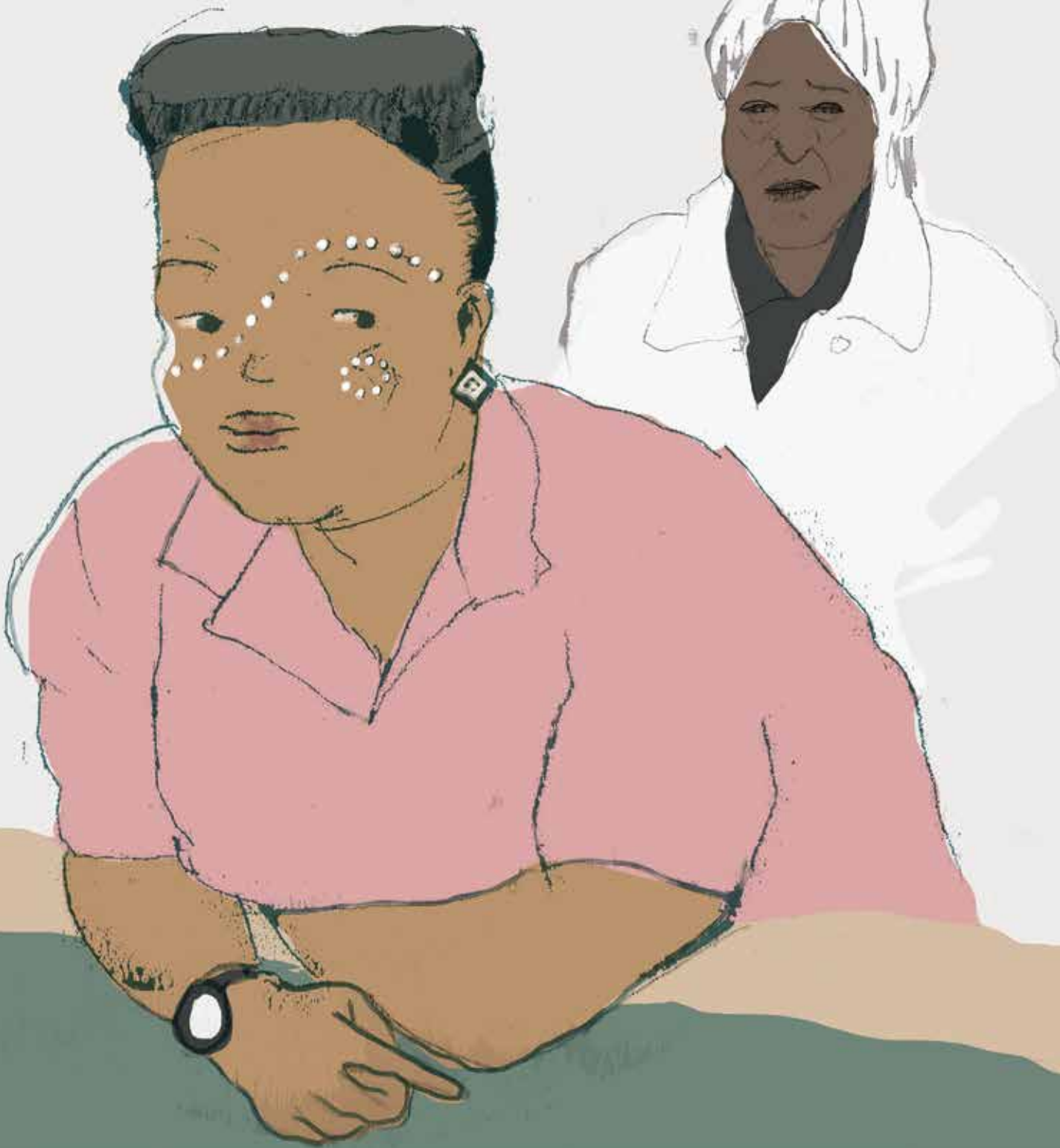


18+

# SAFE SHEBEENS PROJECT



# SAFE SHEBEENS PROJECT

NARRATIVE REPORT



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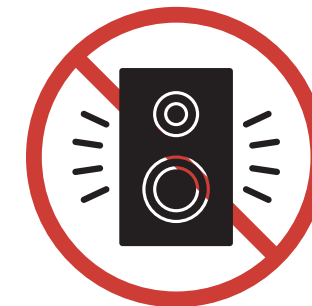
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# INTRODUCTION

Shebeens are complex social spaces. They provide much needed social space in communities like Sweet Home Farm with a dire shortage of both public and private recreational spaces. Shebeens enable leisure through entertainment and provide a context for social drinking of alcohol. For a significant number of people they also provide an important source of income. Yet shebeens can have negative influences through impacts of noise and drunken sociability on the neighbours and through the alcohol harms to drinkers that abuse alcohol and behave inappropriately. As the vast majority of shebeens operate without a state license and almost always in violation of various municipal zoning regulations and by-laws, they are both informal and illegal enterprises.

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The majority of shebeens continue to operate in defiance of the law. Their existence significantly reduces the impact of government strategies to reduce liquor supply and regulate trade in terms of times of business operation, safety and employment considerations, and actions to minimize liquor harms on vulnerable persons such as youth and pregnant women.

The Sustainable Livelihood Foundation (SLF) recognises the need to reduce the negative impacts of shebeens and

aims with the SafeShebeens Project in Sweet Home Farm at developing and piloting strategic and innovative actions which can help to enhance the safety of shebeens in poor communities and which strengthen regulation, both self and community.

This report covers the first phase of the project and describes in detail the participatory research and engagement process towards the development of the concept of the SafeShebeens strategy.

