targeted at the youth of Zwelihle to teach them about the adverse effects of alcohol consumption. Their teachers and the adults who are expected to be role models were seen to be engaged in inappropriate behaviour. This suggests that teachers might need to be trained to understand their influence on learners and how learners are likely to imitate their behaviours.

The community culture is also not deterring young people from consuming alcohol, as the results suggest there is a culture of irresponsible drinking in the community. This suggests that the community of Zwelihle can benefit from alcohol treatment centres and campaigns targeted towards teaching the community about responsible alcohol consumption. This is also important because some parents and guardians were reported to have fed alcohol to children. This might indicate that there is a lack of awareness about the harmful effects of alcohol on minors.

The results likewise suggest that there need to be stringent regulations as outlined in the National Liquor Act which regulates the sale and consumption of alcohol in South Africa. The study also found that there was no community buy-in in the policies and laws regulating alcohol access and consumption. This suggests that for the community to transform its irresponsible alcohol consumption the community needs to feel involved and understand that the laws and policies are in place for the community. This suggests that while advocacy efforts might seek to strengthen the regulation of alcohol, community involvement is crucial to ensure that the community identifies with the policies and is knowledgeable about the policies in place.

5.1.4 Study Recommendations aimed at limiting access to and reducing the availability of alcohol to the youth in Zwelihle

The results of the study suggest that there is much that needs to be done in Zwelihle to curb the harmful effects of alcohol on the youth. These results also show that it might be prudent to combat alcohol abuse by the youth, by adopting a systemic approach. The results showed that alcohol abuse is perpetuated by a lack of good, reputable leadership at the national, provincial, and local levels. This may in turn impact the community negatively, as corruption and bribery of police and law enforcement officials were reported to be a frequent occurrence in Zwelihle. This compromises the well-being of the community because they are not protected from the harmful effects of alcohol, such as violence and long-term health defects. To protect their children from these harms, the people of Zwelihle have deemed it better to consume alcohol with their children at home rather than letting them drink at the shebeens for the children's safety's sake.

This suggests that approaches to addressing this problem need to be systemic in nature, starting from the national, provincial, and local governments. The objective of the study was to investigate the youth's perspectives on factors that allow, and those which prohibit, the youth from accessing and consuming alcohol in Zwelihle and premised on these perceptions, the following recommendations are made:

Systemic Approach for Policymakers

The results of the study comprehensively demonstrate that the issue of underage alcohol abuse is because of broken structural systems, therefore, to fix them there needs to be concerted efforts from all tiers of government to act accordingly and in synchronicity. The National

Liquor Act amended in 2016 is a document that outlines the South African government's approach to regulating the liquor sector in the country. Under clause 4.3.9.4 of the NLA, it is stated that effective regulation of the liquor sector requires the collaboration of many provincial and national bodies, including the National Liquor Regulator (NLR), municipalities, the Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries (DAFF), the South African Revenue Service (SARS), the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Health, and the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJ and CD) (NLA, 2016).

The NLA no. 59 of 2003 emphasizes the importance of these bodies working together as seamlessly as possible to coordinate a regulatory response to issues related to the liquor sector. This includes sharing data and ensuring the success of enforcement activities. To achieve this, the NLA no. 59 of 2003 calls for departmental inspectorates to act in a coordinated manner with other bodies, including SAPS, SARS, DAFF, Health, and provincial inspectorates. This coordinated approach is seen as essential for effective regulation of the liquor sector and for addressing issues such as underage alcohol abuse.

Family Intervention

Participants indicated that currently young people are likely to get alcohol at home. The results indicate that it is likely that some Zwelihle parents do not see the dangers of alcohol. It was reported that some parents give alcohol to their children so that they may fall asleep while the parents go out partying. Some parents and guardians provide alcohol for their children out of fear that that it might be unsafe for them to consume alcohol outside the home setting. Some parents provided out of pressure of not being seen as boring by their children.

This might suggest there is a need to educate parents about the long-term detrimental effects of alcohol on children. There is also a need for parents to start modelling better behaviour to encourage young people's abstinence from early experimentation with alcohol. This could be achieved by dismantling the culture of alcohol, and by not celebrating achievements with alcohol. Parents might be allowing their children to use alcohol because the side effects are not immediately seen. It is therefore important for parents to learn about long term effects of how alcohol can limit a child's cognitive development. Most importantly parents need to be educated about their conduct and modelled behaviour towards their children. This might assist the youth of Zwelihle to start having better role models who can positively influence their lives.

