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"Structure or Agency": Gaining Meanings and Insights into Alcohol Consumption in Botswana.

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UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

“STRUCTURE OR AGENCY”: GAINING MEANINGS AND INSIGHTS INTO
ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN BOTSWANA

By

Tebogo B. Sebeelo

A THESIS

Submitted to the Faculty
of the University of Miami
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Coral Gables, Florida

May 2017

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“STRUCTURE OR AGENCY”: GAINING MEANINGS AND INSIGHTS INTO
ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN BOTSWANA

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“Structure or Agency”: Gaining Meanings and Insights
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Concern with the burden of alcohol has led many governments to develop social control strategies aimed at regulating consumption and its related harm. Such strategies include amongst others, increasing taxes, prices and reducing hours of operation, as well as stiff penalties for those who transgress alcohol laws. The current study investigated the social motives and meanings of alcohol drinkers and if the implementation of alcohol regulations had an impact on how their drinking experience.

In 2008, the government of Botswana imposed a 30% levy on all alcohol products to reduce the consumption of alcohol and its associated harms. Over and above the levy, new laws regulating operating hours for drinking outlets were introduced to reduce drinking. The study applied grounded theory methods to examine alcohol consumption in the midst of these alcohol control policy mechanisms in Botswana and sought to highlight the social and subjective meanings accorded to alcohol consumption by Botswana drinkers. Four major categories and eight sub-categories emerged from the study. The core category was labelled as **Negotiating the Drinking Self** and is used by most drinkers to either adapt or resist the alcohol control measures throughout the life-course of drinkers. The study recognizes and theorizes resistance and highlights that contrary to the literature on

resistance and alcohol policy, individual acts of resistance are as effective as organized resistance.

In sum, the study findings highlight the need for the government of Botswana to seek, engage, and dialogue with alcohol drinkers and understand deep-seated meanings about how drinkers experience alcohol. The findings point to the need for government to “take the role of the drinkers” when formulating alcohol interventions. The implications of this study and its contributions to existing literature on alcohol studies are further outlined in this thesis.

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CHAPTER I-Introduction

Alcohol¹ consumption and its use pervades almost all societies of the world; it is one part of our everyday lives that we cannot ignore. David Mandelbaum (1965) has famously remarked that “alcohol may be tabooed; it is not ignored “(page 281). It has been suggested that consuming alcohol is a source of many paradoxes in that several studies have proven that if it is consumed moderately, it accrues some health benefits to the drinkers. On the other hand, extant literature on alcohol consumption suggests that misuse or excessive consumption can lead to severe health outcomes and sometimes death (Finlay and Jones 1981, Malepe 1989, Room 1996). Different nations across the world have drinking cultures and meanings, which have a direct bearing on the patterns of drinking. Consumption of alcohol is understood within the confines of the foundational structures of each culture (Mandelbaum 1965). Therefore, drinking alcohol is culture-specific and differs between societies. The meanings of consuming alcohol are also culture specific. Moremoholo (1989) highlights that in Lesotho alcohol consumption is the preserve for senior citizens and mainly prevalent in special occasions like wedding ceremonies, initiations, and customary rituals. Alcohol therefore played a critical role of binding members of a community together.

In a study based in Namibia, Skjelmerud (2003) found that women drink alcohol to express power and to protest in a society going through social change. To young Namibian women, alcohol is essentially a symbol of freedom in a society that is still reeling from the remnants

¹ Alcohol-For the purpose of this study, the word alcohol is operationalized to mean Beer. In Botswana as in many other sub-Saharan countries it is not uncommon to use the word alcohol interchangeably with beer. I do acknowledge that in other contexts alcohol might encapsulate spirits, wines and whisky.

of apartheid and subjugation. Drinking for these women signaled an expression of freedom and the ability to express their individual agency as drinkers. Rataemane and Rataemane (2005) believe that alcohol consumption in South African is tied to the history of apartheid. They argue that just as much as the black majority were denied access to opportunities in major socio-economic arenas, prohibition and restriction were also extended to alcohol consumption. Black people were denied the right to drink what was perceived as European² beer, and this practice led to an increase in home brews among black communities. In essence, the dynamics of alcohol consumption in South Africa have to be placed in a historical context to be able to understand the current drinking patterns, especially differences amongst blacks and whites.

The meanings of alcohol consumption differ according to different societies. Similarly drinkers experience alcohol in varying ways depending on its social and cultural functions in that given society. In certain instances the meanings of alcohol consumption are implicit (Mandelbaum 1965), whilst in some cultures the meanings are clear and straight-forward. Despite the different meanings about alcohol consumption, the fact remains that it is part of social life and cannot be ignored. Dietler (2006) refers to alcohol as an “embodied material culture; created specifically to be destroyed, but destroyed through the transformative process of ingestion into the human body” (page 232). He places emphasis on the fact that alcohol cannot be separated from the human body and has a deep connection with a drinker’s self-identity

² European beer-refers to non-traditional alcoholic beverages.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Consumption of alcohol is widespread across most Batswana³ and is practiced by both young and old. An average Motswana⁴ has an experience with alcohol, either as a drinker or being close to someone who is a drinker. The 2010 WHO report of per capita consumption lists Botswana at number 58 out of 191 countries. It ranks higher than Japan, Mexico, Italy, and China in terms of consumption rates. Kutil (2014) argues that even though the World Health Organization (WHO) has at least 47% of active drinkers in Botswana, the numbers do not really account for many people in the rural areas who largely consume non-commercial alcohol. In essence, the number of active alcohol drinkers might be higher than reported, due to the fact that many drinkers consume home-brewed alcohol that usually goes unrecorded. While the consumption of home brews is outside the scope of the current study, it has been found to be a fundamental part of Batswana's social life (Molamu 1989, Schapera 1994). The 2008 implementation of the alcohol levy and new regulations impacted the everyday lives of drinkers in Botswana since they not only reduced the hours during which people can drink but also significantly increased the prices of most alcoholic beverages.

³ Batswana-A plural name that refers to citizens of Botswana.

⁴ Motswana-A singular name for citizens of Botswana.

1.2 STUDY VENUE: BOTSWANA

Figure 1. Study Venue



Source: www.samboanga.com

The study took place in Botswana, a landlocked country located in the Southern part of Africa with land measuring 582,000kms (about the same size as the state of Texas) and a population of around 2 million people (CSO, 2013). The country is known for its stable democracy and peaceful elections, as well as prudent economic management policies that have transformed the country from being one of the world's poorest countries in 1966 to an upper middle income country with a GDP of about \$18,825 in 2015. Botswana's economy depends primarily on diamonds, which account for 40% of the government's revenue. The country provides free health care and basic education for its citizens, and 98% of the population lives within 4 miles of a health facility (CSO, 2013). The Legatum Institute (2015) named it the "Most prosperous country in Africa", while the Global Peace Index (2015) report names Botswana as the 2nd most peaceful country in Africa after Mauritius.

Whilst the government has made economic strides, the country continues to face some challenges ranging from high unemployment (estimated at 20%), poverty and an HIV/AIDS prevalence estimated at 17% of total population (CSO, 2013). Some scholars have termed the country a land of paradoxes which is rich but the people are poor (Good, 2008). These socio-economic challenges have a direct bearing on the everyday lives of the people, including patterns of alcohol consumption.

1.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Botswana, like other developing countries, is grappling with excessive alcohol consumption and the associated harms. The government of Botswana has, over the years, grappled with how best to intervene to reduce alcohol related harm, but none of the interventions seems to have worked. The debate about alcohol has also been exacerbated by the perceived increase in alcohol-induced social ills, such as violence at drinking places, driving under the influence of alcohol, mortality and morbidity associated with alcohol consumption, and HIV infection (Pitso 2004). While the debate on the perils of alcohol is not new in Botswana, what is new is the state legislation policies that were implemented by government in the year 2008. Despite these drastic measures, not much is known about the narratives of alcohol drinkers, their motives, social meanings in their taken-for-granted everyday drinking lives, and the impact state regulation has on the consumption of alcohol. This study highlights the social and subjective meanings of alcohol among drinkers in Botswana, and provides a guide for future research on the social construction of alcohol in Botswana.

1.4 SYMBOLIC INTERACTION PERSPECTIVE

Symbolic Interactionism (SI) is a theoretical perspective based on the assumption that social interaction between individuals is based on meanings and interpretation (Blumer, 1969). The perspective owes its intellectual heritage to the ideas of George Herbert Mead who is credited with emphasizing the concept of the self. Mead had argued that the “self” arises out of a social process that emanates from social interaction (Mead 1934). Individuals make sense of what the world means to them through daily interactions, and the construction of meaning is central to the interaction process. According to Blumer (1969), SI has three basic premises;

- "Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings they ascribe to those things."
- "The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others and the society."
- "These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he/she encounters." (page 3)

Blumer (1969) points out that meanings are *social products* that emerge from people's interactions. Our understanding of a situation is enacted through definitions (Charmaz and Belgrave 2013). In keeping with the second tenet of SI, Maines (2000) calls for “situational analysis” as the basis for human social interaction. In essence, every human interaction is unique and should be understood within its own contexts. Furthermore, Maines (2000) believes that for social interaction to take place, there must be a consensus of meanings. The concept of meaning is essentially based on the ability of the individual (or audience) who is being acted upon to comprehend adequately what is being communicated, in order to

evoke a proper response. Both the actor and the respondent must therefore "agree" on the meaning for the interaction to be effective.

The third tenet of SI supplied by Blumer is probably the most relevant for the current study, since it emphasizes the importance for individuals to decode, internalize, and interpret the messages they encounter. The tenet draws attention to the individual's ability to exercise his/her human agency based on how he/she interprets messages. Within the symbolic interactionist agenda, the assumption is that language, symbols, and meanings constitute an integral part of the interaction process. Charmaz and Belgrave (2013) argue that "interaction relies on spoken, unspoken shared language, symbols, and meanings" (page 13). While stressing the importance of language in social interaction, Maynard and Turowetz (2014) stress that human beings "do" the social world through language. Language communicates people's culture and the symbolic meanings that they attach to their actions.

The symbolic interactionist perspective therefore allows for the study of social meanings and meanings are constructed (Charmaz and Belgrave 2013). In corroborating the theoretical fit of grounded theory and SI, Heath and Cowley (2004) point out that the roots of grounded theory can be traced to SI especially the "pragmatist ideas of James, Dewey, Cooley and Mead" (page 142). By integrating SI and constructivist grounded theory, the study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do drinkers experience alcohol consumption in Botswana?
2. What are the meanings that they attribute to their drinking? Do meanings of alcohol consumption change or do they stay the same?

