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Drinking in a Rhodesian African Township

by

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CONTENTS

Preface	5
Chapter 1.	7
The Survey	
The Scope of the Survey	
The Sample	
The Instrument	
Field Workers	
Demographic background of the Sample Population	
Chapter 2.	11
Drinking Situations and Circumstances	
Drinking at Home	
Drinking in the Beerhalls	
Rural Drinking	
Chapter 3.	26
Attitudes to Drinking	
General and Personal Attitudes to Drinking	
Limits to the Degree of Drunkenness	
Responsibility for Behaviour when Drunk	
Individual Reasons for Drinking	
Anxiety over Individual Drinking	
Drinking as a Social Problem	
Concepts of Excessive Drinking	
Chapter 4.	36
Personal Correlates of Levels of Drinking	
Drinking Levels	
Classification of Drinking Level Categories	
Personal Correlates of Levels of Drinking:	
(a) Age, Education and Income	
(b) Religion and Levels of Drinking	
(c) Exposure to Deviant Role Models and Effects of the Presence or Absence of Sanctioning Agents	
(d) Satisfaction with Work	
(e) Rural Urban Orientation and Drinking Levels	
Individual Problems and Problem Drinking	

Chapter 5.	49
ABSTAINERS	
Chapter 6.	52
DRINKING AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE	
Young People in the Beerhalls	
Learning to Drink	
Circumstances of First Drinking Experience	
Chapter 7.	60
DRINKING AMONG WOMEN	
Women Drinkers	
Women in the Beerhalls	
Men's Attitudes to Women Drinking	
Chapter 8.	65
ILLEGAL DRINKING	
Chapter 9.	69
THE ECOLOGY OF HEAVY DRINKING	
Chapter 10.	75
SUMMARY	
APPENDIX A	83
World Health Organization's Recommendation for the survey of Drinking Patterns.	
APPENDIX B	84
Shona Drinking Terms (Maia Chenaux Repond)	
APPENDIX C	93
Traditional Methods of Brewing Beer and Distilling Kachasu.	

PREFACE

This is Mrs. May's final and major contribution to the work of the Alcoholism Research Unit set up under the Institute for Social Research of this University in 1968. We have throughout followed the recommendations of the World Health Organization on Alcohol (see Appendix A) but Mrs. May has gone into greater depth in this study through the use of mature African women fieldworkers. In consequence, once the demographic base of the study has been stated, there is a wealth of semi-structured material which should be of interest to students of social change.

One of the most important of Mrs. May's findings is the high value ascribed in this urban African society, contrary to Western norms, to what she has called controlled drunkenness. Moderate social drinking is not valued here as it is in Western society: the hypothesis is that drinking in this central African township is designed to produce moderate drunkenness, in which one becomes tranquil and thus temporarily escapes problems while social relations with others are not seriously impaired. There is the suggestion here of a contrast between convivial and utilitarian drinking in which the well-known function of alcohol as one of our most effective short-term tranquilisers or tension-reducers is being utilised. The above hypothesis would bear comparative examination in other modernizing urban peasant societies.

It is to be hoped that this and the previous Occasional Paper (No. 5, 1971) will together form a significant contribution from Rhodesia to the world literature on alcoholism and excessive drinking. In this connection special attention is drawn to the summary of findings at the end of this volume, and to the summary at the beginning of the preceding one.

We would again like to express our thanks to the Rhodesian National Council on Alcoholism, the Salisbury Municipality and to Government for the funds made available for this study. Our thanks to various officials and informants involve too many people to be named personally, but we are deeply grateful to them all.

D. H. READER,
Professor of Sociology,
Director, Institute for Social Research.

University of Rhodesia,
February, 1973.

CHAPTER I

THE SURVEY

The present study forms the second half of a two part investigation of drinking patterns in an Urban African Township. The first part was concerned with the collection and analysis of demographic data, primarily quantities drunk, frequency of alcohol use, drinking habits, drinking preferences, expenditure on drinking, women drinkers and heavy drinking. The results of this survey were published as an Occasional Paper by the University of Rhodesia in 1971.¹

The second part of the survey was designed to complete the areas recommended for investigation by the World Health Organisation Sub-Committee on Alcohol². Further areas were suggested by the results of Part One of the Survey or arose from the ongoing nature of the investigation itself.

The Scope of the Survey. The present study includes:

1. The drinking locale, at home, in the beerhall, and in the rural areas.
2. Attitudes to drinking and drinking behaviour, both individual and general.
3. Personal correlates of drinking and levels of drinking.
4. Individual problems and problem drinking.
5. Abstainers.
6. Young people in the beerhalls: first drinking experience, and learning to drink.
7. Women drinkers, and attitudes of men towards women drinking.
8. Illegal drinking.

Sections 1-6 inclusive are concerned primarily with men, as drinking among Rhodesian Africans, is largely a male occupation with certain exceptions which are noted where necessary in the text in these sections.