Schools Interventions

Teachers were reported to have complained about parents who do not discipline and model wrong behaviour to their learners, and parents complained about the same. There is a strong need for teachers and parents to develop relationships in Zwelihle and develop a synchronized disciplining structure. There is also a need to educate parents about the importance of education because the data revealed that there is a general hopelessness in the community, parents have lost hope in the systems. There is also a need for Zwelihle school parents to start having discussions about how to discipline children, and to have consistency in the disciplined structure at home and school.

Positive Parenting Interventions

There is a need to educate parents, especially younger parents about alcohol's adverse effects. Younger parents were said to have given alcohol to their infants so that they could fall asleep, and the parents went out partying. This suggests that parents need to be educated about the long-term effects of alcohol and how they holistically negatively affect child growth.

Community Interventions

The data reveals that the community of Zwelihle has easy access to alcohol and those selling alcohol will sell to anyone at any time. This suggests that the community needs to be educated about the NLA no. 59 of 2003. This is where they would understand how liquor licenses operate, they would know that there is a license for on- or off-site consumption. They need to be educated about the bylaws involving alcohol distribution. The results also indicated that the community had a bad relationship with SAPS. The breakdown in trust between the community and law enforcement started because of corruption within SAPS, which might have caused the community to not trust the police. It is therefore recommended that corruption in the police is also dealt with, so that community members can report illegal shebeens. This will help them to hold those who sell liquor, accountable.

The NLA no. 59 of 2003 amended in 2016, states that no liquor outlets are to be operated within a 500-meter radius of a school, church, and places of recreation. There is a need for cohesion and community engagement between the local government and the community so that the community members can start to identify with the policies and bylaws affecting their

community and their children, and for them to know about the resources and recourse available to them.

There is also a need for the community to have a support group for those who struggle with alcohol. There is a support group, but it is not in the community of Zwelihle. Having one operating in Zwelihle will be good because it is nearby, and this will start eroding the culture of alcohol consumption. Perhaps a drug and alcohol rehabilitation centre might be appropriate for the Overberg region because presently drug and rehabilitation centers are outside of the Overberg region.

Overstrand Municipality

There is a need for the municipality as an official body to take a stance on alcohol. The results revealed that there is a broken relationship between Zwelihle and the municipality, and at times shebeens thrive under this state of mistrust because the people of Zwelihle do not identify with the municipality. This makes it difficult for the people of Zwelihle to approach the municipality when there is an illegal shebeen selling alcohol to minors.

The municipality under the Spatial Planning and Land Use and Management [SPLUMA] Act 16 of 2013 has been given the responsibility concerning land use, to set the bylaws and zoning rights for various land use purposes. The local government also assigns each land unit with a specific category of use which has terms and conditions stipulating the kind of land uses that can occur on the property and limiting how buildings can be built on the property. The literature has argued that in township settings it is not uncommon to have a residential property function as a business, shebeen, or place of worship. This happens in a single property because the township was developed as a residential area only, and there is not enough space allocated for recreation within the Zwelihle community. It is therefore recommended that policymakers have this mixed land use in mind when making policies regarding land use because they impact people's livelihoods and should protect vulnerable groups such as children. Failure to recognise this dynamic will result in land use management schemes that exclude and are irrelevant to the poor, and the cycle of poverty and alcohol abuse will persist.

5.2 Conclusion

The study results show that there are many reasons for Zwelihle youth to indulge in alcohol. The home environment was identified to be one of the places where a young person can access alcohol. The environment in which Zwelihle finds itself was also identified to be predeterminant of alcohol abuse among the youth. This is caused by the fact that alcohol use enjoys a positive spotlight in Zwelihle. This is exacerbated by its portrayal on social media and in advertisements on television. Alcohol was reported to be fashionable, so much so, that young people as early as 8 years old started to experiment with alcohol. The culture of alcohol consumption is also ingrained in the social fibre of Zwelihle. This was evident in participants stating that it is a norm in Zwelihle to have alcohol at a party for a one-year-old child. Participants revealed that there is not much in the form of recreational activities for the youth, but when they get a chance to participate in recreational activities such as soccer or a netball tournament, the team that wins celebrates by using alcohol.