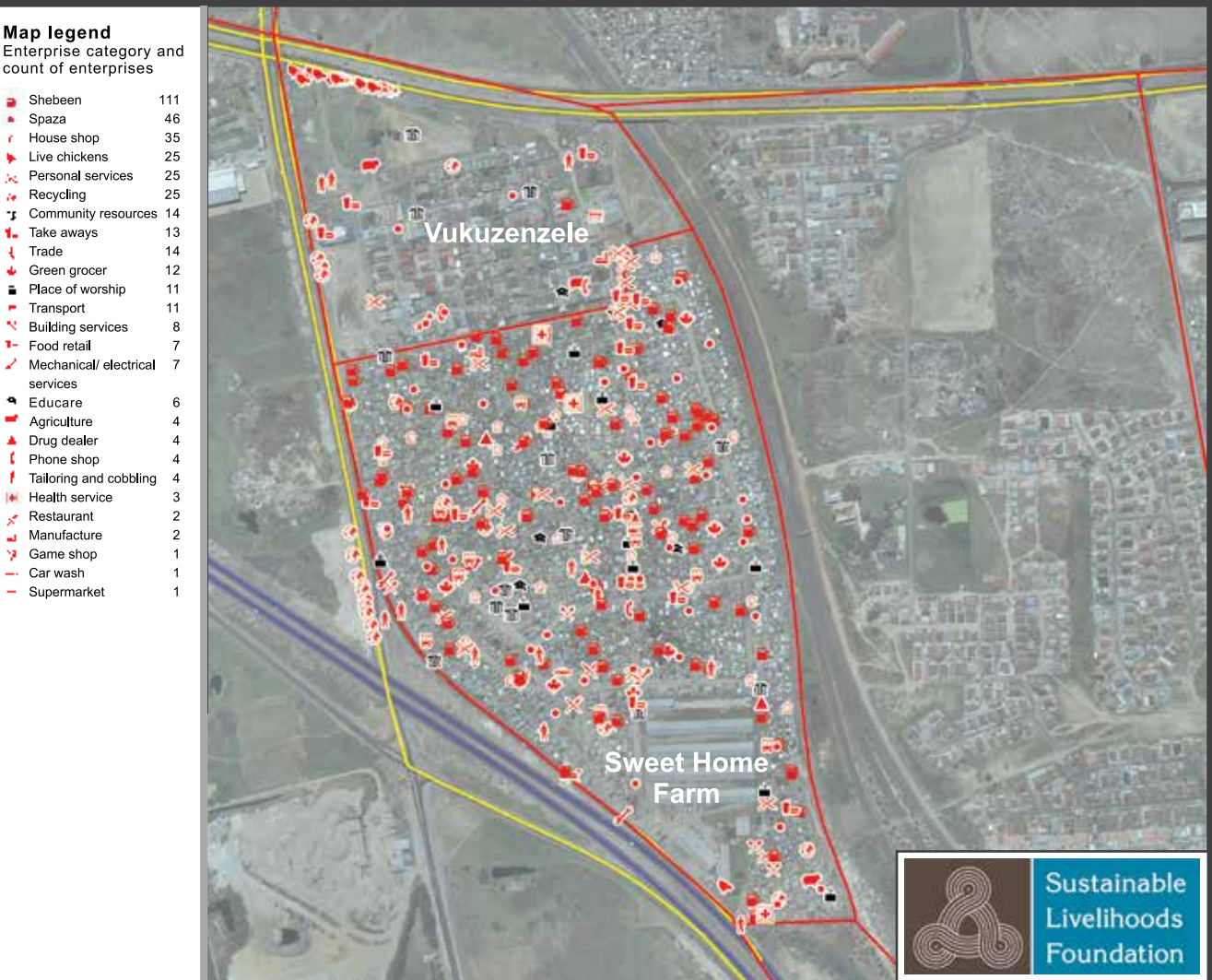




SWEET HOME FARM

LOCATION	Adjacent to Philippi, a suburb in the south east of the Cape Town Metropole.
SIZE	0,25 hectares
POPULATION	Approx. 7800 inhabitants, approx. 96% “black” and approx. 4% “coloured”.
MAIN LANGUAGES	isiXhosa and Afrikaans
HOUSING	Approx. 2889 informal dwellings

Distribution of micro-enterprises by enterprise category  
Sweet Home Farm / Vukuzenzele, October 2011



The micro-enterprise census conducted by SLF in 2011 revealed that shebeens are the most common enterprise in Sweet Home Farm.

SWEET HOME FARM

The project has been developed in Sweet Home Farm and is tailored to the settlement conditions, but can be adapted to other contexts.



Sweet Home Farm is one of the most marginalised communities in the Western Cape with high unemployment rates, insufficient public infrastructure such as roads, toilets, water, drainage, contributing to severe health risks for residents. Data from Statistics SA shows that 42% of the labour force is unemployed (according to the narrow definition).

It is impossible for the Sweet Home Farm shebeens to trade liquor legitimately

through obtaining liquor trading licences. Furthermore, because Sweet Home Farm is an informal settlement, and the land is not owned by the residents, liquor retailing violates municipal zoning regulations and by-laws.

As a result of the predominant role of shebeens within the settlement, Sweet Home Farm was chosen as a pilot site to explore an alternative strategy to reduce the harms of liquor trading in the specific environment of informal settlements.





A participatory workshop with the shebeeners to analyze the various ways through which each shebeen seeks to improve safety. The research process helped to identify safety risks.

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# RESEARCH AND ENGAGEMENT PROCESS

Using a participatory approach, the Project sought to explore answers to a range of challenges and questions. The learning outcomes from exploring these questions informed the development of the SafeShebeens strategy and are indeed embedded in the safety tools of house rules and signs.

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The first set of questions aimed at creating a more nuanced picture of the challenges and conflicts concerning shebeens, in particular of the differences and commonalities between the various shebeens in Sweet Home Farm. The second set of questions sought to explore the potential of self-regulatory

mechanisms used by shebeeners to reduce the negative impacts of shebeens on the community. And lastly, the third set of questions sought to explore the potential of methodologies such as participatory action research and design as effective tools to engender sustainable change amongst shebeeners.



*The Project's methodology was based on four key pillars:  
1) indigenous knowledge,  
2) community participation, 3) design, and 4) peer review.*

## Indigenous Knowledge

SLF recognises the wealth of indigenous knowledge regarding the regulation of social dynamics in shebeens. The use of rules and other safety control mechanisms are familiar to both shebeeners and patrons. SLF believes that it is crucial to build on such knowledge to create ownership for change, but also to broaden such knowledge and to apply it in a more systematic way.

## Participatory Action Research – A Road to Incremental Change

A participatory action research approach has been chosen as a key method in the development of the SafeShebeens concept as it is both a successful tool to collect indigenous knowledge and also to empower and engage people to critically investigate their own reality, analyze it and then undertake collective action to bring about changes in their lives. The strong focus of the participatory process on people finding solutions to practical problems helps to ensure that the change strategies are owned by the people concerned as opposed to being imposed by government law and its enforcement agencies. Given the history of resistance towards the state and law enforcement, the participatory research approach therefore offers an innovative approach to engage shebeeners in efforts to understand and transform shebeens and its harms on the



Building on indigenous knowledge and allowing for a participatory process has been key to creating ownership for the SafeShebeens strategy - both amongst shebeeners and the community.

community and to strengthen self-regulatory mechanisms.

