THE MUSHROOMING OF ALCOHOL ESTABLISHMENTS: A CASE STUDY OF GREENWELL MATONGO, WINDHOEK, NAMIBIA

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative paper aimed at exploring the mushrooming of alcohol establishments in a residential area and potential effects on a community in Namibia. A case study design was applied to explore experiences from 18 participants through in-depth interviews. The purposive sampling method was used to draw participants from various sectors in the community such as self-employed and unemployed persons, shebeen owners, general community members (community councillor, a school teacher, and a police officer), people working at shebeens, and residents who have signed the shebeen consent letter. Data were analyzed employing the thematic data analysis method. The collected data were themed into five major themes, namely economic effects, environmental effects, increase in alcohol consumption, poor parenting and an increase in crime. The paper noted that there is a high density of alcohol outlets which is mostly associated with social, economic and environmental effects. The study concluded that too many alcohol establishments in one community increase the chances of social ills compared to a community where alcohol outlets are fewer. This study recommends policy on a stricter monitoring system of alcohol outlets, especially in low-income communities.

Keywords: Alcohol establishment, alcohol consumption, alcohol abuse, effects, mushrooming

INTRODUCTION

Alcohol establishments are common businesses among communities and found in many sectors of society, especially in low-income communities. Establishments selling alcohol beverages includes outlets such as shebeens, cucashops, bars, clubs and pubs. Alcoholic drinks may be purchased and consumed by the customers on or off the premises. In Namibia, alcohol establishments are regulated by the Liquor Act 6 of 1998 and controlled through zoning and licensing regulations. Some alcohol establishments operate informally, meaning they are not legally registered as per the Liquor Act 6 of 1998 of Namibia, to avoid the struggles of formal registration and the costs associated with registration. On the other hand, other outlets have been registered and own a liquor license. As a result of both registered and unregistered alcohol outlets, this has led to the mushrooming of these establishments in residential communities. Alcohol establishments provide a variety of entertainments through the provision of services such as bars counters, pool tables, dance floors, jukeboxes/music boxes, gambling machines as well as alcoholic beverages. With a wide range of choices available, these outlets attract customers from all walks of life, including people from the middle and upper class who are

searching for a local experience (Vesiko, 2013). Apart from the above-mentioned services provided, alcohol outlets are said to be a necessity in the Namibian economy, and an important segment for job creation in the country (Goeieman, 2012). However, the increase of alcohol outlets is mostly associated with an increase in alcohol consumption, increase in crime and many other social ills. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to explore the effects of the mushrooming of alcohol establishments in a residential area in Windhoek, Namibia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Namibia is the last African colony and gained its independence in 1990. During the colonial era, strict controlling measures on the consumption of alcohol were applied to black Namibians (Van der Hoog, 2019). After Independence, the number of shebeens have increased drastically and are found in most residential areas in Namibia. A research study in a northern town of Namibia found that the proximity and accessibility of liquor outlets a risk factor to alcohol indulgence of Namibians (Rapholo et al., 2019). In Windhoek in particular, shebeens have expanded, with the majority concentrated along Eveline Street in the Greenwell Matongo area (Shanghala, 2016). Alcohol is one of the most widely used substances in Namibia (Tang et al., 2019), the distribution of preferential drinks are store purchased beer (60%), spirits (14%) and wine (10%) (World Health Organization, 2018). Patterns of consumption of alcohol in Namibia is quite high (He, Bishwajit, & Yaya, 2019). Jacob (2010) avows that pattern and excessive consumption of alcohol are influenced by easy availability and accessibility of alcohol. Moreover, a nationwide study by Hobbs et al., (2020) found that the proximity of alcohol outlets was associated with an increase in hazardous drinking in New Zealand. A longitudinal study by Slutske, Deutsch, and Piasecki (2018) further found that a high density of alcohol outlets in a specific community makes individuals who are genetically predisposed to develop alcohol problems.