The study also found that in addition to alcohol being offered in the home context, various individual and societal pressures were present. The results of this study reveal that at a personal level, those who struggle with social anxiety use alcohol to boost their self-esteem. Alcohol also served as a determinant of social acceptability, as the results reveal that alcohol consumption is fashionable among the youth. Those who go to expensive clubs, and post photo of expensive alcohol on social media, enjoy an elevated social status among their peers. The influence of significant others, such as parents, family members and teachers was identified to also influence youth alcohol use positively, as they offer the youth alcohol, or teachers would be found in shebeens drinking with their learners, and sometimes getting into fights with their learners in the shebeens. Alcohol abuse among the youth was also exacerbated by an overpopulation of shebeens operating illegally, aided by ineffective law enforcement, which in turn made the NLA amended in 2016 ineffective. Shebeens operate with impunity in Zwelihle, selling alcohol to anyone interested and operating for long hours. Law enforcement agencies, upon whom the implementation of the NLA amended in 2016 greatly depended, were also seen to be corrupt and making a living out of the illegal shebeens. It was found that it is not uncommon for police and local government law enforcement to raid an illegal shebeen, confiscating the alcohol and the money, only for the money to be shared among the police or law enforcement personnel, and for the alcohol to be sold to another shebeen.

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Appendix A: Ethical Clearance Approval



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10 October 2022

Student: **Larona Matee (MTXLAR001)**

Outcome: **ACCEPTED**

I am pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been given by an Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for your study, *A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES GOVERNING YOUTH ACCESS TO ALCOHOL*. The reference number is SWK-REC-2022-SR010.

I wish you all the best for your study.

Yours sincerely

Dr Shanaaz Hoosain

Senior Lecturer

Chair: Ethics Review Committee

The University of Cape Town is committed to policies of equal opportunity and affirmative action which are essential to its mission of promoting critical inquiry and scholarship.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Research Project Title:

A qualitative study on South African policies governing youth access to alcohol?

Researcher:

Larona Matee

Student Number: MTXLAR001

This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask researcher to explain any words or information that you do not clearly understand.

You are being asked to participate in a research study. This research is being conducted in Zwelihle, Hermanus. This research will investigate the components of the Zwelihle community that allow for the enablement of youth to start drinking and abusing alcohol at a young age. When you are invited to participate in research, you have the right to be informed about the study procedures so that you can decide whether you want to consent to participation.

You have the right to know what you will be asked to do so that you can decide whether to be in the study. Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to be in the study if you do

not want to. You may refuse to be in the study, and nothing will happen. If you do not want to continue to be in the study, you may stop at any time without penalty.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?

Conducting researching in places like Zwelihle, Hermanus is important so that policymakers and Non-Governmental Organisations can be properly informed about the types of services and interventions that Zwelihle needs. Therefore, this research intends to convey the perceptions of the youth of Zwelihle about alcohol use, translating them in a manner that can be simply communicated. Ultimately, the intended outcome of this research is to alleviate and prevent vulnerability associated with alcohol abuse in Zwelihle.

THE BENEFITS OF BEING IN THE STUDY

Your participation will benefit the community of Zwelihle as this study is the first of its kind to be conducted in Zwelihle. The results of the study can also make a meaningful contribution to government and civil society organizations who wish to bring programmes that would help Zwelihle youth struggling with alcohol abuse.

THE RISKS OF BEING IN THE STUDY

There are no foreseeable risks of physical, psychological, or social harm to participants, however emotional harm is unpredictable. This study has the potential to make participants reflect on their lives and they may remember negative things that might have happened to them because of alcohol consumption. The researchers will refrain from nonchalantly asking participants to casually share their feelings about traumatic experiences that have happened to them or their loved ones. Furthermore, the researcher will conduct a debriefing session after the interview. A debriefing secession is a process during which participants get the opportunity to work through and reflect on their experience of the interview and its aftermath, and where they can have their questions and concerns addressed.