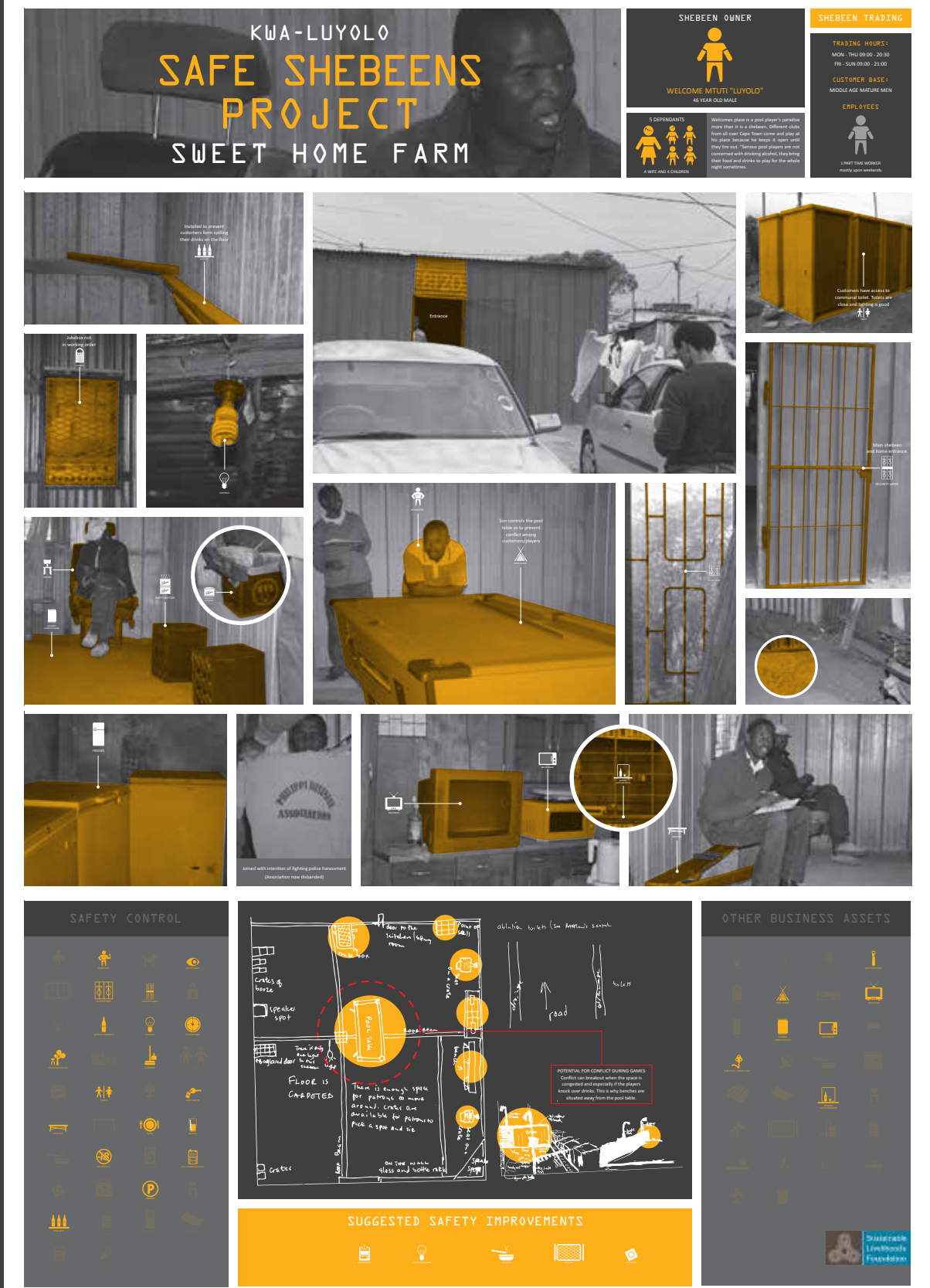
## Design – A Tool for Social Development

SLF research recognises that design plays a significant role in influencing the risks of conflict and harms related to shebeens (i.e. as shown in the layout of shebeens) as well as in the effectiveness of safety control mechanisms applied by shebeeners (i.e. as shown by icons used to communicate rules). Building on both international and local success stories, the Project's methodology uses design elements both in reflection and learning processes with the community and shebeeners, but also as a tool to bring about change through using symbolism, creativity and humour to influence

people's understanding of rules and appropriate social behaviour.

## Peer Review, Collaborations and Support

To allow for ongoing peer review throughout the concept development process the Foundation has formed two strategic collaborations: 1) A collaboration with The SafetyLab – an institution that was established in 2012 with a mandate from the Western Cape Government to identify, develop and test innovative safety and security solutions; and 2) A collaboration with the OpenIDEO platform – an opportunity for innovative projects that use design as a vehicle for social development to share their ideas with a global audience of experts.



Shebeen posters are a key design tool in the participatory research process creating a platform for shebeeners to analyze their own situation and to make comparisons with others. Posters serve as a reminder and inspiration to shebeeners of what other strategies they can still apply and also take the role of documenting a base-line on business assets, layout, and micro-control mechanisms used by shebeeners, allowing for easy assessment of change.



While previous waves of research conducted by SLF between 2010 and 2012 focused mainly on the engagement of shebeeners, it was the aim of this phase of the Project to also engage the views of the larger Sweet Home Farm community – both residents and community leaders – and to bring their views in a constructive dialogue with shebeeners. The following sections describe the various steps undertaken between February and October 2014 – covering the initiation of the project and concept formulation as well as the various ways to engage the three target groups: i) community, ii) local leaders and iii) shebeeners.

Initiation and Concept Formulation

In February 2014 a core team of SLF researchers visited shebeeners in Sweet Home Farm who had participated in previous research projects with shebeeners in Sweet Home Farm. The intention at this stage was twofold. On the one hand SLF sought to update shebeeners on the results of the research and how they had been communicated with various stakeholders using articles in research journals, digital stories published on youtube and in discussions with policy and decision makers. On the other hand SLF intended to get an impression of the current situation and interest of shebeeners to continue working with the Foundation on a new initiative, focusing on harm reduction. The reaction of shebeeners was overwhelmingly positive; they were very interested in further collaborating with SLF. A series of further meetings took place beginning of March 2014 to introduce the SafeShebeens project idea and to secure shebeeners’ participation.



Previous SLF research has shown that some but not all shebeeners have been working with house rules to influence patrons’ behaviour.



The participatory approach of the Project allowed shebeeners to critically reflect on their own role in enhancing safety or insecurity in shebeens.

MID MARCH - END APRIL 2014

CONDUCT IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH SHEBEENERS



The seven research assistants represented the two main languages spoken in the community and comprised persons of different age groups.

Community Engagement

To develop a deeper understanding of the views of community members on the risks related to shebeens, causes of conflict and local strategies to minimize harms, SLF undertook a community engagement intervention from end of March 2014. It had two main components, namely, one, a non-random community survey with 166 community members and, two, a series of participatory research workshops with selected community members.

Community Survey

The main purpose of the community survey was to get a more informed idea of the general community perspective towards drinking and the role of shebeens in the community. The survey also sought to help identify participants with diverse and contrasting views for planned participatory community workshops.

The community survey was conducted at the end of March 2014 by a team

of four researchers, assisted by seven Sweet Home Farm residents, who were trained and paid for their assistance. Researchers were split-up to interview residents in different parts of the settlement. Residents were chosen to participate in the survey. Altogether 166 residents – all over 18 years – were interviewed with a questionnaire assessing the residents’ use of shebeens as well as their perceptions of both liquor consumption and positive and negative aspects of shebeens.

29 MARCH 2014

COMMUNITY SURVEY – INTERVIEWS WITH SWEET HOME FARM RESIDENTS





The various workshop processes used a range of creative tools to stimulate thought and discussion on the topic of safety and the role of shebeens in the community.

The findings of the survey revealed that the overwhelming majority of interviewed community members go to shebeens, and most of them do so not only for consuming alcohol, but for social reasons such as meeting friends, playing pool etc. Only a fifth of interviewees do not visit shebeens and do not associate any positive things with drinking or shebeens generally.

The most important positive aspect associated with shebeens is the possibility to socialise and have fun. The second important positive aspect is that shebeens provide income and help support a family. Meeting new people and building relationships is another common positive association with shebeens. Almost all interviewees, including those who consume alcohol at shebeens, associate some degree of risks with drinking and shebeens: The main perceived problems are violence such as fighting, stabbing, rape and murder and inconsiderate and unruly behaviour such as urinating and vomiting in public. Hence most interviewees believe that shebeens can influence crime, either through providing a meeting place for criminals, or through the conflicts within venues or as a result of crime targeting patrons outside venues.