The effects of alcohol exacerbate poverty, road traffic accidents, crimes and loss of productivity (Jacob, 2010). According to Masola, et al., (2019) alcohol establishments are associated with violence, risky sexual behaviour and crime. Zhu, Gorman and Horel, (2004) added that the increase of alcohol outlets on residential areas contribute to excessive drinking, leading to antisocial behaviours such as being aggressive and violent. The lack of control measures in and around alcohol outlets may exacerbate incidences of violent crime (Trangenstein, 2018). The violence and fights that occur at alcohol outlets often happen after legally stipulated trading hours (Hilukilwa, 2019). Limited studies have been conducted on the effect of alcohol outlets in Namibia (Seibes, 2004; Nuuyoma, 1996), these quantitative studies are outdated. Given the alarming increase in the number of shebeens in residential areas where many social problems such as alcohol abuse are experienced, it was deemed necessary to research on the effects of the numerous shebeens in residential areas. To that end, this qualitative study sought to explore the current impact of alcohol establishments on livelihoods in communities.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this qualitative study, the mushrooming of alcohol establishments and its effects in the community was explored utilizing an explorative research approach. Creswell (2014) states that qualitative research provides opportunities for an in-depth understanding, and a detailed description of people's experiences, interpretations and perceptions around the subject matter. This study was based on exploratory research design. De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport (2011) states that an exploratory research design is mainly used by practitioners to gather insightful information on a particular phenomenon and to become more familiar with the phenomenon. The population for this study included the following community member's unemployed residents, the self-employed, and those employed full-time, students and the community councillor. The study applied the purposive sampling method as a non-probability sampling method in which eighteen participants were selected from various sectors of the Greenwell Matongo community who could provide valuable information for the study (O'Leary, 2014). The researcher interviewed the participants with the average age of participants was 34 years. The following inclusion criteria were used:

- Participants over the age of 18 years.
- Community members who have been living in the area for more than two years
- Both female and male

The researcher developed a semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions to collect the data. Individual face-to-face interviews were conducted with community members based on their availability and willingness to partake in the study. The participants were interviewed in private rooms' where privacy and confidentiality were guaranteed. Before embarking on the full-scale study, the researcher conducted a pre-test interview with two residents of Greenwell Matongo, who were not included in the sample size of the study. The pilot study subjects were recruited purposively with similar characteristics as those who participated in the main study. Before the interview was conducted, the researcher inquired from participants for their consent to participate in the research study and requested for special consent before voice recording them. The participants agreed and gave consent to partake in the study by signing the informed consent form. A tape recording file and a verbatim transcription of each of the interviews were stored on the researcher's laptop in a protected folder with a password known only to the researcher, and the file was deleted after the completion of the study. Most of the interviews were conducted in either English or Oshiwambo, a language spoken by the majority of Namibians. The researcher did not need any interpreter, as she is conversant in both languages.

Prior to the commencement of data collection, ethical clearance was obtained from the Ethical Clearance Committee at the University of Namibia (UNAM). Ethical approval was also granted by the ethical committee of the Ministry of Health and Social Services. Furthermore, permission was obtained from the Councillor of the Samora Machel Constituency under the Khomas Regional Council. This study was based on mutual trust, acceptance, voluntary participation, cooperation, confidentiality, right to withdrawal, avoidance of deceptions and informed consent between all people involved in this research, to avoid conflict and possible harm to the involved parties. Thematic analysis was employed using the six simple steps

recommended by Clarke and Braun (2013) to identify, analyze and report the findings (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of the study were analyzed utilizing thematic analysis, and five main themes were identified namely: Economic effects, Environmental effects, Increase in alcohol consumption, parenting, and increase in crime.

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Eighteen (18) participants aged between twenty-one to fifty-nine years took part in the study. The gender of the participants was determined by the availability and willingness of those who were approached to partake in the study, Total participants consisted of six males and twelve females.