3. How has the implementation of alcohol control policies impacted the everyday lives of drinkers?

This study explored the narratives of alcohol drinkers and offers a comprehensive explanation of how drinkers experience alcohol consumption in Botswana.

CHAPTER II-Literature Review

Extant literature in alcohol studies and much of the earlier work on the subject are predominantly from the field of psychology. Evidence of this dominance is in the number of models and theoretical frameworks that are prominent in studies examining alcohol consumption and its impact on individuals. The late psychologist Elvin Morton Jellinek (1890-1963) was the pioneering alcohol scholar and published a series of articles in the *Journal of Alcohol Studies* between the 1940's and 1960's that were influential and provided the foundation for subsequent investigations in the field of alcohol studies. For sociologists, it was not until the 60's that scholarship on alcohol began to emerge, especially for scholars aligned to the social constructivist movement. Sociologists began to examine critically how alcohol is socially constructed and constitutes part of our everyday taken-for granted reality. This was at a time where the constructivist movement was gaining popularity amongst sociologists in an era perhaps inspired by the influential work of Berger and Luckman's book, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) and sociologists began to critically examine "social problems" as contested terrains.

David Maines (2000) emphasized that the constructivist agenda "attempts to show that no matter how sedimented social conditions may appear or actually be, those conditions are produced, maintained and changed through interpretive processes" (page 577). Constructivism challenged the dominant paradigms of the 50's that reified the preeminence of social structures over individual agency. This theoretical shift revolutionized scholarship on the construction of social problems and a new body of literature emerged that uses constructivist, meaning-seeking, and interpretive perspectives to understand social

problems. Alcohol studies were not spared from this constructivist “boom” and research emerged that examined the historical side of the temperance and alcohol prohibition movements (Levine, 1978) in the United States, as well as drinking and social control measures (Reinarman, 1988).

Earl Rubington’s (1973) book, “Alcohol Problems and Social control” is one of the earlier works that utilized a constructivist approach to investigate alcohol consumption and social control. He advanced a treatise that examined the “problematization” of alcohol, and argued that defining alcohol as a problem makes it difficult appreciate the complex nature of the of alcohol consumption. He pointed out that the definition of alcohol as a problem evokes a series of questions pertaining to “who are the people, what is a society and what are the consequences of alcohol”? (page 3). In essence, Rubington’s argument challenged the definition of alcohol as a problem without taking into account the contexts under which drinking takes place. More profoundly, his work challenged conceptualizations that problematized alcohol consumption but were devoid of the interpretive process that pervades the drinking process.

Joseph Gusfield’s (1981) work utilized a constructivist approach and investigated the conceptualization of alcohol as a problem in the United States, specifically focusing on drinking and driving. He lamented that drinking and driving had been problematized by focusing on the individual drinker to the exclusion of factors outside the drinking and driving process, such as social relationships and institutional characteristics. Like Rubington, he called for a focus on context and an investigation of multiple causes of accidents caused by drinking and driving. His main thesis is that a constructivist approach helps to explicate what he called “situatedness” that reveals drinking and driving to be a

product of a series of causal agents. Gusfield cited an example of youthful drinking that had been problematized by previous studies and argues that young people do not necessarily drink more than older people. Any difference might be due to the fact that surveillance by authorities happens mostly at night when young people are likely to be overrepresented. He advocated for studies that combine leisure time and driving to understand the multi-causal nature of the drinking and driving combination amongst youth.

Recent works have investigated how alcohol is socially constructed and what this behavior means for the drinkers. Using grounded theory methods, Pettigrew (2002) studied consumption of beer in Australia and interviewed over 400 participants. His findings show that the process of beer consumption is complex and may be culturally constructed. Herd (2011) examined the social construction of alcohol problems in inner-city communities in the United States. He interviewed 184 activists in alcohol policy work and found that most community members in predominantly black communities mobilized around alcohol policy, since they were concerned with alcohol drinking outlets, drugs, and crime-related offences. Emslie et al., (2015) recently undertook a qualitative study that investigates identity construction amongst women in early mid-life in Scotland, and discovered that the meaning of alcohol consumption amongst women was linked to their gendered identity. The study suggests that for Swedish women, drinking alcohol signaled a departure from traditional female roles where they are “free” to express themselves.

All these studies point to the direction to which studies examining alcohol consumption have shifted over the years, from being concerned with “sociological essentialisms of structures” (Maines 2000) to an emphasis on approaches that examine meanings, induction,

and how alcohol is socially constructed. The current favored approach is “bottom-up” as against “top-down” that was previously dominant in alcohol research.

2.1 ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN BOTSWANA-HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Studies examining alcohol consumption in Botswana depict a society whose socio-cultural fabric is intertwined with the use of alcohol. Many people have either consumed alcohol or have been in contact with someone who consumes alcohol. Isaac Schapera, the British anthropologist, spent a number of years conducting ethnographic studies amongst Batswana in the early 20th century and documented the important role alcohol played on the people’s social lives. Traditional brews were especially popular around this period and were largely consumed after good harvests. His studies investigated the symbolic nature of alcohol consumption as a commodity and how alcohol brought people together especially after the ploughing season. He found out that most of the alcohol was prepared locally by women through the process of fermentation. These brews were also not made for sale and largely consumed near their place of production.

Molamu (1989) further noted that the communal nature of life in pre-colonial Botswana, where people engaged in labor exchange to boost food production from the agricultural enterprises. The communal nature of life in pre-colonial Botswana allowed communities to share the produce and engage in celebrations where alcohol was a critical part. The symbolic meaning of alcohol in pre-colonial times was not unique to Botswana, as many other Sub-Saharan African countries had similar experiences. For example, Moremoholo (1989) found similar experiences in Lesotho, while Malepe (1989) highlighted the importance of alcohol as the “social glue” that brought communities together in Swaziland. Furthermore, Willis (2006) believed that there are some similarities in the way many

societies across Sub-Saharan Africa experienced alcohol in the pre-colonial era, in that “all the alcohol consumed was locally made, through artisanal production and it was almost all in the state of continuing fermentation” (page 4). The ingredients from these brews came from sorghum and millet after productive harvests.

David Suggs’ (1996) study focused on gender construction and alcohol consumption in the South eastern part of Batswana and chronicled drinking patterns based on patriarchal idiosyncrasies. He highlighted that traditional Tswana weddings usually had copious amounts of “*bojalwa jwa Setswana*” (a traditional home-brew), usually made of sorghum and brewed by women (Suggs 1996). Alcohol in this sense had ceremonial value in Tswana culture and “cemented marriages between patrilineages and rewarded labor cooperation within patrilineages” (Suggs 1996:598). In the traditional Tswana society, alcohol represented a form of social currency and was consumed by older and more senior men who represent the power and authority of older men in the Tswana culture. By being prepared by women, Suggs (1996) argued that it symbolically represented “women’s productive and reproductive capabilities” (pages 598). In essence, the consumption of alcohol has over the years been nested in multiple socio-cultural meanings tied to patriarchy with male figures at the core of power and authority (Schapera, 1994).

Historically, alcohol use among Batswana occurred seasonally (Suggs 1996), especially after good harvests. One important note is that alcohol was not for sale, but rather, was shared among tribes (Willis 2006). The use and consumption of alcohol was aligned to the patriarchal systems that existed in Botswana at the time.

Contact with British colonialists brought changes both in the drinking patterns and the experience of local people. For the first time, Batswana were introduced to other forms of

alcohol, some of which had higher alcohol content (Giesbrecht, 1989) compared to the traditional brews. While the issue of traditional brews is outside the scope of the current study, scholarship on alcohol consumption in Botswana suggests that making and consuming these beverages is a very important part of people's drinking experiences, especially among the poor and socially-estranged. What these studies imply is that alcohol consumption in Botswana is broad, complex, and permeates social and cultural boundaries across time.

2.2 ALCOHOL REGULATION AND STATE CONTROL IN BOTSWANA

The theme of alcohol regulation and state control in Botswana has recently attracted a lot of attention from scholars across many fields. It is perhaps the most studied area, probably because of the impact that the 2008 regulations had across all major social arenas in Botswana. While alcohol continues to be regulated by many countries, the manner in which it was implemented in Botswana was unique in the sense that all these regulatory activities were adopted without an empirical study to guide either the conception or the implementation strategy.

Although the implementation of the 2008 alcohol levy and state regulation caught a lot of attention, attempts to control alcohol consumption are not new in Botswana. In the pre-colonial era, many traditional leaders and chiefs either restricted alcohol consumption or imposed sanctions on those who drank alcohol excessively. Molamu's (1989) work chronicles the efforts of the state (through colonial masters) undertook to control and limit access to traditional alcohol consumption in the pre-colonial era as far back as 1885. He argues that most of the social control laws that were introduced by the British colonialists mirrored the racist ideologies where "gradations of color established one's social position"

(page 11). This association is clear because initially the colonial government barred local people from consuming “European beer”. Laws were introduced that would in some instances condemn black natives to jails for drunkenness. Molamu noted that despite these drastic measures the illicit sales of liquor continued into the 1940’s and 50’s. The relaxing of laws and access to “European liquor” in the period around independence (1966) brought new issues to the culture of drinking in Botswana; more drinking options were provided to consumers. Those who had a predilection towards modern beer, could afford and consumed this drink, especially at the end of the month (Molamu 1989).

Pitso and Obot (2011) corroborate Molamu’s study and show efforts by the government of Botswana dating from the 1800’s to the present. They undertook a content analysis of policy documents and report a link between the socio-historic analyses by previous scholars to the current state regulation and investigate some of the lessons to be learnt from the implementation of the 2008 levy. They highlight the controversy surrounding the implementation of the levy and lament the fact that it was not based on any large-scale empirical study about alcohol “problems” in Botswana. The key theme from their paper is a need to consult key stakeholders in the alcohol industry to effect meaningful change.