The emphasis in this analysis is upon the description of relationships between the dependent variables of drinking and heavy drinking, and a number of independent variables both demographic and psycho-sociological (values, attitudes, perceptions). As information about drinking behaviour is sparse, a descriptive approach is seen as more appropriate than the investigation of presumed causal relationships. The study has been designed therefore in terms of estimation and description rather than the statement and testing of hypotheses.

¹ Reader, D. H. and May, J. 1971. *Drinking Patterns in Rhodesia (Highfield African Township)*. Occasional Paper No. 5, University of Rhodesia.

² Report of a Working Group. See Appendix A.

It is designed to investigate and describe the relationship between various factors of socio-cultural change and alcohol use. The factor of alcoholism as such has not been a systematic concern of this research for several reasons. Firstly, the size of the sample, drawn from a 'normal' population would yield too few alcoholics to serve as an adequate research criterion. The number of alcoholics likely to appear in an urban African population is further obscured by the presumed number of those who return to the Tribal Trust Lands if they lose their jobs, and if unable to find new work, lose their houses in the townships, and are therefore absorbed into rural life and do not return. Secondly the determination of whether a person is in fact an alcoholic, strictly speaking, is beyond the scope of a survey of this nature, especially in a context where prolonged drinking and recurrent drunkenness are fairly widespread. The largest portion of deviant behaviour due to drinking appears to occur in persons who are by no means alcoholic in any strict sense of the word. If any problem arises in the urban African townships, and it seems clear that there is a large problem, it is the high social cost of heavy drinking rather than acute addiction to alcohol.

The Sample

A random sub-sample was drawn from the original Highfield sample, which, allowing for a 30 per cent loss due to the high mobility rate between townships and between town and country, was expected to yield approximately 100 men. One hundred and eighty cases were selected, of which 116 were in fact traced and interviewed. The non-response rate varied from section to section of the interview but was relatively low, the highest in any section being 6.03 per cent, in the incomes section. This figure almost certainly reflects those who lived entirely or to a large extent on money from lodgers, legal and illegal, and those who lived mainly on earnings from shebeens and the illicit sale of liquor. Those who merely supplemented their wages by such means usually gave the amount of their wages.

The frequency distributions in the sub-sample followed those in the original sample closely, as shown by the age distribution table below.

		<i>First Study</i>	<i>Present Study</i>
<i>Age:</i>		<i>Sample</i>	<i>Sample</i>
Under	25 yrs.	15%	17%
	25—34 yrs.	40%	43%
	35+ yrs.	44%	39%

Instrument

The instrument may be described as a structured interview in which

the interviewer used a detailed check list against which brief notes were made by the field worker. Each interview was recorded in detail immediately after it took place and before the next case was sought.

Field Workers

Field workers underwent extensive training in this method of working and produced a quantity of information far beyond the strictures of this survey. Male and female field workers also went into beer halls and shebeens as participant observers and contributed much supplementary and background material.

The responses of the women in the first study (1971) were at least open to doubt in many cases, and it emerged at that stage that it was generally "not respectable" for a woman to drink, or to admit that she did so, especially to a young male stranger. Therefore in the present study we devised a different technique, and engaged middle-aged married women of great respectability who were trained to conduct the interview with an oblique approach. The wives of the men in the sub-sample were not approached directly on the subject of their drinking habits, but on their life styles and possibilities of social participation, their drinking patterns and customs arising indirectly from this. A great deal of extremely interesting information concerning the life of the urban African woman has thus been collected and is awaiting further analysis. It seemed evident from the depth and consistency of the information that the fieldworkers had collected more frank information than was previously given. In addition, the women field assistants were greatly in demand for help and advice covering a wide range of problems, particularly from those African women whose social isolation has precluded them from knowledge of what opportunities are available in the townships.

Demographic Background of the sample Population

Age: Forty per cent of those interviewed were aged between 25 years and 35 years, 34 per cent between 35 and 40, 10 per cent were over 45, and 15 per cent were under 25 years of age.

Origin: The majority (63 per cent) were of Shona origin and half of these were Zezuru. Only 9 per cent were of other Rhodesian origin and 27 per cent came from outside the Rhodesian borders, mostly from Malawi.

Generation Urban: Most of the respondents were born outside Salisbury, only 7 per cent being of urban origin. This is rather less than has been

shown to be the case in other samples, but is accountable in terms of sample size and sample error. Most of those born outside the town came to Salisbury between the ages of 16 and 25 years (64 per cent). Sixteen per cent came as young children and remained here. It will be seen that though most of the town dwellers came as work seekers, nearly a quarter of the male population has lived in Salisbury as children, and though they may have some contact with their parents' homes they regarded themselves as urban products.

Rural Visiting: Though there is evidence of frequent visits to the rural areas nearly 20 per cent of males in this survey had not returned home in the past year, and two fifths of these stated that they never went home. Annual leave was spent in their home area by 22 per cent, and 28 per cent went home once a month or more.