The level of education of the participants comprised of a combination of people with a tertiary qualification, and those without a tertiary qualification. Most of the participants in the study with lower educational qualifications are employed in the informal labour market, while those with a tertiary qualification are employed in the formal employment sector. This agrees with a study conducted by Shindondola-Mote & Ohlsonn (2013), who revealed that high unemployment led to an expansion of the informal sector. Although the study did not focus on the qualifications, it is clear that whether one possesses a qualification or not, the desperation to earn an income can compel one to get employed in the informal sector.

Economic effects

Most participants stated that people opt for the alcohol establishment business because they regard it as the only business that can get them a quick income. Participants expressed that there is a high unemployment rate in Namibia which forces people to establish shebeens to feed their families and earn an income. One female participant said:

"I perceive them in a way as being good because they are a source of income for the unemployed residents, and for the families that are struggling financially. In a way, I feel it is not such a good thing to have shebeens because they are negatively affecting the younger generation living in the community.

In support to this finding, studies by (Seibes, 2004; Masola et al., 2019) noted that alcohol outlets are operated in efforts to ensure economic survival to those who are unemployed but in dire need to have the means to feed their families.

The majority of participants spoke about the issue of spending money on alcohol as a contributing factor to individuals experiencing hardships in their lives. Some participants asserted that if some people are stressed or have problems, they normally visit shebeens to drink alcohol, with the hope of solving their problems. Some participants stated that people waste their

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little wages or salaries to buy alcohol, and as a result, find themselves with no money to sustain themselves or feed their families. This has been echoed by a male participant below:

"People mostly think they are solving problems by engaging into alcohol abuse, but they are creating more poverty in their lives".

He continued

"They even put up gambling machines which are not even licensed. Salaries go in gambling machines because of gambling addiction, and when a person's money is gone in the gambling machine, survival becomes difficult."

This upholds the views of Makhubele (2012) who found that alcohol abuse influences the economic status of people who consume it. The author stated that alcohol misuse does not only negatively affect an individual's finances, but it further contributes poverty.

According to the report on Alcohol and the Sustainable Development Goals, high expenditure on alcohol mostly affects deprived families and communities who are already in need of basic resources such as food and other necessities (Jiang et al., 2016). The study revealed that people living in lower socio-economic communities are most exposed to, and are vulnerable to the negative effects of alcohol use, which results in the cycle of deprivation as, most of this vulnerability is passed on to the younger generation (World Health Organization, 2018). Thus, shebeens will not only contribute to excessive alcohol use but will also negatively affect the socio-economic development of the country by contributing to poverty.

Environmental effects

The theme of environmental effects refers to the direct and indirect effects that shebeens have, both on the environment at large and on people. Such a theme brought to light some findings relating to how shebeens affect the environment and people in the community.

All participants expressed that shebeens contribute to excessive noise in the environment, which affects both adults and children. Based on the participants' responses, a lot of disturbances within the community is brought about by the loud noise that is generated by the jukeboxes in the shebeens. One participant stated:

Obvious shebeens in the community as you know they are becoming too much, so they become like a disturb to the community now, cause all over we go it's just a shebeen, so that involves the noise pollution whereby it disturbs neighbours, you don't have time anymore even to rest, even to walk in the street it becomes a danger to you because people are too many roaming around in the street and you know how Windhoek is when it comes to crimes, so one will never know if people are standing in the street or the next to shebeen they might do something to me so it's putting....let me say what

Another participant alluded:

I think about as if it's like a distraction to our community members especially school going children, because it's like, there was a case where a student, a girl



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wanted to study but because of the loudness of the shebeens she is unable to study, so it affects the studying of people it also makes a lot of noise pollution for some of us who want to maybe sleep or whatever because the next day you need to be alert in class now you can't sleep because of the persons in the shebeen and the noise they make.

The data of this study support the findings cited by Neshila (2018) that the noise emitted by the high number of shebeens in residential areas made it harder for school learners to concentrate on their studies at home. Consequently, children do not get enough sleep and rest, which affects their cognitive well-being. This is confirmed by Orzeł-Gryglewska (2010) who stated that sleep deprivation may affect the cognitive function, attention and operant memory of a person. Another participant noted:

"Obviously shebeens are mushrooming too much in the community, and they are so much disturbing, because wherever you go there is just a shebeen, and they cause noise pollution, whereby it disturbs the neighbours, such that they do not get enough time to rest anymore."