Participatory Research Workshops with Community Members

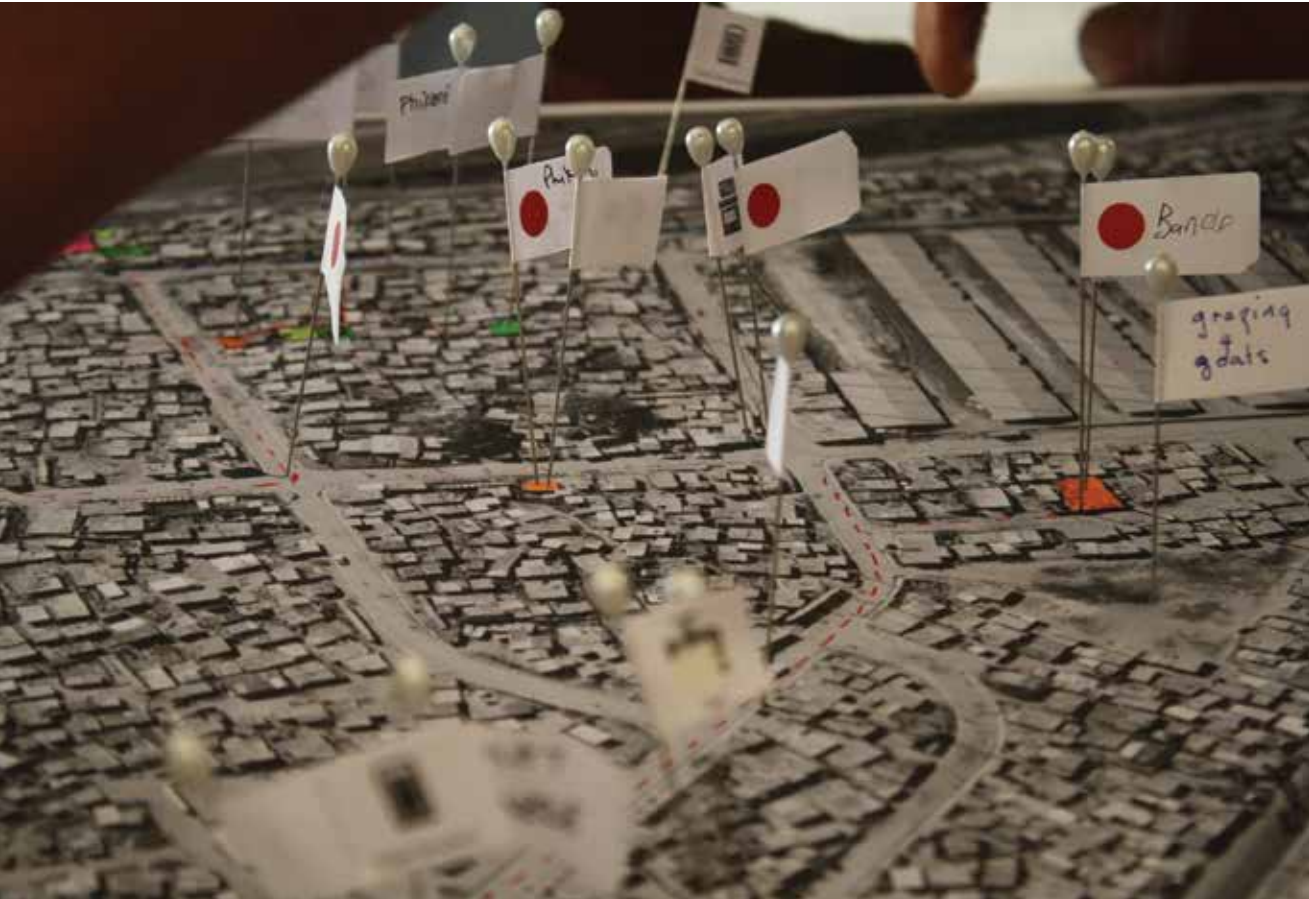
Three subsequent one day participatory research workshops were conducted in April and May 2014 with community members selected from the sample generated during the community survey. “The participants were divided into three groups: 1) Mixed Gender Group

with 10 residents older than 35 years, representing 5 drinkers and 5 non-drinkers; 2) Young Men’s Group with 11 residents between 18 to 35 years, representing 6 drinkers and 5 non-drinkers; 3) Young Women’s Group with 12 residents between 18 to 35 years, representing 4 drinkers and 8 non-drinkers.

The workshops aimed at obtaining the voice of ordinary community members on their perceptions and concerns around crime / violence and their particular experiences of and attitudes towards shebeens. Of particular interest was a deeper understanding of differences and commonalities between people of different gender, age groups and drinking-habits.

The workshops were facilitated by SLF researchers fluent in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The young women’s and men’s workshops were facilitated by only female / male researchers respectively as it was expected that participants would not feel comfortable to discuss the topics openly in a mixed gender environment. The workshop language was mainly isiXhosa and the workshops were conducted at the SLF offices in Wynberg. Transport was provided to participants. Each participant received a modest allowance (R150) to compensate for loss of income or expenses they may have incurred in order to attend.





The Workshops had Three Main Components:

1) Analysing the idea of Safety

The first component focused on participants’ understanding of safety. In group exercises and discussions using visual tools, participants explored what safety means to them and what they do to keep themselves and their families safe. This also included a discussion of factors that allow them to feel safe and obstacles towards achieving safety.

2) Analysing Community Space

The second component focused on the spatial dynamics of participants’ lives and perception of safe and unsafe places. Using a participatory mapping research tool, the participants (divided into drinkers and non-drinker cohorts) identified safe and unsafe places in relation to their home environment and the places at which they regularly do business and socialise. This knowledge helped to understand similarities and differences of where women and men, drinkers and non-drinkers feel safe at different times of the day. It also helped to understand the

impact of shebeens on participants’ perceptions of safety and illuminated concerns around loud music late at night, public urination, the targeting of patrons walking home from shebeens, and the risks of violence associated, and provocative drinking practices with some shebeens, but not all.

3) Reflecting on Drinking and the Role of Shebeens

The third component focused on participants’ attitudes towards drinking and shebeens: In group exercises through using role plays and discussions, the participants revealed their attitudes towards drinking



“Listening to other people’s views made me realise I don’t know much about my own township” - Community Workshop participant.



“We shared ideas with other people, some of the views and thoughts of other young men were new to me” - Community workshop participant.

and shebeens and the positive and negatives thereof. Through this process, the participants also shared ideas of what safety issues the shebeeners should be made aware of. There was also much discussion on initiatives that both the shebeeners and the community could undertake to improve safety issues. A challenge for the facilitation of discussions, in the young women’s group in particular due to the extreme divergence of attitudes towards shebeens in this workshop, was to bring views of participants into a constructive dialogue and to maintain respect and tolerance amongst each other, when

respective perceptions of drinkers and non-drinkers were discussed.