Other studies in this area have focused on how the levy affected different stakeholders within Botswana. Motlaleng (2013) undertook a mixed methods study to examine factors that led to the failure of the alcohol levy. One key finding in his study was the decline in profits from the brewing company, Kgalagadi Breweries Limited (KBL) despite the levy drinking patterns did not change. He also noted the existence of home-made brews that were outside the purview and management of state authorities. Kutil (2014) conducted a policy-oriented analysis of the alcohol levy in Botswana and compared the experience of

both the United Kingdom and the United States. His study was primarily a synthesis of literature, focusing on government documents, state policies and media reports. He mainly found out that while the establishment of the levy was done in good faith, critical steps were missed in policy formulation, particularly the secondary problems that arose as a result of its implementation. His study overall suggests a need for government to move beyond the radical, and focus more on the nuances of socio-environmental cultures of drinking in an attempt to develop appropriate alcohol policies. In keeping with other studies, Mononi (2015) focused his attention on drinking trends after the implementation of the levy. His study adopted a mixed methods approach and found out that the levy had not yielded any remarkable shifts in people's drinking patterns. He recommended that the alcohol levy cannot work alone but should be used in conjunction with other interventions to effect change.

2.3 ALCOHOL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN BOTSWANA

The association of alcohol consumption with social ills pervades much of the literature on alcohol studies in Botswana. Car accidents, violence (both domestic and non-domestic), mortality, and HIV outcomes are some of the social ills that are usually associated with excessive consumption of alcohol. The Botswana head of state, Dr. Ian Khama, has been quoted expressing concern about the HIV infections linked to uncontrolled drinking:

Citizens of this country must not cut short their days on earth through irresponsible drinking. Risky behaviors can only be short-lived satisfaction but at a great cost-death. It has been concluded that alcohol and drug abusers are at greater risk of engaging in unprotected sex, more likely with multiple concurrent partners. Botswana must adopt HIV prevention strategies that will

integrate alcohol and substance abuse into the national response because such irresponsible behavior exacerbates the HIV/AIDS situation- (Sunday Standard, 2008).

Several scholars have undertaken studies that link social ills in Botswana to alcohol consumption (Finlay and Jones 1981, Campbell 2003, Pitso 2004, Weiser et al., 2006, Mphele et al., 2013 Kanyangarara et al., 2016). Most of these studies examine young people's experience with alcohol and the associated social ills. Campbell's (2003) was quantitative and tested the association between alcohol consumption and sexual behaviors of youths in Botswana. He found a significant association between frequency of alcohol consumption and sexual intercourse amongst youths. Furthermore, he noted that findings from his study suggest that alcohol use has a direct influence on unprotected sex as well as inconsistent use of condoms. Pitso (2004) extended Campbell's findings by conducting a qualitative study based in the central part of Botswana to examine how alcohol affects condom use. Like Campbell, he found out that alcohol had an effect on unprotected and commercial sex. In other words, after drinking sprees, men would engage in risky sexual practices. He calls for a national alcohol policy that prioritizes alcohol as a major risk factor for HIV.

Phorano et al., (2005) employed a case study qualitative method in their study and found linkages between alcohol abuse and gender-based violence, which, in turn, leads to HIV infections for the abused women. They cite socio-economic inequality, impotence, and alcohol and drugs as some of the factors to account for gender based violence. The study calls for efforts to integrate alcohol abuse, gender-based violence, and HIV outcomes into the government policy development agenda.

Mphele et al., (2013) examined the association between stress and alcohol use among college students in the Southern part of Botswana. Their study is quantitative in nature and found that males experiencing high stress levels were more likely to use alcohol compared to females. Generally, they highlight that students who consumed alcohol are more likely to engage in maladaptive behavior relative to those that do not drink alcohol. In a more recent study, Kanyangarara et al., (2016) undertook a cross-sectional survey and examined the different factors associated with levels of alcohol use in Botswana. Their findings suggest a link between heavy and frequent drinking with risky sexual behaviors. Alcohol venues (including bars and other drinking outlets) were found to be places where potential sexual partners meet, and thus they advocate for HIV intervention strategies that target alcohol venues.

The literature on alcohol consumption in Botswana is quite insightful and shows that the discourse on alcohol has begun to attract attention from scholars. Some studies provide critical inroads into understanding the complex nature of how different stakeholders contribute to the culture of drinking and consumption patterns in Botswana. As should be noted, there are not many qualitative studies in Botswana that investigate themes related to alcohol consumption. However, some of the quantitative studies on drinking outlets were particularly helpful for the present study, since they provide the context and interplay between human interactions and spatial dynamics in the drinking process in Botswana.

CHAPTER III-Methodology

For the current study, I utilized grounded theory methods to conduct and analyze intensive interviews. Grounded theory is a “qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990:24). The use of intensive interviews perfectly fits the current study, since they allow for open-endedness, the emergence of themes, and respondents to give more information without restriction (Charmaz, 2014). In a more precise way, grounded theory enables researchers to excavate and study implicit meanings that would ordinarily be “unseen” in other approaches. The strength of this approach is the ability to explicate human experience and interpret complex phenomena (Charmaz 2014). The inductive logic of grounded theory means that relative to other approaches, the researcher does not start an enquiry with hypothesis testing or theoretical frameworks. Rather, the theory emerges and is developed from the data. According to El Hussein et al., (2014), five advantages of grounded theory; “it provides intuitive appeal, fosters creativity, potential to conceptualize, systematic to data analysis and provides for data depth and richness” (page 3).

I utilized the constructivist approach developed by Kathy Charmaz. This strategy emphasizes the involvement of both the researcher and the participant in the analysis of the data, unlike the Glasserian approach that seeks to detach the researcher from the data. Essentially, the constructivist approach of grounded theory enables the researcher to answer the “why” questions from an interpretive vantage point (Charmaz 2012).

3.1 PARTICIPANTS

Table 1. The demographics of participants

Pseudonyms	Age	Gender	Educational Status	Occupation	Number of Drinks (Average Per Month)	Drinking Style (Self-report)	Religion
Quickie	37	Female	High School	Self employed	8-10 drinks	Social Drinker	Christian
Tsogang	26	Male	High School	Unemployed	10-15 drinks	Moderate Drinker	Atheist
Moroma	28	Male	High School	Construction Worker	10-20 drinks	Social Drinker	Christian
Anita	20	Female	High School	Unemployed	8-10 drinks	Social Drinker	Christian
Toks	32	Male	College Degree	Employed	25+ drinks	Moderate Drinker	Christian
Mongwato	35	Female	College Diploma	Employed	15-20 drinks	Social Drinker	Christian
Lepodisi	52	Male	College Certificate	Employed	10-12 drinks	Moderate Drinker	Christian
White	28	Female	High School	Employed	8-10 drinks	Social Drinker	Christian
Haena	36	Male	College Diploma	Employed	25+ drinks	Heavy Drinker	Christian
Mpopi	22	Male	High School	Employed	10-15 drinks	Social Drinker	Atheist
Makepe	25	Male	High School	Self employed	25+ drinks	Heavy Drinker	Christian
Moss	26	Male	College Degree	Employed	25+ drinks	Heavy Drinker	Atheist
Katly	27	Female	High School	Unemployed	15-20 drinks	Heavy Drinker	Christian
Rasta	31	Male	College Diploma	Employed	10-15 drinks	Moderate Drinker	Christian
Lesole	33	Male	College Certificate	Employed	25+drinks	Heavy Drinker	Christian

Sharon	20	Female	High School	Unemployed	10-15 drinks	Social Drinker	Christian
Motiler	31	Male	High School	Self-employed	10-20 drinks	Heavy Drinker	Christian
Mariah	42	Female	College Diploma	Unemployed	15-20 drinks	Heavy Drinker	Christian
Lebadi	20	Female	College Degree	Student	25+ drinks	Moderate Drinker	Christian

There were 20 participants in the study selected purposefully from drinking outlets through snowball sampling. The study included men and women whose ages ranged from 20-52 years (see Table 1). Each participant had different levels of drinking, with the least experienced having about 12 months, while the most experienced reported over 30 years of drinking. The employment status, as well as the educational status, varied. Most participants identified themselves as Christians which is not surprising as 67% of Batswana identify themselves as Christians (Johnstone and Mandryk, 2005). The participants self-reported their drinking habits, and they ranged from heavy, moderate, to social drinkers. In general, most drinkers believed they were social drinkers. For the most part, they engaged in “image management” (Pettigrew, 2002), whereby alcohol drinkers report less consumption patterns than they practice. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of the participants. Strict confidentiality was prioritized in the study.

3.2 INCLUSION CRITERIA

Individuals who were over the age of 18 years at the time of the study were included. This is the minimum legal age for drinking alcohol in Botswana. The drinkers were active alcohol drinkers at least for one year preceding the study. I sought to investigate the experiences of alcohol drinkers. The assumption was that active alcohol drinkers would

give more information about their drinking experiences than non-active drinkers. The meanings, motives, and subjective experiences of drinkers would be better articulated by active drinkers compared to inactive ones. Another criteria that participants had to meet was to be conversant with both written and spoken English, since the medium of communication for the study was English. Anyone who had completed high school at a minimum was deemed to be conversant with the English language.

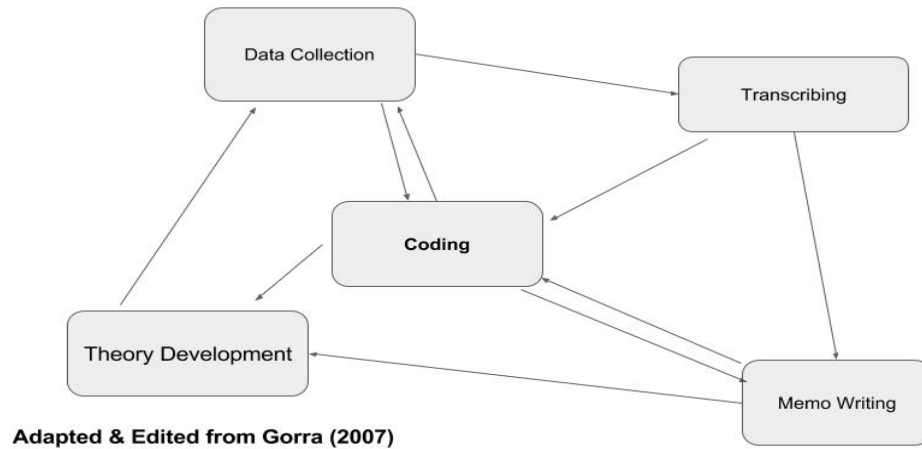
Verbal consent was obtained for all participants before they could participate in the study, and all were assured of confidentiality and that at no stage of the research process would their personal details be identified. I chose verbal consent over written because many Batswana are not amenable to appending their signatures on documents, and thus written consent would have been more troubling for participants than verbal consent. I made it clear to participants that they were not compelled to answer any questions and could end the interview at any point if they so wished.

