

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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



4.7.2) The impact of the economy on party support

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.7.3) Mobilization

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.8) Conclusion

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

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



CHAPTER FIVE: ECONOMIC MARGINALITY IN ATLANTIS

5.1 Introduction

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

5.1.1) Shebeens and livelihoods

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.2) Shebeen queens

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

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

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

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

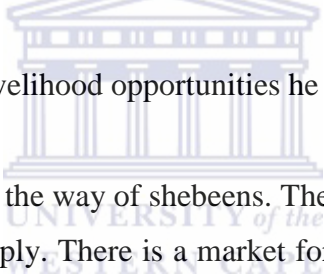
Moreover, women’s employment loss can be devastating in poor communities as the effects are felt beyond the individual worker who loses her job. Studies in developing countries have shown women to be essential for the maintenance of livelihoods in poor families given that they are more likely to spend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

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

5.1.3) It is not all about poverty

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

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



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

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

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

5.1.4) Marginalized by the law

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.5) Determination of community support for the act

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.6) The Electoral Data

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

5.1.6.1) The 2014 National Elections

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.6.2) The 2009 National Elections

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

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

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

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

5.1.6.3) The 2004 National Elections

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

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

The table below outlines the Atlantis electoral data for 2004

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

5.1.6.3) The 2014 Provincial Elections

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

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

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

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

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5.1.6.4) The 2009 Provincial elections

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

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

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

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

5.1.6.5) The 2004 Provincial elections

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

The table contains the electoral data for the 2004 Provincial Elections

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

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

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

5.1.7) Residents views regarding alcohol and shebeens

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.8) Mobilization and organizational solidarity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.9) Communication, community participation and shebeens

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.7) Conclusion

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

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



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CHAPTER SIX: THE POLITICS OF INFORMALITY IN ATLANTIS

6.1) Introduction

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

6.2) Networks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4) Inclusiveness theory

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

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

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

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

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

6.5) Interaction with politics

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

6.5.1) Bayat and Atlantis

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

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

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

6.5.2) Passive Atlantis

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

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

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



6.5.3) Surviving Atlantis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.5.4) Political Atlantis

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

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

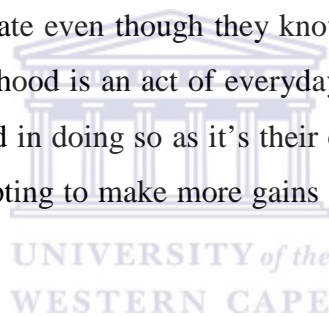
...community associations, barrios, consumer organizations, soup kitchens, squatter support groups, church activities and the like were understood as manifesting organized and territorially based movements of the poor...(Bayat, 2000, p.540).

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

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

6.5.5) Resisting Atlantis

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

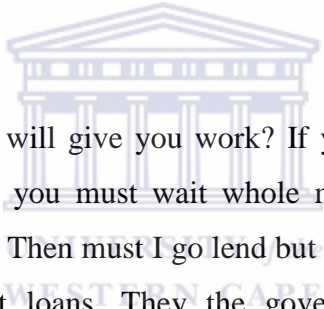


The gains in the case of shebeen owners are the income from the shebeens that they operate. Moreover, this form of everyday resistance does not usually dispute the dominance of the state plus the state generally encourage individuals to help themselves and supports community projects as long as these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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

6.5.6) The Quiet Encroachment of Atlantis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.5.7) Atlantis Becoming Politically Active

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

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

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

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

6.5.8) Chatterjee and Atlantis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.5.9) Reflections

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.6) Conclusion

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

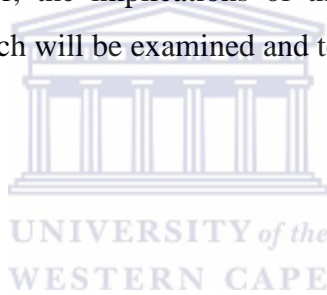
dissatisfaction with politics and this has been a longstanding issue in the community. The act has not created this situation or worsened it to a large extent.



CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

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



7.2) The summary

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

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