The findings revealed that shebeens are a health hazard to the community, as they create a bad odour in the vicinity. This is because people who drink at alcohol outlets tend to urinate anywhere outside the shebeens. Some participants expressed that the environment is exposed to a lot of bad odour, which has a very negative effect on people's health. Given the hygiene-related to sanitation, some participants expressed their honest views on the situation at hand:

"The people urinate anywhere around the shebeens, even on walls. Sometimes when you wake up in the morning, you just find that somebody has peed on your wall." said one participant.

Another participant said:

"In a case like of our neighbour, there is a shebeen nearby and in that shebeen there is no toilet, so where do those people go release themselves?"

The study also revealed that people coming from shebeens tend to throw bottles everywhere, which makes the environment unclean, while also leading to vandalism of community infrastructures. One participant echoed that shebeens contribute to the destruction of infrastructure and other resources in the neighbourhood and community, caused by drunk people. This participant made the following statement:

"Most of the infrastructures are being vandalized by people that are drunk."

He continued:

"Like your street signs, your street lights, your public buildings, and the windows are shattered by the people that are drunk."

The findings from the study revealed that communities, where there is a high density of shebeens, contribute to alcohol abuse. As a result, the drunken people destroy communities' infrastructure such as street lights, street signs, and windows of some public infrastructure. One participant strongly emphasized this by stating that shebeens are the reason why some of the

neighbourhood's street lights are not working. These results are consistent with those of Paterson (2014), who argued that people who misuse alcohol develop different types of anti-social behaviour, such as aggression, and as a result, they end up destroying of community infrastructures.

Increase in alcohol consumption

Most participants expressed concern about the high alcohol consumption in the area. They stated that excessive drinking is a result of too many alcohol outlets in the community. The participants further said that alcohol in their area is readily and easily accessible which has an influence on binge drinking by community members. One participant noted tha

> The alcohol consumption is very high. It was recently in the newspaper that Namibians they have a drinking problem from the Ministry of Health they said Namibia is having a high drinking problem and this is because of too many shebeens.

The participant further stated

Some areas like Green well Matongo there's a lot of shebeens and alcohol is readily available and then maybe while in other areas there is less so they should just try to limit they should balance the number of shebeens so that people will not drink too much.

Another participant added

I also think that also some people are coming from other areas to abuse alcohol here because this is where most alcohol places are, although they are also residents here I think it's also a mixture.

Cameron, Cochrane and Livingstone (2016) also noted that the density of alcohol outlets has been associated with a range of social problems such as excessive drinking, crime and other related social ills which can be harmful to an individual and community. Consequently, a community with a high density of alcohol establishments promotes drinking habits. Participants expressed that unemployed young people spend too much time at shebeens because that is the only activity available for them. Participants expressed that the availability of too many shebeens promotes alcohol consumption. As a result, most young people are unlikely to develop themselves but fall in alcohol addiction. In this light, one of the male participants said:

"The presence of shebeens in a residential area contributes to alcohol addiction." It is obvious that people in the area will be forced to buy alcohol out of their desire. Personally, if I buy alcohol I will be addicted to the point that I would want to buy and drink alcohol more often.

A similar study on alcohol outlets by (Hobbs et al., 2020) concurs with the findings by stating that the presence of shebeens results into an uncontrolled rate of alcohol consumption, to the point of abuse. The participants pointed out that if people are drinking too much, there is a high

possibility of them becoming physically or mentally ill, and also engaging in deviant or irrational behaviours such as violence. The findings of this study are consistent with the findings by Livingstone, Chikritzhs and Room (2007), who revealed that the higher the alcohol availability in a society, the greater the effects of alcohol-related harm, such as binge drinking and risky alcohol behaviours. Similarly, (Tang et al., 2019) revealed that the densities of alcohol outlets influence people's engagement in excessive drinking and that binge drinking puts them at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases including HIV, compared to those who are not drinking excessively.