3.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The study was approved by the IRB at the University of Miami and the office of Health Research and Development Division under the Ministry of Health in Gaborone, Botswana. The participants were given the contact numbers of the IRB offices of both the Ministry of Health and University of Miami if they wanted further clarification on the study.

3.4 PROCEDURE

3.4.1 Figure 2. Study Procedure



I collected data via 20 intensive interviews with 12 males and 8 females. Participants were approached at bars around the capital city, Gaborone. To access potential participants, I set out to approach potential participants at around 2pm when most of the bars were opening their doors to patrons. The strategy was to avoid the congestion, and in some cases extreme intoxication that happens later in the evenings, when drinkers have had “one too many”. The strategy worked well, especially for males who were willing and open to discuss “drinking alcohol in Botswana”. All of the interviews with males were conducted in bars and lasted from 45 minutes to over an hour and half.

Gaining access to females was a challenge because they do not usually frequent bars unless they are with a male companion (Suggs, 1996). To counter this problem, I chose snowball sampling, I first interviewed a female friend who I knew drank alcohol and asked her to refer her friends to participate in the study. In this way, I was able to interview the majority

of female respondents in non-drinking venues. The interviews with females lasted a little bit longer than males and stretched in some cases to about 2 hrs. The interviews were digitally recorded and took place over a period of three months (June-August 2016). All the interviews were conducted and transcribed by the researcher.

3.5 INTENSIVE INTERVIEWS

Intensive interviews were undertaken as a form of data collection as advised by Charmaz (2014). The interviews were informed by an interview guide that was prepared before-hand (see Appendix A). Intensive interviews are conversational in nature, open-ended, and allow for the data to emerge from the “interviewee who has substantial experience” (page 85) on the thematic area that is explored. Intensive interviews provide both the participant and the researcher with the social space to engage meaningfully and gain more information on the emergent data. Charmaz further suggests that the structure of intensive interviews is in line with grounded theory methods since the strategy is inductive in nature and allows for rich data to emerge from the process. Using intensive interviews to explore meanings for drinkers was especially helpful, since it allowed participants (especially males) to be able to share their experiences without the limits that are usually associated with survey or close-ended questions. Intensive interviews also gave some participants the leverage to talk freely about their drinking experiences, fears, excitements and how they experience alcohol in their everyday lives. In this current study, intensive interviews were particularly important and set the mood for subsequent stages of the research process. For example, after the first five interviews, I was able to revise the interview guide based on the data gathered. Following Charmaz’ (2014) guideline, the analysis of early interviews provided a basis for the shape and form of subsequent ones.

3.6 CODING

I began with line by line coding for all interview transcripts. At this stage, the coding was mainly descriptive. The idea was to stick closely to the data (Charmaz 2014) and use codes that denoted actions. Coding for actions during the initial stage has the advantage of curtailing the risk of “jumping” to theoretical formulations without completing the spade work. Charmaz (2014) further advises coding with gerunds at this stage to not just stick to the data but to also “gain a strong sense action and sequence” (page 120). Coding with gerunds allows for coherence and free-flowing experiences shared by the participants. After the initial coding, twenty-one (21) potential concepts emerged (see Appendix B).

I used focused coding after the initial stage, relying on the initial codes that were developed. As advised by Charmaz (2014), the idea was to examine the meanings of codes and their implications regarding the data, as well as search for ones that might be potential categories. From focused coding (see Appendix C), I developed category labels that enabled me to organize and structure the analysis. By using the initial descriptive coding as a starting point and moving to focused coding, the analytical categories that emerged were grounded in the data. Throughout this process, I was able to utilize phrases that were used by study participants. For instance, the analytical category of state regulation and self-control was developed by first simply coding that participants were expressing unhappiness with new laws, especially the increased prices. Through focused coding I was able to identify how the drinkers negotiated their way around the price increases through coding for actions. In this instance, drinkers narrated how they contributed and shared alcohol as a group.

3.7 CONSTANT COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Constant comparing analysis involved moving back and forth between the data. Through this method, I was able to link the emergent categories and the drinkers' experiences into coherent and meaningful units. Constantly comparing emerging categories also allowed me to integrate categories and capture variation of experiences by drinkers throughout the life-course. I was able to uncover a constant shift of the drinking self at each stage of the life-course. In the end, I was able to link analytical categories that show how the drinkers were constantly struggling to manage, control, and adjust their drinking selves as a result of the new regulations. Moving back to the original data by constantly comparing emerging themes, as illustrated in Figure 2, ensured that the emergent categories are kept close to the data.

3.8 MEMO WRITING

Memo writing was the most important piece of the current study, especially because this laid the foundation for data analysis. Constantly "memoing" my thoughts throughout the research process allowed me to stay close to the data and the codes. Writing memos allowed me to define the categories and their emergent relationships with each other. I was also able to see the progression and change of direction from the emerging themes in my study. For instance, through memo-writing I was able to understand the importance of family amongst participants as complex, multi-dimensional, and having an impact throughout the life-course of drinkers. Family serves as the initial exposure unit for the drinker and also serves a form of self-restraint in the adult/mature life of the drinker. Memo-writing allowed me excavate these deep-seated and sometimes paradoxical effects of the family on the drinking experience. It was through writing memos that I was also able to get a deeper

understanding of the data and the codes, in the process laying an important groundwork towards thinking about my theory from the data. Furthermore, Charmaz (2012) believes that memo writing allows the researcher to explicate the codes and raise the codes to categories. The memos for this study were concrete, integrative, analytical, and closely reflected the data (see Appendix D).

3.9 DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of the data involved breaking down and organizing the data to explore the implicit meanings of phenomena (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Memos were invoked to explicate the experiences of alcohol drinkers. Memos were especially critical during the data analysis phase, since emerging ideas were explored throughout the research process. Preliminary concepts were refined and grouped into emerging themes. The concepts were then raised to specific categories (see Appendix E) to reflect the data. Initially, I considered the tentative core-category of drinking as defiance to accurately reflect the data, but upon moving back to the data, this conclusion held in some cases but not in others. For instance, this outlook did not account for the first contact point by participants in their families and did not explain how drinkers handled alcohol during their adolescence. I therefore refined the core category and moved the initial one to a major category and labelled the new core category as Negotiating the Drinking Self to more accurately reflect the main experience of drinkers. The core category was deemed to be pervasive and remained consistent throughout all the emergent categories and themes of the study. This core category remains widespread across all the data and adequately explains the direction of the current study. Findings are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV-Findings

I investigated the meanings and motives of alcohol consumption in Botswana, whether they change over time. I also examined how the implementation of the alcohol levy in 2008 impacted drinking experience in Botswana. Grounded theory methods were used to explore social and subjective meanings of alcohol drinkers. A core category, 4 major categories, and 8 sub-categories emerged from the data in the study and are illustrated below.

4.1 Table 2. Study Categories

CORE CATEGORY	MAJOR CATEGORIES	SUB-CATEGORIES
Negotiating the Drinking Self	Category 1. Family as Exposure	Extended family member influence
		First alcohol exposure
	Category 2. Adolescence and Experimentation	Risky Drinking
		Problematic Drinking
	Category 3. Drinking as Maturity	Moderate Drinking
		Age and Self-Control
	Category 4. State Regulation	Adapting to new laws
		Drinking as Defiance

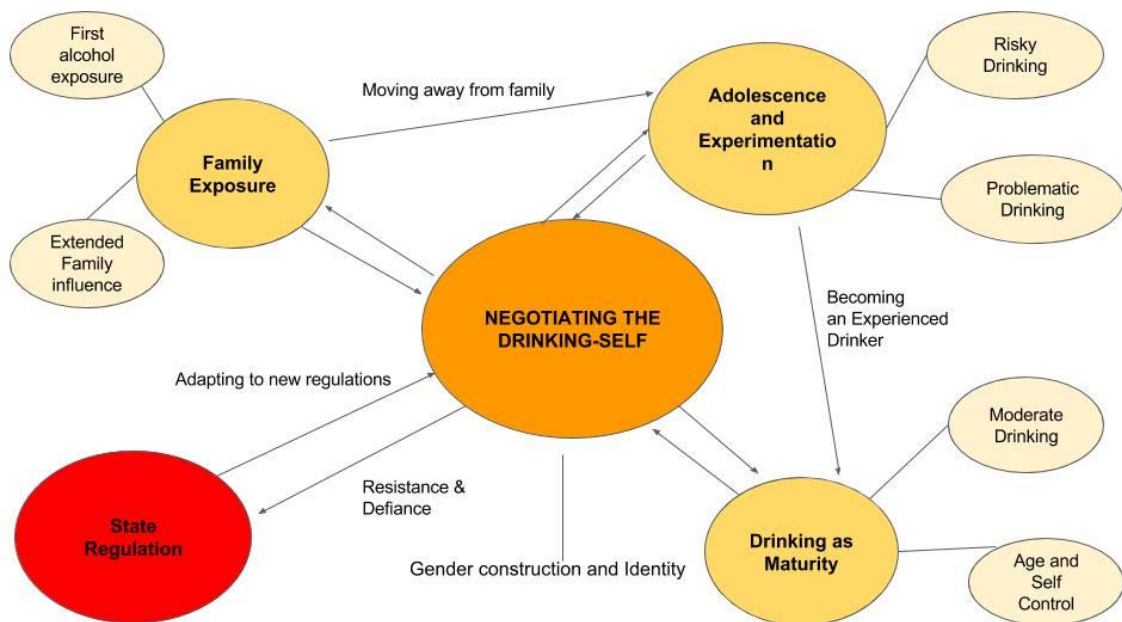
4.2 THE CORE CATEGORY: NEGOTIATING THE DRINKING SELF

The core category that emerged from the study and is consistent with the data, is labelled as **Negotiating the Drinking Self**. The narratives of the participants show a constant

negotiation with their drinking selves from the first point of contact in their families through their adolescence and up to their adulthood. Constant negotiation of the vicissitudes, meanings, and use of alcohol as illustrated by Figure 2 permeates the narrative of all drinkers. Each category is discussed below and complemented by direct quotations from participants, as advised by Charmaz (2014). Direct quotations allow for the discussion to be close to the data and explicate emergent themes.