If participants need further assistance, the researcher will refer them to the Hermanus Day Clinic where they will receive appropriate mental health counselling. If needs be, participants will also advised to call South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG). The South African Depression and Anxiety Group, offers free counselling services ranging from depression and anxiety, to post traumatic distress and substance abuse. The participants can also call the toll-free number; 0800 20 50 26 for any trauma that might arise because of their participation in the study (SADAG, 2020).

CONFIDENTIALITY

Confidentiality in research means there is an agreement between the participants and the researcher that the information gained in the research study will be used for the bona fide purposes of the research only. Confidentiality is also linked to the agreements between the researcher and participants as to who will have access to the information and how much access they should have. The information gained in the study will be used for research and the gathered data will be made available to the supervisor of the researcher and to internal and external examiners, since this research is being carried out for academic purposes. Furthermore, the researcher will not use the participants' names or contact details, the researcher will use pseudonyms in place of their names so that no participants can be identified in the research report.

Information produced by this study will be stored in the investigator's computer and identified by a code number only. The code key connecting your name to specific information about you will be kept in a separate, secure location. Information contained in your records will not be given to anyone unaffiliated with the study in a form that could identify you without your written consent, except as required by law.

PRIVACY

Privacy in academic research is that which is not normally intended for others to observe and analyze. The privacy principle will be maintained by storing the data gathered in a safe private location where access is only granted to the people involved in the study such as the university supervisor and an external examiner. The interviews will be held in private spaces where there is little chance of being interrupted. Participants will be informed that they reserve the right to decide what information they would like to share. For the purposes of this study, a cell phone device with a voice recorder will be used to record the session. The phone has a fingerprint security access and therefore only the researcher and research supervisor will have access to the recorded content.

ANONYMITY

Anonymity in social research, means that researcher must not include any information about any individual, or research site that will enable that individual or research site to be easily

identified. The researcher will assure participants that their identities will be kept anonymous and that in the writing up of the research results, the research will make use of pseudonyms.

Please respond to the following statements: X

1. I confirm that I have read / have been read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw, I may contact the researcher at any time)	
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission to the researcher to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the publications that result for the research.	
4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.	
5. I agree to take part in the above research project.	
6. I understand and agree that the interviews will be recorded.	
7. I confirm that I am not participating in this study for financial gain.	

Name of participant

Date

Signature

<u>Researcher:</u>	<u>Supervisor:</u>	<u>Head of Department:</u>	<u>Ethics Committee:</u>
Larona Matee Principal Researcher Department of Social Development mateelarona@gmail.com Cell: 0825834968	Ms Lauren van Niekerk Department of Social Work and Social Development Humanities Faculty, UCT Lauren.vanniekerk@uct.ac.za Tel: 021 650 5356	Prof. Leon Holtzhausen Head of Department of Social Work and Social Development Humanities Faculty, UCT leon.holtzhausen@uct.ac.za c.za Rondebosch Tel: 021 650 3482	Dr Shanaaz Hooisan Department of Social Work and Social Development Humanities Faculty, UCT Tel: 021 650 2456 shanaaz.hooisan@uct.ac.za

APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP & ONE-ON-ONE DISCUSSION GUIDE

Introduction to Focus Group Discussions

Hello, my name is Laron Matee, I am a Master's student from the University of Cape Town, and I am working on a qualitative research study titled **A qualitative study on South African policies governing youth access to alcohol**. Thank you so much for volunteering to be participants in this study.

For this session we are going to focus on your views on the access and abuse of alcohol amongst the youth of Zwelihle. We will also explore your perceptions on the effectiveness of current alcohol policies. Before we begin, I would like to clarify the following:

1. The conversation will be voice recorded; this is done so that I do not miss any important points and so that I can listen to you with no distractions.
2. My contribution for this session will be nothing more than that of a facilitator for the whole session, by probing, asking questions and listening to your perceptions and experiences.
3. You are encouraged to speak out your views freely, knowing that there are no wrong answers; everyone's contribution is important, therefore we need to give each other opportunities to speak and respect all opinions and experiences shared.
4. I will make sure that all the data gathered here is treated with strict privacy and confidentiality and will be stored in a secret environment. Your identities will be anonymized,

therefore whatever is said in the focus group discussion will not link back to them. It is also very important that you do not share any of the information shared in this group with other people outside of this group. All information shared here needs to stay here.