Community Engagement Outcome

The workshops with community members revealed a more differentiated and balanced picture of safety issues within the Sweet Home Farm community and the role of alcohol consumption in shebeens. The venues perceived as most unsafe are not only those that are dark/have no lighting, but also those where people have no networks. Some women, who drink at shebeens are better

socially networked than women, who do not drink. Young women drinkers also feel more empowered to take action (even using violence) to safeguard themselves when going out at night. But they also highlight how risks of violence are heightened through practices such as “dzaiging” - a common practice amongst younger female patrons to lure male customers into buying drinks for them by pretending they are single and available. Concerns about shebeens focused on loud music at night, public urination, the targeting of patrons walking home from shebeens and risks of violent acts at shebeens. Non-drinkers associate risks of violence with some shebeens, but not all shebeens are perceived as contributing to violence or as causing harms. Shebeens are not only appreciated as places where alcohol can be purchased or consumed, but also as social spaces, where people/ friends can be met, or music and other forms of entertainment (TV/ Games) can be enjoyed – even by non-drinkers.

Because of the participatory research approach that stimulates discussion, debate and reflection amongst participants, the Project’s community engagement contributed to increasing knowledge amongst community members who were able to develop a better understanding of their own community, its resources and issues of safety as well as strategies of other community members to ensure safety for themselves and their families. The Project also enabled a dialogue and exchange of ideas between community members that would not normally interact (drinkers and non-drinkers).





# Shebeener Engagement

Having obtained a stronger understanding of the social influence of shebeens within the community, the project began a process of engagement with the shebeeners. The first step in this phase of the project was to gain an in-depth understanding of the social and spatial strategies that individual shebeen owners sought to apply to influence safety in their shebeens. But unlike our previous research on this topic, the aim was to involve the shebeens in the processes of enquiry,

analysis and in the presentation of the findings through a poster, which the participants could retain as a safety tool. Given the indications of previous research that there is a need to differentiate different types of shebeens with regards to assessing their positive and negative impact on community safety, it was important to represent such diversity in the ongoing research process. Hence the selection of shebeen owners in

this phase aimed at representing male and female owners; different typologies of shebeens; shebeens targeting clientele over 35 years or clientele mainly below 35 years; shebeens attracting males only or mixed clientele; and shebeens offering only drinks or drinks and entertainment, food or other services. Initially SLF had intended to include about 15 owners in the process, but extended the number to 23 to

accommodate the growing interest amongst new shebeen participants in the Project.

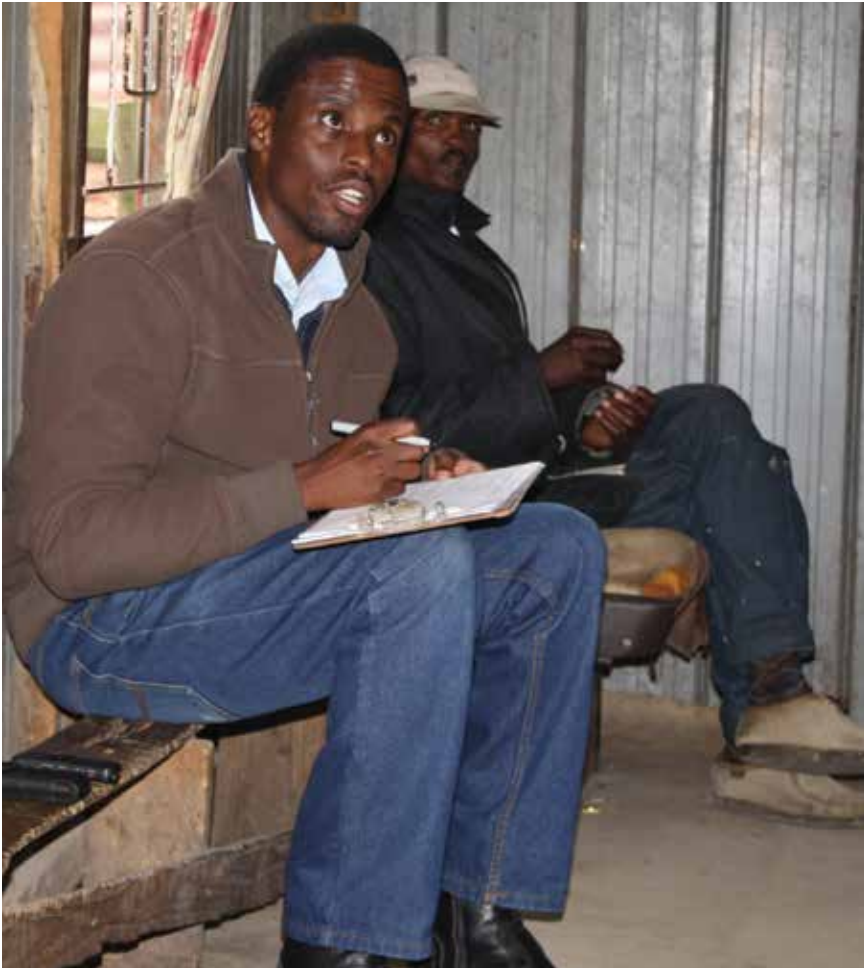
The methodology had two main components, first, in-depth interviews with each of the 23 shebeen owners who had agreed to participation and second, a series of participatory workshops at which the shebeens would collectively assess the findings of the surveys and build a visual interpretation of the dynamics of their shebeen, its assests, the strategies used to minimise risks and vision of improvements.

## Individual Interviews with Shebeen Owners and Mapping of Shebeen Facilities

The individual interviews sought to obtain insight into the diversity of social and demographic profiles of shebeeners. Another important aspect of the interviews was an assessment of the diversity of shebeens in Sweet Home Farm, in particular in regard to architecture, facilities, services offered and safety enhancing tools and strategies applied by shebeeners.

A comprehensive questionnaire was developed as a tool for engaging with the individual shebeen owners. The method required the sketching and photographic documentation of the shebeens and its facilities and infrastructure to allow an analysis of how space and place could contain or amplify risks of conflict and insecurity as demonstrated in published research (see reference list).

The results of the interviews were encoded and transferred to a



Individual interviews were conducted with teams of four SLF researchers, sharing the tasks of interviewing, note taking, sketching/mapping and taking photographs. Each interview lasted for about 2,5 hours. Interviews were conducted between mid-March and June.

database, and main trends assessed. In order to translate this knowledge into a form that could be utilised in the participatory workshops, the researchers from SLF and SafetyLab strategized ways of developing a large size (A0) poster tool. The resulting proposal was to visualise the data from each interview (figures, drawings, pictures) in a way that could explain the spatial dynamics of the venue, show how facilities influenced the risk profile and highlight particular safety features. An

important aspect of the approach was the use of design, both to emphasise particular architectural and physical components of the venue and to draw attention to safety controls and assets through icons. SLF engaged a designer to create a series of icons to represent each of the various assets and safety measures identified through the research process.





Shebeeners select rules that they felt would be appropriate in their venues.



Shebeeners explore strategies to build ownership for the SafeShebeens Strategy amongst other shebeeners in Sweet Home Farm.