4.3 STUDY MODEL

Figure 3. Model for Study Findings



4.4 CATEGORY 1: FAMILY EXPOSURE

The first point of contact with alcohol was in families, primarily when they were children. Most of the participants either directly witnessed or were exposed to behaviors of one of their family members after they had been drinking. These behaviors were learned through observation and emboldened drinkers to experiment with alcohol. Stories of participants suggest that the family environment plays an important role in exposing drinkers to alcohol when they are young. Participants narrated early experiences of observation that suggest that they became curious about alcohol after observing their close family members' behavior after drinking.

4.4.1 Parental influence on drinking

Parents feature prominently as the main influence in alcohol related behaviors for most participants. Quickie narrated:

I grew up in a family where my dad used to drink alcohol almost every other day, so when he left something in the bottle, I would finish it off. Even with my mother, there was a time when she used to drink and made me drink Storm⁵ and at the time I was around 11 years old.

Anita commented:

Sometimes my mother would bring some Savanna beers at home and if something remains in the bottle, I'll take a sip.

“Finishing it off” and “taking a sip” from the remnants of alcohol in bottles implied that even at that young age participants were curious about alcohol as a result of observing their parents drinking alcohol. In being exposed to drinking at an early age, fathers appear to

⁵ Storm-South-African beer.

have been the main parents that was being observed compared to mothers. In recounting his story, Haena spoke willfully about how he saw his father drink:

I was raised by a man (*my father*) who drank and smoked all the time at home. Sometimes I would steal some of his drinks and he wouldn't say anything.

Moss observed his father and narrated that:

For me, my dad and almost all his friends drank and I always saw them happy. In my mind, I thought those men are always laughing when they are drunk, I need to try this too. I would sometimes follow them and hide to see where they were going and most of the times I saw many people laughing and appearing to be happy at the bar. I wanted to be like them.

Clearly, from the data fathers are the main parents who provide the first contact point of alcohol for most participants.

4.4.2 Influence of extended family on drinking

Uncles, cousins, and grandmothers feature prominently in the stories of first exposure to alcohol among most participants. Toks uncle exposed him to alcohol:

I was doing std⁷, I had one of my uncles who was a Senior Teacher at Masunga⁷. So every time he came from Masunga he would pick me up from Serowe⁸ so that we can come to Gaborone together. On the way he would buy alcohol and it happened that one December he bought some Crowns⁹ and he gave me one to taste. After that I started drinking especially sweet beers like crowns and spirit.

Anita observed her uncle and mentioned that when she came to taste alcohol for the first time she knew what it was, since she was aware that her uncle was a heavy drinker. She

⁶ Std7 is the last year of primary school in Botswana before proceeding to middle school. It is the equivalent of Grade 6 in the United States.

⁷ Masunga-An area in the Northern part of Botswana about 318 miles from the capital city, Gaborone.

⁸ Serowe-An area in the Central part of Botswana about 193 miles from the capital city, Gaborone.

⁹ Crown-A form of beer South African beer.

used to see his behavior when he was drunk, so she knew a lot about the activity. In her mind, she just thought that once you get drunk you become happy and excited.

The influence of uncles was especially noted, and some participants' narratives imply that most of the activities that influenced their drinking were done when the parents were away. In other words, the parents might not have been aware of some of the behaviors that their children were exposed to that influenced their drinking. Rasta's narrative prominently features his uncle:

In fact uncles are worse because they have a habit of always making us taste alcohol especially when our parents are not there... my uncle would actually send me to buy Shake-Shake¹⁰ for him and I would sip it along the way and even though he found that the box was half empty, he wouldn't say anything. That is how I learnt how to drink.

Extended family influence is also through grandparents, who in some instances brewed and sold traditional brews from their homes. Therefore, some participants witnessed and observed drinking in their homes. Molamu (1989) explained the role of shebeen queens¹¹ in traditional Tswana life and how popular they were with alcohol drinkers, especially in the rural areas. To these women, brewing alcohol and selling alcohol at home provided them with economic benefits, since they were able to sustain themselves and their families. For children born and raised in these environments, exposure to alcohol and its associated harms came very early in their lives. Motiler said:

Sometimes it's about how you grew up. You grow up in a family where there is alcohol and when you start drinking it's not big deal... Well my grandmother used

¹⁰ Shake-shake-Traditional beer made from sorghum, maize and sometimes millet.

¹¹ Shebeen queens-Refers to women who eked out a living by brewing and selling liquor in residential homes.

to do traditional brews at home and I would ask her to give me some and she did so by the time I tried the beers I was confident unlike my other friends.

Katly a female participant grew up in a shebeen;

I grew up in a shebeen that is still operating to this day so that is where I learnt how to drink. So when my mother sent me to sell Khadi¹² to someone amounting to P5.00¹³, I would give them an equivalent of P8.00 then drink the difference. It became a habit and that is why I still drink to this day.

The family features prominently as the first contact point and sets the tone for drinking in much of the stories narrated by participants. The notable role of members of the extended family speak to the communal nature present in family structures in Botswana.

4.5 CATEGORY 2: ADOLESCENCE AND EXPERIMENTATION

The stage of adolescence marked another important period in the lived experiences of drinkers. While the family provided the first contact with alcohol for some participants, others were in their teens before they started experimenting with alcohol. Peer influence on drinking behaviors is most prevalent at this period.

4.5.1 Drinking as Risk

Stories of being excited and curious about drinking for the first time permeated the narratives of some drinkers. For Mpopi:

It is all about growing up and just being curious about a lot of things. It was like that for me, in fact one of my friends once had a black-out when we were doing Form 2¹⁴. One of my friends brought whisky to school and it was our first time to drink it. Since we were small boys we just drank it undiluted and that's when one of my friends had a black out.

¹² Khadi-traditional brew made from wild berries, wild pumpkin and oranges.

¹³ P5.00-The Botswana local currency, the Pula denoted by a P. \$1 is equivalent to P10.5 therefore P5 would be around 5 cents.

¹⁴ Form 2 is the second year of middle school which is equivalent to grade 8 in the United States.

Drinking escapades with friends and pressure to drink were common and entailed some form of risk-taking. Moroma said:

My friends used to jump the fence and go to drink alcohol so every time they came back they will tell me all these statements that hurt. I tried to ignore them for a while but it got to me. So I ended up deciding to drink until now.

In taking some risk as an adolescent, Moss remembers that:

I stole some Autumn Harvest¹⁵ and drank it undiluted. I then “blacked-out” in the yard and the next thing I woke up in hospital. I didn’t even tell anyone about this experience.

Peer influence could also be due to a desire to “fit-in” with friends. For Mpopi, for example, belonged to a group of young boys at school “who wanted to have fun and were rebels”.

Participants experimented with alcohol and in some instances engaged in dangerous drinking. The excitement meant that sometimes drinking became a risky activity. Anita, a young woman participant, recalled an incident at high school:

One time when I was still a High school student I went out with a group of friends to buy alcohol. I remember there was an event, something like a fashion show so we got so drunk that the teachers found out and we were disciplined at school.

Drinking alcohol as an adolescent also meant getting into trouble, especially when hanging around the “wrong crowds”. One participant narrated how he spent time in jail as a 16 year old because of beating up someone. Makepe said:

We got into an argument with this guy and we beat him up and afterwards he was involved in another fight with different guys who beat him to death and threw his body at the sewage ponds near Tsholofelo¹⁶. The police later came to arrest us.

¹⁵ Autumn Harvest-A cheap South African wine.

¹⁶ Tsholofelo-A location within the main capital city, Gaborone.

The adolescent stage is significant in the experience of drinkers in Botswana, and is probably where a lot of changes happen in terms of experimenting with alcohol. Peer influence and curiosity to experiment with alcohol is pervasive during this stage, mainly because most adolescents experience freedom for the first time. In essence, the adolescent stage is predominantly one for fun, experimentation, and sometimes risk taking, which poses the greatest challenge to the drinking self.

4.5.2 Problematic Drinking

To address the issue of problematic drinking, participants were asked the question, “Has alcohol ever caused you problems?” For some participants, drinking, especially heavy drinking, had some consequences that are part and parcel of life as a drinker. From the study, drinking heavily and experiencing some problems as a drinker were normative. Mariah remarked quite boldly that “it’s something to be expected and it happens every day”. Some of the problems had to do with the nature of the drinking context that is common in Botswana. Many people drink in bars adjacent to their neighborhoods and usually walk home after the bars close. It is around this time that they become targets for thieves. Motiler said that usually when he is drunk he sleeps and thieves search him and take his valuable belongings. Additionally excessive drinking could sometimes lead to being lost and walking to wrong neighborhoods where one can become mugged. White talked of getting lost many times:

Q: Has drinking ever caused problems for you?

R: Yes, many times. I remember leaving the bar and trying to walk home only to realize that I am the other side of town. It was only after I told people where I lived that I was taken home.

Most participants narrate episodes of excessive drinking that are “part of life as a drinker”. Their narratives point to the need for drinkers to exercise self-control.

4.6 CATEGORY 3: DRINKING AND MATURITY

Maturing as a drinker came after the participants had been drinking for quite some time. Maturity entailed moderating and controlling one’s drinking patterns. Drinkers were able to control their drinking once they move beyond the adolescent stage.

4.6.1 Maturity and Self-control

Participants’ narrated stories that showed that after some time the meaning of alcohol consumption change. Growing older was a significant marker in self-control and maturity. Sometimes maturity appeared after some changes in life, like marriage or employment. For Quickie, a middle-aged woman, having children gave her a different outlook on life and made her moderate her drinking. She stated:

I have since reduced my drinking because now I have kids and I am older. When I have money I think about my kids first instead of alcohol. Besides when you have kids, you have challenges to think about rather than alcohol.

Katly also said that having a child gave her added responsibilities, therefore she is a responsible drinker unlike before. Mariah, another middle-aged woman, also experienced a shift in meanings because she was older and wiser. She also reported having to deal with expectations from close friends. She said:

I think I have lost the respect I used to command from my friends, colleagues and even family members. They call me a “drunkard” and think that I live in bars and I’m always drunk.

Independence from parents had a direct bearing on self-control, according to some participants' accounts. Makepe said that his early drinking experiences happened when he was under the control of parents, but because he is older, he is now capable of managing his drinking as he pays his own bills. Employment also had an important role in how participants viewed and controlled their consumption patterns. Mpopi stated that:

My reasons for drinking have changed, like today I cannot be influenced by friends. I make my own decisions. The other thing is that I am now working and have other priorities compared to in the past.