5. The data gathered will be used for the purposes of writing up the research report as part of my Master's degree.

6. This study has the potential to help in designing meaningful interventions for the youth abusing alcohol.

7. If you do not feel comfortable in sharing certain information, please let me know.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Research Question 1: How readily available is alcohol to the Zwelihle youth?

- How would you describe the alcohol usage amongst youth in the Zwelihle community?
And from what age have you observed youth to start using alcohol?
- How do the youth of Zwelihle access alcohol?
- How hard is it for the youth to access alcohol in Zwelihle?
- Where do the youth access alcohol from?
- What is the community's perception of youth alcohol consumption in Zwelihle?
- Are the Zwelihle youth at risk of alcohol abuse? If so, why do you say that?
- How frequent do the youth consume alcohol in Zwelihle?

Research Question 2: What are the factors that permit for the youth of Zwelihle to access alcohol?

- Are you aware of any factors that permit the excessive alcohol consumption by the youth of Zwelihle?
- Who would you say is involved in buying alcohol for youth in the Zwelihle community?
- How would you describe the access youth have in a liquor store, shebeen, or tavern?
- How do you think the following can influence the youth access and abuse of alcohol:
 - Media

- Boredom
- Employment/Unemployment
- Family
- Environmental and other factors
- Any other factors?

Research Question 3: What factors prohibit access to alcohol amongst the youth in Zwelihle?

- Are you aware of any factors that prohibit alcohol access and abuse by the youth of Zwelihle?
- Have you heard of any organizations which are aimed at alleviating alcohol abuse among the youth of Zwelihle?
- Is there a need for any interventions targeted at prohibiting youth from alcohol access and abuse in Zwelihle? if so what type of interventions would you recommend?
- Have you ever witnessed any law enforcement officers enforcing law against any illegal trade of alcohol?

Research Question 4: What policy recommendations can be made to the Department of Trade and Industry to limit access or reduce availability of alcohol to the youth?

- Is the community of Zwelihle aware of any alcohol regulation policies, or municipal bylaws that regulate the trade of alcohol?
- How would you describe the effectiveness of legislation in limiting or reducing the availability of alcohol to youth?
- What does the municipality do to regulate alcohol consumption by the youth in Zwelihle?
- What can the municipality do to help prevent youth alcohol access and abuse?
- Is there anything else you want to share with me regarding youth access and abuse in Zwelihle?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Introduction to individual interviews

Hello, my name is Laron Matee, I am a Master's student from the University of Cape Town, and I am working on a qualitative research study titled: **A qualitative study on South African policies governing youth access to alcohol.**

Thank you so much for your volunteering to be participants in this study.

For this session we are going to focus on your views on the access and abuse of alcohol amongst the youth of Zwelihle. We will also explore your perceptions on the effectiveness of current alcohol policies.

Before we begin, I would like to clarify the following:

1. The conversation will be voice recorded; this is done so that I do not miss any important points and so that I can listen to you with no distractions.
2. My contribution for this session will be nothing more than that of a facilitator for the whole session, by probing, asking questions and listening.
3. You are encouraged to speak out your views freely, knowing that there are no wrong answers and that your contribution is important.

4. I will make sure that all the data gathered here is treated with strict privacy and confidentiality and will be stored in a secret environment. Your identity will be anonymized, therefore whatever is said in the interview will not be link back to you.
5. The data gathered will be used for the purposes of writing up the research report as part of my Master's degree.
6. This study has the potential to help in designing meaningful interventions for the youth abusing alcohol.
7. If you do not feel comfortable in sharing certain information, please let me know.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE BASED ON THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question 1: *How readily available is alcohol to the Zwelihle youth?*

- Research shows that South African youth start consuming alcohol at an early age, what do you think about that?
- In your view, do you think that the youth of Zwelihle have easy access to alcohol?
- If yes, do you think it is concerning, or might be it be concerning in the future?
- If yes, do you think that this is something that the larger community of Zwelihle is concerned about?
- In your professional view, do you think that the Zwelihle youth are at risk of alcohol abuse?
- If yes, what are some of the trends you have seen that would make you think so?
- Do other allied professionals such as, doctors, nurses, police, teachers, ever express concern about the levels alcohol consumption by the youth?