Poor Parenting

Almost all participants in the study expressed concerns regarding poor parenting in communities where shebeens are present. Parents have a tendency of spending too much time at such drinking venues, which results in poor parental supervision. As a result, children and families are neglected and are left at home for long hours with no proper parental supervision, unattended to and with no social support from parents. This study discovered that the effects of too many shebeens in the environment, cause parents to have easy access to alcohol, which consumes much of their time, leaving them with little time to do proper parenting to their children at home. Furthermore, the participants alluded to the fact that some parents do not hinder children from drinking alcohol, while others offer their children alcohol. Overall, the fact that many children live in areas with shebeens in their surroundings, they easily get access to alcohol and start consuming it at an early age. This is evident, as expressed by some participants in the statements below:

> "If today you see some young people in the street around midnight because their parents are also in the bar, what do you expect? There is no control in the house, and some kids have to sleep with hunger because the parents did not cook. Many parents go straight to bed from the bar, where they go straight from work, despite the fact that their children need to eat. As a result, children have to play the roles of the parents."

Another participant added:

"Having shebeens in a residential area is very bad because sometimes when parents are drinking at shebeens and their children join them, they tend to give their children alcohol to drink, and this makes the children think that alcohol is something good because their parents are not preventing them from drinking. This makes children develop a habit that whenever they see their parents drinking they would want them to give them a share of the drink, which is a bad influence on the children."

These findings agree with those in a study conducted by Sharley et al., (2019) who found that caregivers who spend too much time at drinking establishments lead to supervisory neglect. Likewise, Taber-Thomas and Knutson (2020), holds that maternal alcohol use increases the risk of inconsistent discipline and inadequate supervision. Shikoyeni (2016) asserted that children

who observe how parents and other family members regularly going to shebeens will regard such behaviour as normal and may as well start drinking alcohol at a tender age. The presence of shebeens compromises the welfare of children and the future of children. Koyama and Fujiwara, (2019) suggest that off-premises alcohol outlet density is causing an increase in cases of child neglect.

Increase in crime

Some of the participants stated that shebeens contribute to an unsafe environment. The mushrooming of shebeens results in too many people visiting the area, overcrowding the area and creating the fear of free movement of residents in the neighbourhood. It was pointed out that residents are afraid to go out of their homes most of the times because there are often people standing everywhere in the streets, even next to their homes. This mushrooming of shebeens creates uncertainty among residents when it comes to identification as to which of the people are robbers and which ones are shebeen patrons, which further creates fear and feelings of insecurity in their lives. This was revealed by one participant in his own words in the statement below:

> "You don't have time anymore even to rest, even to walk in the street. It has become dangerous to you because people are too many that are roaming around the street. You know how Windhoek is when it comes to crime, so one will never know if the people standing in the streets or next to the shebeen might do something to them."

He further stressed the following:

"In an unsafe environment, even you as a person, when you walk in the street, you don't feel like you are in a free and democratic country. You rather walk like you are walking in a country where you expect to be attacked anytime, just because of a shebeen."

As part of this study, phone grabbing has been revealed as one of the most reported crime in the area, which is a security issue in the community. The participants revealed that there are so many young boys who grab people's mobile phones and other personal belongings. Sadly, it is no longer safe for people to move around with their personal belongings. In addition, residents have no freedom to move around their neighbourhood because of strange people being sighted everywhere due to the mushrooming of shebeens, male participants shared the comments below.

> "One never knows if the people who are standing in the street or next to the shebeens might do something to him/her, therefore such a tendency is also putting residents in danger, such that they are forced to go home early, and if they go late, it makes them think they might be in danger. In situations where people stand in streets or next to shebeens, the environment becomes risky and unsafe.