Maturity and self-control were sometimes induced by a bad drinking experience. Some participants told stories of how their drinking caused trouble for them, and as a result they had to moderate their drinking. For Moss:

We were all drunk and had a head-on collision with another car. All my friends died and I am the lone survivor. It was only then that I realized I had to change my drinking.

Another male participant, Haena commented:

I've had a series of car crashes. Seven to be specific and I have been charged with driving under the influence of alcohol many many times. I realized that I have to change otherwise I would get into trouble.

For women, some experiences were risky as men took advantage of their drunkenness at bars. This becomes even more perilous in a country with one of the highest HIV rates in the world. Katly remembered one such incident:

I once found myself naked in a man's house one morning. I did not even know how I got there or what happened that night, so its issues like these that happen to us (*women*). The sad part is that some of these men are heartless even when they see that you are incapacitated, they still want to use you.

The shift in meanings, as well as how one controls him or herself, were prominent in the narratives of participants. Age was a significant factor in how participants viewed and dealt with alcohol. Having a family had an impact on how participants (especially women) dealt with alcohol consumption. Negotiating the self permeated the experiences of drinkers and showed that as drinkers became mature, and were faced with new challenges, their drinking self shifted and adapted to the new realities.

4.7 CATEGORY 4: STATE REGULATION AND DEFIANCE/RESISTANCE

The regulation of alcohol through the implementation of new regulations took effect in April 2008, as earlier stated. The new regulations reduced the operating hours for bars, increased alcohol prices, and outlawed alcohol sales in residential homes. Alcohol consumers used a variety of ways to adapt to these new regulations that greatly impacted their drinking experience.

4.7.1 The Defiant Drinker

Defiance by alcohol drinkers was primarily directed at beer regulations. Participants were outright defiant about how these regulations affected their drinking, especially that the hours of drinking had been drastically reduced. Participants also appeared to be resisting the new laws because of lack of consultation by state authorities. Drinkers wanted to express their individual agency without the impediments by the government. Tsogang remarked:

We drink a lot in a short space of time. I think it's a way of showing the Botswana government that we don't like the new hours by drinking a lot. We have also not been consulted about the laws so I think Batswana are protesting these laws by drinking too much.

In the discussion on defying the new regulations, the short time for drinking appeared to be something that drinkers believe was the reason behind drinking a lot of beer. The new operating hours required bars to open at 3pm and close at 10pm during the week. For the weekend, the time ranged from 2pm to 11pm. The laws, in essence, curtailed the sociability and entertainment, as well as the leisure time that drinkers usually associate with drinking. In a more practical way, the drinkers arrive at the bar by sunset and have to gulp as much beer as they can because of the limited hours. According to Moss, drinking becomes a race against time:

I think it (*closing bars early*) has caused us problems because those of us that are working have to race against time to come to bars when we knock off. For example, I leave work at 5pm and have to drive home to prepare myself before I come here. By the time I get here it's already 8pm or almost 9pm. Now when do I have time to drink and chill with friends? Often times I have to get myself a quart of beer and drink fast so that I can get drunk like everyone else.

Alcohol drinkers also expressed nostalgia about the bygone times when people could drink freely without the inhibition of hours. They constantly made reference to the fact that in the past when there were no restrictions, people could control their drinking and there were few alcohol-related incidents. Toks said:

If I compare these days with the time when these hours were not in place, people had enough time to drink and drank well whilst today we binge drink and it causes a lot of other bad things after the bars close.

Defiance by alcohol drinkers suggests a need by drinkers to exercise their own initiative and "drink their hard-earned cash," as one respondent emphasized. Some of the drinkers narrated stories about staying around the bars after they were closed, thus suggesting that their drinking had been interrupted by the closure. Lingering around bars signals continuity

for the drinkers despite the closure of the establishments, and could be seen to imply defiance of the regulations. Other shrewd drinkers found an opportunity for making extra money in the midst of all these *tactics* (d'Abbs, 2015) adopted by drinkers. They would buy alcohol in bulk and sell it at higher prices after the bars close.

The narratives about the drinking experience suggest resistance to the new regulations, as well as the adoption of some strategies to deal with the ramifications of state interventions. Generally, the responses suggest a struggle with not just the limited drinking time but the higher prices of beer.

4.7.2 Defiance by Drinking Networks

One of the coping strategies mentioned by respondents was to drink with friends to cushion themselves against the higher prices. These friends were mostly drinking buddies in the neighborhoods in which they had grown-up together. The drinkers would each contribute to the purchase of beer and then share it among the group. This pattern of drinking elicited a form of *communitas* (Skjelmerud 2003) that fosters camaraderie and togetherness. Drinkers could afford to drink more by sharing in the cost of alcohol, as well as being part of a drinking network. Being part of drinking networks, based on similar neighborhoods and childhood friends, meant the networks were stable. In other words, these drinking buddies knew one another very well, met frequently at bars, and had a lot in common over and above drinking alcohol. Mariah said:

We all grew up around here and we buy for each other, so alcohol is always “rolling”. If one does not have money, we buy for them, it’s the spirit here.

The drinking networks also brought unintended consequences to the drinkers. Respondents reported drinking more from sharing alcohol with friends, in the sense that once drinkers contribute for the purchase of alcohol, they could buy more drinks. The networks also catered to drinkers without money, such that those who had money could buy for those without. This process of reciprocity would be repeated. Tsogang said that, “If I don’t have enough money, I can talk to my friends and we contribute for one bottle that we all share, so the prices will still not work”.

The networks were also multi-faceted and offered drinkers more benefits than just drinking alcohol. Drinkers narrated stories of how they managed to get employment and business opportunities and new friends, as well as a chance to be around “people like me, who love the bottle”. Other respondents suggested that drinking networks offered them a balance between taking a break from their daily responsibilities to getting time with their drinking buddies, giving them the necessary “work-play” balance. Toks noted the usefulness of drinking networks:

Drinking alcohol has worked for me. Instead of being at home and arguing with my wife, I am here networking with my friends on how to improve myself. So drinking hasn’t been all that bad.

One notable thing was that in terms of the constitution of these drinking networks, women are present. This condition might be because these networks are neighborhood-based and usually constituted by individuals who grew up together. For women, these networks also offered them protection from harassment, especially from other drunk males.

4.7.3 Defiance by Seeking the Alternative

In the experiences of dealing with the ramifications of the new state regulations, drinkers' narratives suggest that they still need more time to continue drinking. For some drinkers, 11pm appears to be too early to go to bed. Hence, they seek alternative ways of continuing drinking, including going to shebeens that sell alcohol illegally. As earlier stated prior to the implementation of the new regulations, as stated earlier alcohol could be sold from residential places. The new regulations made it illegal to sell alcohol from residential homes. However, drinkers emphasized that some of them did not close and continue to operate illegally, especially after the bars close. Many drinkers patronized these illegal shebeens after bars closed to purchase alcohol. Lebadi said:

For some of us when we leave here at 11pm, we go to shebeens where we spend the rest of the night drinking our beer.

Q: But the shebeens were closed by government authorities....

R: Some are but the ones that were closed are those that were known. But again it hasn't stopped the illegal ones from operating. What happened is that when the government closed the big shebeens many people started looking for opportunities to illegally sell beer to us and they are doing that in large numbers.

Seeking alternative means, as a form of defiance, transcends spatial boundaries. Some drinkers reported travelling outside the country, especially to Mafikeng¹⁷, (South Africa) to buy cheap alcohol then drive back. In their narratives, they emphasized the liberal alcohol policies in neighboring South Africa and how people are allowed to "drink freely there". Toks said:

At 11pm, none of us wants to sleep, so when they close the bars we don't go home we find somewhere else to continue drinking. I sometimes cross the border to Mafikeng where beer is cheap and I can drink without problems.

¹⁷ Mafikeng-A town in North-West South Africa which is 2hrs-drive (93 miles) from the capital city of Botswana, Gaborone.

Alcohol drinkers in Botswana have devised tactics that they use to cope and resist the newly established laws that curtail their drinking. Such tactics include, amongst others, using networks, seeking alternative means of drinking, and out-rightly defying the regulatory instruments implemented by the government of Botswana.

4.8 GENDER CONSTRUCTION AND IDENTITY

Based on the data, I found that alcohol consumption in Botswana is tied to gender construction. Women, while their numbers are not visible in bars, unless they are in the company of men, still drink alcohol. The experiences of women showed that some of them drink at bars, while others preferred to buy their drinks and leave the vicinity of bars. According to Sharon, they drink at the bars only when they are in the company of “Brazen¹⁸ because he always makes sure they are safe”. To drink in the bar without a male companion might mean being harassed and approached for sexual favors. For Anita:

I just think women don't like to sit in bars, we just buy our stuff and leave. I am never comfortable because men are always calling me and proposing love. Some of them are rowdy and rude.

For those that drink at bars without the company of men, there is an expectation that men will buy alcohol for them. This is especially true for poor, young and unemployed women. Katly narrated that she usually “gets excited when she enters the bar full of men” because she knows that someone might buy her beer. However, she despised the sexual advances that often come after men have bought her beer. She said that:

¹⁸ Brazen-A colloquial name borrowed from “brother” usually used to mean someone close.

They (*men*) always demand that we go with them after bars have closed. Even if you try to refund them they refuse and insist that we go with them to their houses. Men tend to think that if they buy alcohol then we are going to sleep with them. That is not how things should be.

Mariah was blunt about what they expect from men:

We as women come here prepared and looking nice so that we can entice the men. When we get here they will just call you but usually when they see that you are not sipping anything, they will organize something for you, they are men *akere*¹⁹. This quote suggests that some women might define masculinity in terms of men's willingness to purchase alcohol for them.

Women drinkers expressed similar views about motives for drinking like men. Consistent with Suggs' (1996) findings some women narrated that their drinking patterns are not different from men. Anita said:

Q: In Botswana, you do think men and women have different drinking habits?

R: I think it depends, I would say in most cases they drink the same.

Q: In what way?

R: They drink the same. For instance, you could see a woman holding a Black Label²⁰ and the next minute they have a Savanna²¹ and that's the same thing that men do.

¹⁹ Akere-Local language meaning "For sure".

²⁰ Black Label beer-A masculine beer that has more alcohol content than other beers. Usually drunk by "tough" drinkers such that a woman seen drinking black label is seen to be a "hardcore" drinker.

²¹ Savanna Cider-A drink made from crushed apples usually drunk by women. It has an alcohol content similar to that of most beers.