Participatory Research Workshops with Shebeen Owners

The participatory research workshops with shebeen owners would become the core of the action learning process of the Project and the SafeShebeen strategy. The workshops aimed at engaging shebeen owners in reflections, first, about the initial research, i.e. issues of safety in their shebeens as well as control mechanisms they use or choose not to use, and second, about community members’ perceptions of the positive and negative impacts of shebeens on the community in particular with regards to safety. Furthermore, the workshops aimed at engaging shebeen owners in an exploration of ways to broaden the use of control mechanisms in shebeens, especially the use of house rules, and at building ownership for such strategies amongst shebeen owners.

Six half day workshops were facilitated in June 2014 in Sweet Home Farm at the shebeens of participating shebeen owners to increase the sense of ownership of the process. The venues were rotated between shebeen owners and catering for the workshops was sourced locally.

The shebeeners, who completed the whole workshop process, were remunerated for their participation to compensate for loss of income or expenses. The workshops were facilitated by the core SLF research team of four researchers who had also conducted the individual interviews.

*“I never saw a need to speak to other shebeeners because they are my competition, coming to these workshops made me realize that I can rely on them.”*

1) Analysing Shebeen Spaces

The first component focused on engaging shebeen owners with the results of the individual interviews. In group exercises and discussions shebeeners had the opportunity to collectively assess the analysis of each venue as narrated in the draft shebeen posters. In order to assist their analysis, a series of icons were designed that depicted all the assets and security features that the research team had identified across all shebeen venues. The icons were designed to reflect the context of Sweet Home Farm. Although there was an overlap in the two series of icons for assets and safety controls (for example chairs and tables), we wanted to show how assets and their configuration within the venue could enhance safety and indeed minimise risks. In reworking the draft posters the shebeeners (working in teams) added the icons to the posters which matched the identified asset and safety assessment.

The participatory development process of posters helped shebeen owners to visualize and reflect on the business assets, the layout of the shebeen and safety control mechanisms. The process encouraged reflection and learning amongst shebeen owners and resulted in some direct changes undertaken by shebeen owners. Shebeen owners had complete ownership of decisions concerning business assets, safety control mechanisms and photos to be included in the poster. Each poster presents all possible business

assets and safety control mechanisms identified in the research process, highlights those applying to the individual shebeen, and includes suggestions from peer shebeeners on actions (such as supply condoms, use safety rules and so forth), which could further enhance venue safety.

The design intention was to embed symbolism within the various safety control mechanisms. For the shebeen owners, the main symbolic message is that they have the authority to control their venues, through both subtle and direct measures, whilst for the patrons, the main symbolic message is that they are responsible to behave in a socially acceptable manner.

For the final design of posters SLF closely worked together with a designer producing individual A0 size business posters for those shebeeners, who completed the participatory engagement process. The posters were laminated and were handed over to shebeen owners at the exhibition event. Shebeeners had the option to hang their poster within the business on public display. Most of the participants chose to do so.

2) Reflecting on community perceptions

The second component of the participatory workshops with shebeeners focused on engaging shebeen owners with the perceptions and opinions of community members regarding shebeens and their positive and negative impact on the community. Getting shebeen owners

to take stock of negative impacts of their business through group exercises and debates was a critical part of the process as it needed to be done in a manner that did not leave shebeen owners feeling “judged” but encouraged them to think reflexively about the impact of liquor retailing and consequence of liquor abuse on their society. The facilitators ensured that the discussion shifted beyond a focus on problems to talking about ways the shebeeners could become part of the solution. One of the key challenges identified by shebeeners in this process was the lack of control over patrons’ behaviour such as public urination, noise pollution or sexual harassment. In this respect, the workshop sought to understand the role shebeeners could play in creating venues that do not contribute to insecurities or conflicts in the community.

3) Developing shebeen rules

The third component of the workshops focused on considering ways in which way the idea of shebeen rules, used in some venues, could be more widely adopted and have greater effect, including an impact on the issues raised by the community participants. The facilitators led a discussion of what rules the shebeeners felt would be appropriate for venues in Sweet Home Farm. The facilitators introduced ideas that arose from the community workshop on ways that shebeens could improve the safety in shebeens and create a better environment. Some of





BOUNCERS



SEARCHING



GUARD DOG  
(FOR SECURITY)



CONDOMS



GLASS RECYCLING



CELL COMMUNICATION



WINDOWS



SECURITY BARS



SECURITY GATES



BEER RAILS



COLLECTING  
EMPTY BOTTLES



MUSIC CONTROL



OUTSIDE LIGHTING



ALCOHOL PRODUCTS



LIGHTING



HOUSE RULES



RED CARD



NO UNDER 18



OUTDOOR SEATING



SAFETY HOME



CLEANING



SEATING



BEER CRATES  
(AS SEATING)



ASHTRAYS



ABLUTION TOILET



URINATING AREA



URINAL



FOAM MATTRESS



DOOR POLICY



PARKING



BENCHES



TABLES



FOOD



GLASSES



LOCK

The engagement process enabled the Project to identify 40 safety measures commonly used in shebeens. These were presented as icons. The icons were used in the individual safety assessment posters to highlight the strategies used in the shebeen and the ways safety could be improved.

these community concerns included public urination, noise late at night, broken bottles left in public spaces and sexual harassment in venues. From this discussion, the workshop resulted in the identification of a substantial list of rules. The rules were written by hand on pieces of card and posted onto the walls of the workshop venue. These rules were not necessarily rules aligned to normative expectations of liquor traders, but rules that made sense to the shebeeners. The next stage of the workshop process required the participants to select rules which they would be willing to uphold and apply in their venues. Each participant was asked to select rules he / she would adopt and enforce through placing stickers indicating their names on the posted cards and a list of rules was then compiled for each shebeen. Each of these lists of rules varies and responds to the particular challenges experienced by shebeen owners. It is important to note that shebeen owners had complete ownership of the process of developing these rules. The rules therefore represent their preparedness to take responsibility and influence certain “harms” related to their shebeens.

After the workshop the draft rules were translated into languages chosen by shebeen owners and printed and laminated so that shebeen owners have the option hanging them. Shebeen owners have been encouraged to publicly display their rules posters in their shebeens. Space has been left on the rules posters for the signature of the shebeen owners as well as for an indication of the closing time.

An unintended result of this process was the identification of rules (or good practices) that are aimed at managing

conflict between shebeen owners themselves, for example, through suggesting that alcohol prices should be similar throughout the area and any change to this rule should be consulted and communicated within the shebeen owner group. As such rules can be an important mechanism for self-regulation, this tool will be further developed in the next phase of the Project.

4) Developing Signs

The fourth component focused on translating the identified rules into appropriate signs to enhance the effectiveness of communicating the message. This idea was inspired from actual cases where shebeen owners had used icons and symbols to communicate rules. To allow for easy recognition and more systematic use of rules in the larger shebeen and community environment it was agreed that signs should be developed for each of the rules.

In a number of group exercises shebeeners were enabled to conceptualise ideas for communicating the rules and translating them into signs. After the workshop the signs were further developed by SLF design experts and were reviewed and refined at another workshop with shebeen owners end of August 2014.