The majority of participants mentioned that shebeens are contributing to crimes such as fights among people, and people stabbing each other when they are under the influence of alcohol. The

participants expressed that when people are under the influence of alcohol, they are likely to engage into misunderstandings, and as a result, they end up fighting and stabbing each other, or even killing each other. These views are consistent with those of Hobbs et al., (2020), who pointed out that close proximity to alcohol outlets was associated with increased crime and hazardous drinking. A neighbourhood where there is a high density of alcohol promotes alcohol consumption and creates a source of antisocial behaviours like being violent. Similarly, in a study by Franklin, LaVeist, Webster, and Pan (2010) it was revealed that there is a close link between alcohol density and crimes such as robbery and assault. Trangenstein et al., (2018) further argue that access to alcohol outlets that allows its customers to drink away from the premises had a greater association with violent crimes than alcohol outlets that only permits consumption of alcohol on the premises.

Some participants articulated that excessive drinking results in domestic violence in some homes. It is one of the contributing factors to poor communication among families, fights among couples and other people in intimate relationships. Excessive drinking has caused some homes to become unbearable to some members of the families, by exposing children to violence. The participants revealed that some family members go to shebeens to drink and socialize and they become intoxicated, causing them to react violently toward their families when they get back from shebeens. The following statements have been echoed by a community leader.

"It is very disappointing that you can find a man drunk, who can sometimes enter the house while the mother is sleeping with the children, but is asking for food. I have experienced a similar situation in this office whereby sometimes it is the husband that comes and report that the wife goes to drink and gets home in the middle of the night. She starts disturbing the husband who was left with the children. For cases like this, the majority are mainly men, but such an issue causes a lot of problems in houses, and there is no more peace in many houses as a result of alcohol. The other person does not even care, and does not even understand anything."

He continued:

"There are a lot of people reporting cases like husband and wife, are just having problems at home."

Domestic violence and gender-based violence has become a daily reported social issue in various media reports as a result of alcohol abuse. Similarly, Sithole (2018) found that heavy alcohol consumption amongst the factors that contribute and further exacerbate incidences of violence against women.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the study confirmed that the presence of shebeens in the community, specifically within residential areas have more negative effects compared to the positive effects. One of the positive effects of alcohol outlets is the fact that shebeens are operated in efforts to ensure economic survival to those who are unemployed but in dire need to have means to feed their



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families. Hence, it is unfortunately not possible to close up shebeens because a lot of people will fall into the poverty trap, as they have no means of getting an alternative income to sustain them and their families. The law is clear and wants to do away with illegal shebeens, however, it cannot be fully implemented due to concerns of high unemployment and poverty in the country. However, the study strongly suggests that alcohol establishments must be barred and moved away from residential areas as they are greatly negatively impacting on communities. Doing so would promote a better quality of life for Namibians.

It is worthwhile notetaking that people view alcohol establishments as an opportunity to venture into business because such type of business is inappropriately controlled and regulated. Thus, the community is requesting for government's intervention, mainly to improve on the monitoring systems of alcohol establishments. These establishments such as shebeens contribute to a noisy environment coming from the music and the shebeen patrons, which causes sleep disturbances and poor concentration on academic studies. Apart from noise, shebeens are a risk factor for poor hygiene. This is because they are placed in neighbourhoods where there is a lack of proper sanitation. Most of the shebeens do not have toilets for the customers. As a result, people urinate everywhere they find, which makes the environment smelly and unclean, further resulting in infections and other communicable diseases such as Hepatitis A and influenza. Even if few shebeens have toilets, they are often not utilized or not up to healthy standards to be used. Therefore, eliminating hazards and reducing environmental risks will greatly benefit people's health and positively contribute to attaining social goals. This study strongly suggests effective measures and policies dedicated to limiting alcohol density will mean reducing alcohol-related problems, thus enhancing and creating a healthy alcohol-free Namibian environment while improving the quality of life in communities. Social and economic prosperity are impossible in an alcohol infested environment. The study, therefore, recommends that social workers and researchers should engage in dialogue with the communities and listen to how they can develop and implement programs to amicably solve the problem.

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