When asked about her thoughts on who drinks more between men and women, Mariah did not think there is any difference:

There are women who drink the same like men, I am one of them. So I sometimes drink so much that I find myself in my house without knowing how I got there. This is a sign that I drink like men. Sometimes it's because I might drink two beers and get drunk or in some cases it's about sharing alcohol with these men. That is why I say we drink the same.

Drinking the same as men could imply as suggested by Suggs (1996,) that women are now actively involved in the cash economy, and therefore have the “right to enjoy their money,” unlike in the past when drinking alcohol was only the preserve of men. Drinking in this instance could, therefore, signal independence for women in Botswana (Suggs 1996).

4.9 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

The core category of negotiating the drinking self was found to be consistent with the emergent themes of the study. The data reveal that drinkers had to constantly negotiate their drinking selves and adjust them throughout their life-course. For most participants, the family was the first point of contact with alcohol, and meanings are formed at this stage. Social control was the prerogative of the family. Negotiating the drinking self is still at its inchoate stages and is primarily based on observation and curiosity, as I earlier noted. The negotiation of drinking continues during the adolescent stage, when the drinker explores and experiments with alcohol. Negotiating the drinking self probably finds its biggest test

during this stage, since the adolescents have to make decisions constantly that impact their futures. The drinking self is also tested in this stage, because, unlike in the pre-adolescent stage, there are no family members around to enforce social control. Also the data revealed that growing older and maturity were important markers of self-control; mature drinkers are able to better manipulate and control his or her drinking-self compared to an immature and young drinker.

The implementation of the alcohol regulations in 2008 in Botswana meant that drinkers had to adjust their drinking patterns and lifestyles. As earlier stated, the policy restricted hours for drinking, raised prices, and introduced some bans on selling alcohol from residential homes. The data showed that drinkers devised some strategies to deal with the new developments that “disrupted” their drinking. In negotiating their drinking selves, drinkers resorted to drinking networks and alternative forms of buying alcohol. Negotiating and re-aligning their drinking selves allowed the drinkers to continue drinking alcohol unencumbered by governmental regulations.

CHAPTER V-Discussion

The current study showed new insights into the experience of alcohol drinkers in Botswana across the life-course. The discussion of the findings is based on the emergent categories and grounded in the data. Areas for further improvement and limitations are discussed at the end of the chapter.

The primary purpose of the study was to investigate the social and subjective meanings of alcohol among drinkers in Botswana and understand how they experience their drinking. Consistent with previous studies, the data revealed that drinkers' first exposures to alcohol was through their families when they were still young. Peeters et al., (2015) found recently that availability of alcohol at home predicted future drinking for adolescents. He noted that when alcohol, when available at home, could "activate memory associations that guide behavior toward more frequent drinking" (page 753). Janssen et al., (2014) noted the role of parents in setting rules for alcohol consumption for their kids. Based in Holland, their findings suggest that some parents set rules that children should not drink until they are 16 years old thus making them impervious to peer and external influences. Family exposure, therefore, has a bearing on consumption patterns later in life.

However, data from the current study suggest the extended family influence drinking behaviors, since some participants reported witnessing how their grandmothers brewed and sold traditional beers in their homes. This findings lend support to the communal nature of African families, where it is not uncommon to have members of the extended family living in one home. Influence is not only directly from parents since members of the extended family had an equally critical role in exposing participants to alcohol. The data, therefore,

point in a different direction, in terms of point of exposure with alcohol that many alcohol studies in Sub-Saharan Africa have not previously considered. More precisely, in societies that are predominantly communal (especially in Sub-Saharan Africa) consideration might be given to the role of the extended family members in exposing children to alcohol at the family level. In communally-oriented societies, motives for drinking alcohol might go beyond the immediate family to encompass members of the extended family who have a penchant for “making us drink when our parents are away,” as one participant reported. In this regard, family level influence is consistent with the tenets of the Social Learning theory that suggests that “environmental factors, personal factors and behavior” continually influence each other (Janssen et al., 2014).

The analysis indicates that there is a constant shift in how drinkers perceive alcohol right from the point of contact in their respective families until they are adult drinkers. The shift in meanings authenticates Blumer's notion that meanings are dynamic and change when an individual undergoes various experiences. Consistent with Emslie (2015), the data from the current study found a shift of the “drinking self” at each stage of the life-course. Accordingly, as the individual drinkers go through various stages in life, there is a constant shift in their subjective meanings and use of alcohol. As Charmaz and Belgrave (2013) point out, the *drinking* “selves experience, suffer, and create meaning and they act” (page 14). For instance, in dealing with high alcohol prices, creativity becomes the mantra.

Van Wersch and Walker (2009) have argued that maturity is an intervening condition in binge drinking among British drinkers, and found a direct link between “stages of life” with drinking patterns. That is, at a younger age, drinkers might take more risks or drink

as a result of peer pressure (do Carmo Neves et al., 2015), while mature drinkers exercise more self-control and restraint.

The shift in alcohol use also pointed to a connection between drinking patterns that might be unique to Botswana. The line between “drinking for sociability” and “drinking to get drunk” might be blurred. Whilst various studies (Wechsler et al., 2002, Boekeloo et al., 2011, McDonald and Sylvester 2014) have made a distinction between the two, the findings from the current study show that the two might be intertwined. Drinkers set out to drink because of the need to socialize, and be amongst friends but get drunk in the process.

An important note is that the economy of Botswana has not been doing well over the past couple of years, and this fact might have an impact on drinking patterns. Unemployment is estimated at around 20% of the country’s 2 million population. For example, many government (which is the largest employer) entities have gone through massive retrenchments, including the mining sector where “one in five mining jobs have disappeared in the year 2016” (Mmegi online, 2017). All these factors might have a direct bearing on reasons for drinking alcohol. A number of participants in the current study reported drinking (sometimes heavily) because they had nothing else to do. In other words, without alcohol, there are no other social activities. Their drinking could, therefore, be seen as “speaking-out and protest” against lack of jobs and alternative entertainment amenities. Participants complained about idleness and lack of active employment. Similar to this finding, Skjelmerud (2003) has argued that “drinking as power to protest” among Namibian women occurs because they were complaining about how they were treated, especially because they were excluded from the economic activities of the country. Drinking, in this

regard, could be understood as a call for the Botswana government to create jobs so that people could earn a living.

The implementation of the alcohol regulations in 2008 was met with resistance by drinkers. The findings indicate that drinkers resisted the alcohol policy and its regulatory instruments most probably because it “tampered” with their drinking. While Molamu (1989) had earlier noted that in pre-independence Botswana, drinkers continued their drinking despite laws that criminalized the consumption of “European beer”, the current study moved beyond identifying the existence of resistance, but illustrated how drinkers coped, internalized, and negotiated their drinking selves after the implementation of the alcohol policy reforms. The central theme was that alcohol drinkers became defiant against the draconian regulations imposed on drinking outlets, and many drinkers believed that the regulations were unjust and meant to thwart their individual agency. A significant number of participants were blatant in their response to the alcohol regulations and stated that they will continue to drink alcohol no matter what, even if the prices were to be increased by 100%.

Equally important is that the implementation of the regulations was not guided by any empirical evidence (Pitso and Obot, 2011). Contrary to the norm, there was no study that was undertaken before-hand to guide and determine how the government should intervene, if at all, in the alcohol issue in Botswana. In discussing the importance of policy formulation and using Malawi as a case study, Ferreira-Borges et al., (2014) state that “broad participation in the policy process and the incorporation of people’s views in the final policy document also strengthens ownership among a wide group of stakeholders, who later may provide the necessary public support for the effective implementation of the policy” (page 191). Therefore, consulting drinkers is a necessary ingredient while

resistance to the regulations might have been a form of protest against lack of consultation by state authorities.

In their seminal work on resistance to legal authority, Ewick and Selby (2003) argue that not all acts of defying authority can be deemed resistance. First, the subordinates must be consciously aware that they are less powerful. In other words, the resisters must be aware that they are up “against something or someone” (page 1336). The narratives of the participants in the current study are punctuated with phrases like “We drink a lot in a short space of time”, “The hours won’t work”, “We miss the old days where there were no restrictions”, and “We need to enjoy our money”. Implicit within these statements is that the drinkers feel less powerful against a government that seeks to enervate their drinking. Ewick and Selby further believe that resistance acts “make claims about justice and fairness” (page 1337). In other words, the less powerful believe that those that wield power are unfairly placing controls on them. Statement like “we were not consulted”, point to feeling that state regulations are unfair. Accordingly, the less powerful engage in “practices that are hidden...and executed to remain unrecognized and undetected by those against whom they are directed” (page 1337).

By going to shebeens after bars close, drinkers are effectively engaged in hidden acts, directed at state regulation but away from the roving eye of state authorities. In a way, acts of resistance by drinkers in Botswana are also in line with Goffmans’ (1961) concept of “secondary adjustments” in his work on total institutions. Goffman noted that the less powerful adopt alternative ways to resist power. The less powerful adopt a different social structure that with its own “rules”. He argued that “it is against something that the self can emerge” (page 320). In other words, resistance against power can lead to the emergence of

the self. For drinkers in Botswana, drinking selves emerge as they resist the state regulations.

The current study showed that alcohol is important to Botswana drinkers and plays a critical role in the construction of the self across the life-course. Resistance and adaptation to the effects of alcohol regulations might be due, in part to feelings of a lack of consultation among drinkers.

5.1 CONCLUSION

Findings from the current study drive the existing alcohol literature in many ways. First, the study has provided social contexts of consumption for drinkers, especially at the point of first contact. Most of the earlier studies were inspired by psychological models that “individualize” drinking behavior and eschew the social contexts of drinking. The “Motivational Model of Alcohol Use” by Cox and Klinger (1988) is one such model that has gained popularity in this area. By exposing the role of the extended family in alcohol consumption in Botswana, this study has been able to provide new pathways that alcohol researchers could further explore and show alternative approaches (Lunnay et al., 2011) to understand the motives for drinking especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Second, the Botswana case might be unique since the regulations were implemented without any scientific evidence about the nature of alcohol consumption in the country. Questions still remain about the government’s motive to implement the regulations. For example why the adoption of a 30% levy that increased the prices of alcohol? What was the reason behind closing down residential areas that sold alcohol? Was there any evidence that bars and drinking spots need to be regulated? Carol Baachi (2015) has recently argued

that alcohol policies are primarily meant to “fix” issues that have been problematized. She argues further that alcohol policies must be evidence-based and “direct attention away from assumed problems and their solutions” (page 132). Consistent with SI, Joseph Gusfield (2003) aptly mentions that “the observer must, as much as is possible, take the role of the other, try to see, as much as possible, from the other’s perspective” (page 122). Taking the role of the other could, in this instance, mean dialoguing with alcohol drinkers to understand the subjective meanings they attach to their actions. Based on the findings of this study, if alcohol policies are implemented without scientific evidence or prior consultation they are likely to evoke resistance from drinkers.