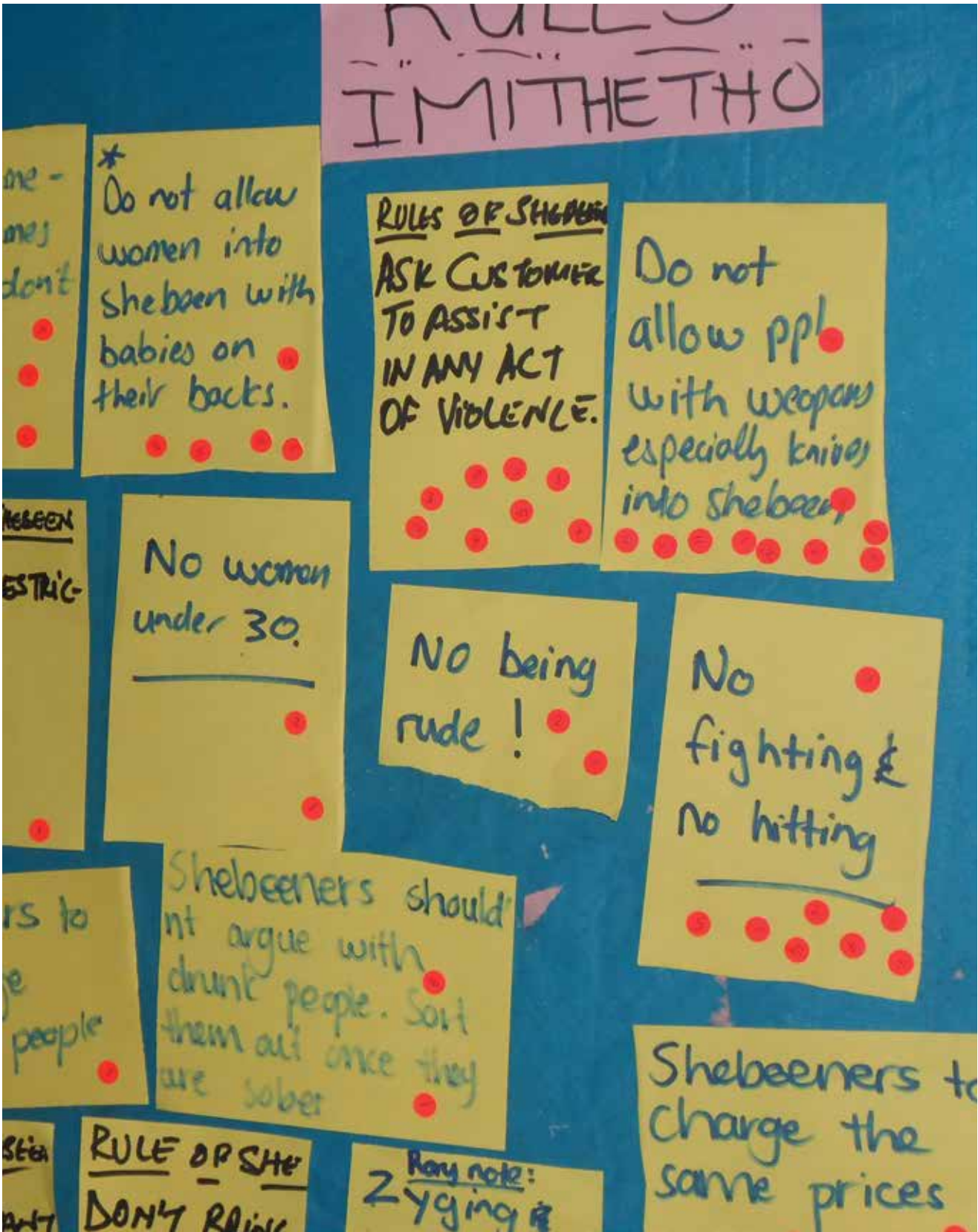
The creation of signs was a complex endeavour. Firstly, we needed to create characters to whom the shebeeners and community members could relate. The design was built around four individuals: a young man (identifiable by his cap), a young woman (identifiable by her earrings and hair style), an older man (identifiable by a walking stick and hat) and an older woman (identifiable

by her dress and headscarf). We also included two other symbolic characters: a solid face, signifying ‘you’ (the patron) and an outlined face, signifying the shebeen owner. In order to convey the message, we adopted (from road signs and signs commonly known in South African) three principle shapes: a yellow triangle (signifying warning), a crossed-out circle in red (to communicate ‘don’t do’) and a circle in black to provide information (See page 3). Most of the signs were designed to be intuitive, with the image communicating the message in an unambiguous manner. But communicating social messages was more difficult. Where possible, we sought to utilise local metaphors as in the ‘dzaiging’ sign which shows a chicken being plucked of feathers. In other instances the design provokes thought, though the meaning and message must be taught.

Signs have been printed together with patron rules on the rules posters. To allow for widespread dissemination and flexible use in shebeens and their immediate environment during the implementation phase signs will also be printed as stickers and turned into stencils.

Yellow and Red Cards

The engagement process with shebeeners revealed that the “Red Card” system (as used by soccer referees) had previously been used by a number of shebeeners to ban unruly patrons from their shebeens. It was agreed that a “Yellow Card” system would be a useful addition to the shebeener safety tool-kit as it would allow one to raise awareness for unruly behaviour (as practiced in football matches), and intervene early in a conflict situation thereby lessening the risk of violence in their shebeens.



Some shebeeners chose to adopt a small number of rules (the least number was 9 rules), whereas the majority adopted a broad range of rules (the largest number was 29 rules).





# Engagement of Community Leaders

Having gained insight into shebeeners preparedness to apply safety enhancing strategies in their venues, SLF invited Sweet Home Farm community leaders to a participatory research workshop.

The engagement of Sweet Home Farm community leaders aimed at gaining more insight into the local leaderships’ perceptions of shebeens and their harms and

insecurities as well as of their role in regulating the shebeen environment and in supporting self-regulatory mechanisms of shebeeners.

The workshop was attended by 13 street committee members, of whom eight participants were representatives of the 10 different sections. Included in the workshop were five members of the Executive

Committee of Sweet Home Farm. Two of the leaders are shebeeners themselves.

Leaders were engaged in focus group discussions around some of the main issues that emerged through the participatory learning process as well as the proposed rules / signs which the shebeens had developed and adopted.



Community leaders suggest a consensual form of governance that enhances self-regulatory mechanisms amongst shebeeners.

The workshop helped to develop a deeper understanding of the views of community leaders on the risks related to shebeens, causes of conflict and local strategies to minimize harms:

Community leaders have different points of view regarding issues such as closing times, appropriateness of some of the rules as well as the issue of loud noise. On the latter

issue the point was made by one leader that many residents play loud music and disturb neighbours, including shebeens, but not only shebeens. Some leaders cautioned that capacities of shebeeners should not be overestimated with regards to implementing some of the patron rules (e.g. to collect weapons).

Discussions amongst leaders also revealed that they do not feel

authorized to make decisions about shebeens and the way they operate, but they favour a more consensual form of governance that allows for greater co-ordination of shebeen operations. Hence all leaders support the process of enhancing self-regulatory mechanisms amongst shebeeners.

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# DELINEATION OF THE SAFE SHEBEENS STRATEGY

The concept for the SafeShebeens strategy evolved through the described process of research, reflection, and engagement. The findings of each of the steps as well as the produced design outputs such as posters and signs contributed towards the evolution of the SafeShebeens strategy.