Research Question 2: *What are the factors that permit for the youth of Zwelihle to access alcohol?*

- Are you aware of any factors that permit the excessive alcohol consumption by the youth of Zwelihle?
- What role do you think shebeens and taverns play in allowing the youth to access alcohol?
- How do you think the following can influence the youth access and abuse of alcohol:

- Media/ social life-friends
- Boredom
- Employment/Unemployment
- Family
- Environmental and other factors
- Any other factors?

Research Question 3: *What factors prohibit access to alcohol amongst the youth in Zwelihle?*

- Are you aware of any factors that prohibit alcohol access and abuse by the youth of Zwelihle?
- What role have you seen law enforcement play in assuring that liquor outlets adhere to alcohol trade regulations?
- Is there a need for any interventions targeted at prohibiting youth from alcohol access and abuse in Zwelihle?
- Have you ever witnessed any law enforcement officers enforcing law against any illegal trade of alcohol?

Research Question 4: **What policy recommendations can be made to the Department of Trade and Industry to limit access or reduce availability of alcohol to the youth?**

- In your view, how consistent is the culture of alcohol trade in Zwelihle consistent with adhering to liquor legislation?
- If not consistent, how do you think this lack consistency affects the way in which young people lives?
- To what extent do you think that the municipality bylaws are being adhered to, by those who trade in alcohol in Zwelihle?
- What can the Western Cape Liquor Amendment Act, 2011 (amended in 2017) limit or reduce availability of alcohol to the youth?
- What does the municipality do to regulate alcohol consumption by the youth in Zwelihle?
- What can the municipality do help prevent youth alcohol access and abuse?

- What recommendations if any would you suggest ensuring that alcohol traders adhere to the liquor laws?
- How do you think various institutions such as the South Africa Police Services, Department of Social Development, Hospitals, can work towards the alleviation of alcohol abuse by the youth?
- Is there anything else you want to share with me regarding youth access and abuse in Zwelihle?

APPENDIX D: Demographic Details

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY!

Demographic Details

A qualitative study on South African policies governing youth access to alcohol

Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

Age:	35
Gender/Sex:	Male
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	13
Nationality:	South African
Faith/Religion	Christian

Please fill complete the demographic details.

Age:	18
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	8
Nationality:	South African
Faith/Religion	Christian

Age:	23
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	7
Nationality:	South African
Faith/Religion	Christian

anonymous

Age:	33
Gender/Sex:	Male
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	31
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	

Age:	24
Gender/Sex:	Male
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	24
Nationality:	South Africa
Faith/Religion	Christian

Age:	25
Gender/Sex:	Male

Number of years living in Zwelihle?	7
Nationality:	South African
Faith/Religion	Christian

A qualitative study on South African policies governing youth access to alcohol

Age:	18
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	Christian

Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

Age:	18
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	7
Nationality:	
Faith/Religion	

Age:	18
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	7
Nationality:	South Africa
Faith/Religion	

Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

Age:	18
Gender/Sex:	Male
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	18
Nationality:	South Africa
Faith/Religion	

Please fill complete the demographic details.

Age:	67
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	24
Nationality:	South African
Faith/Religion	Agnostic

Age:	18
Gender/Sex:	Male
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	

anonymous

Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

Age:	20
Gender/Sex:	Male
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA

Faith/Religion	Christian
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Please fill complete the demographic details.

Age:	20
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	12
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	Christian

Age:	21
Gender/Sex:	
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	Christian

anonymous

Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

Age:	29
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA

Faith/Religion	Christian
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Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

Age:	31
Gender/Sex:	
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	

Age:	80
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	Christian

Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY!

Demographic Details

"Youth access TO and abuse of alcohol in Zwelihle: Are current policy approaches effective?"

Please fill complete the anonymous demographic details.

Age:	70
Gender/Sex:	Female
Number of years living in Hermanus?	8
Nationality:	5 African
Faith/Religion	Christian

Age:	59
Gender/Sex:	
Number of years living in Zwelihle?	4
Nationality:	SA
Faith/Religion	