Third, the study has exposed how alcohol drinkers defy and resist alcohol control policies in Botswana, a theme that has not been adequately studied, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Exposing the strategies that drinkers use to cope with social control policies provides a breakthrough that could be extended to other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. As d’Abbs (2015) has suggested, studies of resistance should directly engage with “the rules, meanings and definitions contested, the sociological levels at which it takes place as well as the macro-social levels of organizations and social movements” (page 125). What the current study has done, over and above illuminating the meanings and motives for drinkers, is to contextualize resistance and provide a framework that other researchers might consider in future studies.

The one cardinal contribution of current study is to theorize the concept of resistance. This study is one of the few attempts to integrate sociological theory into resistance in sub-Saharan Africa, since discussions in alcohol research are dominated by theoretical frameworks from fields like psychology, economics, and public health. The result of this

lack of sociological approaches in alcohol research is that many studies advocate for biomedical approaches and neglect the social contexts where alcohol consumption occurs. In fact, by implementing the alcohol legislation in 2008, the government of Botswana might have been motivated by a biomedical approach that “problematizes” alcohol drinking and ignores the context where drinking takes place. By grounding its findings in sociological theory (symbolic interaction) this study has been able to show that the conception of structure/agency related to drinking, is not a zero-sum game, but rather should include both facts.

5.2 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The findings from the current study have some theoretical implications for alcohol studies and sociological theory. An answer is provided to a recent call by d’Abbs (2015) and others about the dearth of studies integrating sociological theory into the study of alcohol. This study considers how structural factors (alcohol policy) and human actions (individual drinkers) “struggle” for legitimacy against each other. The study explicates the adaptability and agency of drinkers who are faced with structural pressures that seek to regulate and enervate their drinking. More profoundly, the study shows that individual acts of resistance work as effectively as organized resistance usually associated with social movements. While drinkers in Botswana might lack the structural organization of movements, they are still “organized,” albeit as individuals with a common purpose, to continue drinking beyond the stipulated regulated hours. Ewick and Silbey (2003) point out that the individual act of resistance is “neither random nor idiosyncratic” (page 1330), and works as well as organized resistance to alcohol policies. Since alcohol is intertwined with people’s social lives, these acts of resistance become a constant feature in the everyday life

of drinkers, perhaps inspired by the quest to continue drinking and supported by drinking networks.

The approach of the current study complements recent efforts by Lunnay et al., (2011) who have recently brought to light how the sociological approach of Pierre Bourdieu can be used to explain young people's drinking decisions. They invoke Bourdieu's different forms of "capitals" (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) to explain the diverse drinking patterns among youth, as well as the "positional differences" (page 434) of youth. In sum, by integrating a sociological approach into the study of alcohol in Sub-Saharan Africa, the current study has provided the groundwork for subsequent studies to explore further and utilize other sociological tools in alcohol and drug research.

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are some limitations to the current study. First, the study used a small sample (20 participants), therefore caution must be exercised in generalizing the findings to other population groups. The setting of the study was in an urban area, and the same approach might yield different findings in a rural setting. The other limitation concerned the recruitment strategy for the study. While this strategy worked successfully to gain access to potential participants, they tended to have similar characteristics. In other words, going to bars early to recruit participants inadvertently meant attracting the youth, unemployed, and poor drinkers, while bypassing a different strata of drinkers that could have given the study richer data. In the process, more affluent drinkers were missed from the sample and this omission had an impact on the findings. Alcohol researchers intending to use this strategy might want to devise alternative recruitment methods to capture more affluent drinkers.

In a more pragmatic way, resistance to alcohol policies in Sub-Saharan remains unexplored and the current study has laid the groundwork for further studies in this areas.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

- Studies of the construction of meanings might also consider focus groups rather than individual intensive interviews as one way of collecting data from participants. Skjelmerud (2003) conducted focus groups in examining meanings among female drinkers in Namibia and noted that the method yielded more information, especially for women.
- The discussion of traditional brews was noted but did not form part of this study, mainly due to the size and thematic areas that were investigated. In future, alcohol studies might benefit from a discussion and comparison between how drinkers in Sub-Saharan societies experience both the traditional brews and modern liquor. A comparison of these different strands of drinkers might offer a more holistic view of the nature and complexity of alcohol consumption patterns in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- Theoretically-informed studies that use sociological theory and explore the dynamics of resistance across Sub-Saharan Africa countries are warranted.

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APPENDIX A.

INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Please be informed that the information provided in this interview session will be used solely for research purposes and to fulfil a requirement to earn a Master's degree at the University of Miami. The purpose of the study to examine the social and subjective meanings that alcohol consumers in Botswana attach to their action. Through this study we want to examine motives, both social, cultural and otherwise behind why people drink alcohol in Botswana. Kindly be informed that you are not obliged to answer any question that you don't want to answer and you are free to end the interview any time you want to. Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality hence you do not need to supply your name or any other means of identification

OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS

1. When did you first drink alcohol?
2. How was it like? Who is anyone, influenced your actions? Tell me about how they influenced you.
3. Could you describe the events that led to you drinking alcohol at the time?
4. What contributed to you drinking alcohol?
5. What was going on in your life then? How would you describe how you viewed alcohol drinking before you started drinking?
6. How would you describe the person you were then?

INTERMEDIATE QUESTIONS

7. What did you know about drinking alcohol?
8. Tell me about your thoughts and feelings at the time?
9. If you recall, could you tell me anything about how you learned the pressures of drinking at the time?
10. What changes have occurred in your life since then?
11. Do you still drink? If so, would you say the reasons for drinking are the same as when you started?
12. Tell me about how you go about drinking alcohol today. What exactly do you do?
13. Describe a typical day for you when you are drinking alcohol?
14. As you look back on your life as an alcohol drinker, are there any events that stand out in your mind? Could you describe each event? How did this even affect what happened?
15. Where do you see yourself in 5 years? Describe the person you hope to be then?

ENDING QUESTIONS

16. What do you think are the most important reasons for drinking alcohol?
17. How have you changed as person ever since you started drinking alcohol?
18. What do you think about the government's initiatives to control alcohol consumption in Botswana?
19. Do you think the policy is sufficient?
20. What advice can you give to someone (especially young people) who have just started drinking?
21. Is there anything that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during the interview?
22. Is there anything else that you think I should know or understand better about alcohol consumption in Botswana?
23. Is there anything you would like to ask me?

APPENDIX B. TENTATIVE CONCEPTS AFTER INITIAL CODING

List of tentative concepts after initial coding

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Family Exposure regulations. | 11. Unhappiness about new |
| 2. Extended family member's involvement. prices. | 12. Narratives of adaptations to |
| 3. Curiosity about alcohol. | 13. Drinking for Sociability |
| 4. Experimenting with alcohol. | 14. Drinking offer more benefits |
| 5. Risky Taking. alcohol | 15. Change of Meanings towards |
| 6. Peer Influence on Drinking. drinking | 16. Exercising self-control over |
| 7. Problematic drinking. is. | 17. Drinking NOT a problem, man |
| 8. Change in Alcohol Behavior. spots | 18. Shebeens alternatives drinking |
| 9. Drinking with Friends. | 19. Advices young drinkers |
| 10. Entrenched drinking networks | 20. Alcohol laws not effective |
| 21. Binge drinking result from new laws | |

APPENDIX C. EXAMPLE OF FOCUSED CODING

CODES	INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTION
<p>Opportunity for illegal drinking. Prices not effective. Resilient drinking. Budget readjustment. Persistence of drinking. Gov't to blame. "Othering". Drinks and love alcohol. Remorseful sometimes. Reflexivity??</p> <p>Shares feelings of being scared of addiction. Laments lack of rehabilitation for addicts. Abhors mental hospital for stigmatization.</p>	<p>They know very well that when the bars close, people are going to come to them for alcohol. In a way we are also helping them to earn a living. I don't think there has been any difference due to these prices. One thing I can tell you my brother is that if I want alcohol, I will get it. I might even go to the extent of taking money from school fees or reducing the food budget at home, so I don't think the increase of prices has had any effect on the consumption, we still drink. And I want to show you that the government is responsible for all of this because now we are forced to do spend more money on alcohol that we could be using for other things. Yes, we drink and we love alcohol. Besides sometimes I feel bad about how much I love alcohol, it's worse. I think I might be addicted to this thing and I sometimes think if there was a place where we could get help then it would be better BUT not in Lobatse because as soon as someone goes there, people would think you are mentally disturbed. You know, a place or something like a society where people like me can go there and be rehabilitated or meet and talk to other people in similar situations. Sometimes we sit here in this bar and discuss about such issues to say if there was such a place, we would readily go there and seek help but not at the mental hospital.</p>

APPENDIX D. EXAMPLE OF MEMO

In a society that seeks to control alcohol consumption, many drinkers have devised ways to deal with such control mechanisms. Toks (participant 5) narrates some of the tactics that drinkers use to deal with the new laws. It is implicit in the statements that he advocates for a “free drinker” who is unfettered by inhibition of time in the drinking process. By specifying on the time, suggest conflict and a barrier that occludes the drinking process. Toks’ narration of his drinking experience also smacks of negative spill-over unintended effects emanating from social control mechanisms especially closing bars early. He mentions that “Some people buy alcohol in bulk knowing very well that bars are about to close. After the bars close, they remain outside those bars and sell alcohol to us at higher prices and it’s mostly people with money”. In a sense, the reduction of operating hours has led to other “informal” means of operation for alcohol sales. To the savvy and business-minded, an opportunity has arisen for them to make extra money by selling alcohol from the trunk of their cars at exorbitant prices. Similarly, home sales formerly known as “shebeens” have found a niche amongst drinkers who still need more alcohol after the bars have closed. In essence, strategies to continue drinking after the closing of bars and drinking outlets abound in Toks narrative. Most of these strategies are clandestine and operate in unsafe and unregulated social spaces. In sum, Toks narrative concatenates strategies employed by drinkers in a strictly regulated environment and denotes an old adage that “where there is will, there is a way”.

APPENDIX E. RAISING CODES TO CONCEPTS