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The strategy, as developed for the shebeens of Sweet Home Farm, consists of three core elements:

**1) A participatory process of engagement with shebeeners** that strengthens self-regulatory mechanisms and allows for incremental change;

**2) A SafeShebeens tool kit for shebeeners**, which includes the following tools: • A poster that provides a base-line description of their shebeen, highlighting

socio-spatial risks within the venue, business assets, list of current safety measures, and suggestions from other shebeeners of actions that could enhance safety; • A poster that lists the rules that apply to their venue and corresponding safety signs; • Materials to replicate the safety signs within their venues; • A red & yellow card and whistle to warn patrons who threaten to disregard the rules (yellow card) and to communicate a 'sending-off' (red card, i.e. ban from the venue) for those who transgress.

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The four main characters in the sign language of the SafeShebeens Strategy: A young woman, an older woman, a young man and an older man.



3) **A process building awareness** of the signs and corresponding behaviour expectation among ordinary community members. Through the signs and other design elements, the strategy seeks to foster a shift in mind-set amongst both shebeeners and their patrons towards the potential harms that can result from alcohol abuse. This element of the Strategy also aims to build greater community awareness of inappropriate behaviour, both in the shebeen context and outside shebeens in public and private spaces, with respect to violence, sexual and verbal harassment, noise and inconsiderate behaviour.

The SafeShebeens strategy targets shebeen patrons, shebeeners and ordinary community members and aims to impact at multiple levels.

First, the strategy seeks to encourage all shebeeners to adopt and enforce a set of rules governing their own venues. SLF hopes that shebeeners will respond to safety risks within their venues through infrastructure improvement and through imposing sanctions on patrons that disobey their rules.

Second, the strategy seeks to sensitize shebeen patrons to the meaning of the SafeShebeens signs and the do's and don'ts within the venue as well as within the immediate surrounding environment.

Third, the strategy seeks to help strengthen the influence of the community at large into taking action against incidents of unacceptable drunken behaviour and shebeen venues that generate



Each shebeener received a poster with rules chosen for his/her venue. The long term use and response to posters and corresponding signs in shebeens forms an important aspect of assessing impact of the SafeShebeens strategy.

nuisance, whilst supporting the actions of those shebeeners that adhere to their SafeShebeens commitments and who actively seek to minimize the harms within and without their venues. The philosophy of the strategy is that if people know the rules and are sensitized to these rules through exposure and the dialogue so engendered, they are more likely to

accept and adopt change. Some of the rules might seem innocuous at first, though their inclusion in the strategy and enforcement within the shebeen environment equates to a form of 'zero tolerance' regulation where small misdemeanours are seen as contributing towards an environment of insecurity and therefore prohibited.



“Being part of this group means that others are always watching your every move and this helps to keep us on our toes with our rules.”



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SAFETY  
FIRST



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MY SHEBEEN  
MY RULES







Shebeeners and community members examining some of the exhibits at the exhibition event.

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# LAUNCH OF THE STRATEGY- EXHIBITION EVENT

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The first phase of the Project culminated in an Exhibition Event in Sweet Home Farm at the end of October 2014, which was attended by community members, representatives of liquor manufacturers, local leaders, academics, journalists and policy makers, including regulatory officials.

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The Exhibition Event in Sweet Home Farm created a platform for dialogue between local and external people concerned with shebeens and safe communities.

The Event marked the beginning of the implementation of the SafeShebeens strategy. The aims of the event were to start to disseminate SafeShebeens signs in shebeens as well as in public spaces in Sweet Home Farm and to announce the existence of the SafeShebeens Strategy to the public.

The Exhibition Event was hosted by three shebeens – in each shebeen a different aspect of the concept development process and its results were presented. Event participants were divided in three random groups and guided through the exhibition in the three shebeens by SLF team members. Questions and discussions were encouraged

and aimed at creating a dialogue between local and external people.

At the Event shebeeners received the SafeShebeens tool kit, which allows them to further implement the strategy. Furthermore, all shebeeners received a certificate to appreciate their efforts to engage with and contribute to the SafeShebeens Project.

The SafeShebeens team, consisting of SLF researchers and project participants, have subsequently presented the SafeShebeens Strategy to the Western Cape Liquor Authority and have also been invited to present this work to Mayoral Committee members within the CoCT Health Directorate.

### Outcomes and Impact

While it is too early to assess real impact of the project on the different levels, a number of positive outcomes could be observed as a direct consequence of the participatory engagement process:

All participating shebeeners were interested in taking responsibility for some matters of insecurities and harms related to shebeens and were keen to develop patron rules. The positive way shebeeners responded to the Exhibition Event, especially the traditional and formal dress code chosen by the female shebeeners, can be seen as indicative of their seriousness towards the strategy. Some shebeeners have already

started to make changes to their seating arrangements (e.g. to avoid conflict of use of space around pool table), others have made general improvements (fresh coat of paints on the walls) or changed/introduced bathroom arrangements.

A number of shebeeners started to make efforts to put up a list of hand written rules or have painted them on the wall before the laminated posters and signs were completed and handed over to them.

Another positive impact of the reflective learning process is that shebeeners have adopted patron rules they may have been opposed to before – a rule that seeks to promote tolerance towards foreigners had been

a rule chosen by only one shebeener at the beginning of the process. At the end of the process 90% of shebeeners have adopted this rule.

The shebeeners participating in this process have developed a close relationship and sense of solidarity. They now no longer simply see each other only as competitors, but also as fellow “colleagues” who can be critical of each other’s business practices and hold one another accountable in this regard.

In this sense shebeeners have created a forum that is capable of providing valuable advice and support. This message was conveyed both through the list of rules that are aimed at managing conflict

between shebeeners themselves and through the words of one young male shebeener who said “I will not listen to any shebeener telling me what to do in my shebeen, unless they were part of the SafeShebeens process.”

A first indicator for the community’s support for the SafeShebeens strategy can be seen in the willingness of community members to permit the painting of signs on their property. At community leadership level the engagement process has created awareness of the project’s concept and strategy and community leaders have committed to engage other leaders in their respective sections and to assess whether they can garner participation and/or buy-in from other leaders for the project.





A series of community engagement events sought to communicate the meaning of the SafeShebeen signs to community members.

# NEXT STEPS

The next phase of the SafeShebeens Project will include six steps to support the implementation of the Strategy as well as to measure its long term impact.

1) The first step focusses on the dissemination of knowledge about the rules within the community through awareness campaigns. 2) Secondly, the Project will monitor and support the shebeeners to operationalise the rules. 3) After one year impact will be assessed, both in terms of adoption outside the core group, sustain support within the core group, awareness within the community and potential impact on liquor harms. 4) The Project will support (new) participants to embrace the rule idea and use of signs, and 5) The Project will promote the replication of the idea in other sites. 6) Lastly, the Project will support the shebeen participants to develop 'trader rules'

to promote compliance on key issues, including closing time, noise reduction, and other restrictions which can become effect if all shebeeners are in compliance.

These next steps shall ensure the long term sustainability of the SafeShebeens strategy as well as allow further insight into the impact of such strategy on reducing harms associated to shebeens. The process and results will be documented in a second report focusing in particular on an assessment of the strategy's impact as well as conclusions regarding the replication of the strategy in other sites.





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