Wife and Children's domicile:

Wife's domicile—

Rurally based	:	10,34%
Town based	:	37,92%
Seasonal visiting	:	33,62%
Males unmarried	:	18,10%
		<hr/>
		99,98%
		<hr/>

Seasonal Visiting is used here to indicate that the wife returns home at the beginning of the ploughing season, and remains in the home village, usually without coming back to town, until harvesting has been done, i.e. from October—May each year. Social workers say they are observing a change in this pattern, especially in comparatively better-off families, but these women who alternate between town and country form an important group at present.

Forty-six per cent of the men interviewed had at least one child being reared in the rural areas. These children, together with land rights, cattle or other property in the rural areas are some measure of the degree of rural commitment which the urban dweller still has.

CHAPTER II

DRINKING SITUATIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

Drinking at home

Traditionally, drinking was mainly a male group activity, as was drunkenness. Men were not part of the day by day routine of the household, nor were their leisure hours spent amid the feminine sphere of interest in the home. Today the beerhalls provide a place for men to gather, in some degree as they did in tribal life, in predominantly male groups. Very few men drink only at home, but the majority do so at least occasionally.

Number of Drinkers who Drink in their own Homes

Frequency	n	%	%
Once a week or more	23	32,39	} 51 71,83
More than once a month (occasionally)	28	38,44	
Very infrequently or never	18	25,35	
Non-responses	2	2,82	
	71	101,00	

Age of Home Drinkers. Although a number of the very young drinkers said that they imagined that people who drank at home must be those who were too aged and infirm to reach the beerhalls, there are in fact more people among the younger age group who drink at home than among the elders:

Age of Drinkers at Home

Age:	n	%
Under 35 years	30	58,8
35 years and over	21	41,2
	51	100,00

Age and Type of Liquor Drunk in the Home:

Age	African Beer		European liquor		Both types		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Under 35 yrs.	15	45,45	13	39,39	5	15,15	33
35 and over	16	69,56	3	13,04	4	17,39	23
	31	55,35	16	28,57	9	16,07	56

(Infrequent home drinkers are not included in this table).

It will be seen that the older people tend to drink African beer in their homes, and the younger ones to drink European beer. Omitting those who drink either type of beverage as the occasion demands, there is a significant difference at the 5% level between the age groups of those who consistently drink African beer and those who consistently drink European liquor (two men who occasionally drank spirits at home are included in this category).

Income Level and Drinking in the Home:

Income	Does drink at home		Never, or Infrequently		Total
	n	%	n	%	
\$7,99 or less per week	18	69,23	8	30,76	26
\$8 to \$15,99 per week	23	71,87	9	28,12	32
\$16 and over	8	100,00	0	0	8
	49	69,01	17	23,94	16

There is a significant difference here between the high-income group who all drink at home, and others ($\chi^2 = 8,1351, 2 \text{ d.f.}, p < 0,02$). However, educational level makes virtually no difference at all to home-drinking patterns. This is probably because a number of the better educated were among the younger men who were living with their parents or as lodgers, or were unemployed. Heads of households predominated, as might be expected, in the home drinkers, and those lodgers who drank at home often said they drank with the head of household.

Eight non-drinkers served beer to visitors to their homes though they themselves did not drink.

Drinking at home was associated by a third of the drinkers with high socio-economic status, and by a quarter with disliked conditions at the beer hall. A man may feel it beneath his dignity to risk the fights and rowdiness at the beer hall, but he may also be poor and perhaps elderly. Drinking at home and drinking in the beerhall are, of course, by no means mutually exclusive. Seventy-six per cent of all drinkers preferred drinking in the beerhall, and only 21 per cent preferred drinking at home, but this latter group is large enough to be interesting. It transpires that preference for home drinking over public drinking may be related to income:

<i>Income</i>	<i>Preferred Locale</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>Home</i>		<i>Public</i>	<i>place</i>	
	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	
Under \$8,00 per week	2	8,33	22	91,66	24
\$8,00 to \$15,99 p.w.	9	27,27	24	72,72	33
\$16 and over	3	37,5	5	62,5	8
(Non-responses 6)	14		51		65

The association of high economic status and drinking at home in a modernising people is paralleled in a study of Eskimos on Baffin Island³ in which the author observes that "Alcohol consumption as measured by purchases made at the liquor store (attendance at the tavern is another matter) correlates directly with economic and social status".

That those of higher socio-economic status drink at home more frequently than others may be because of a greater distaste for the rowdy conditions of the beer garden and a liking for a more European form of leisure activity. Home drinking will extend to the wife and the wives of friends as family patterns change, but is probably equally connected with housing. The higher-paid men will usually have more living space, making comfortable home drinking and entertaining possible. Less well-off women often complained that their husbands always drank at the beerhall, or in friends' houses which were more spacious and did not have "children playing and women cooking" in the same room.

Relatives and friends of a man who is thought to be drinking to excess often recommend that he drinks at home rather than in the beerhall where the temptation to continue drinking beyond a desirable level is greater. However, if his living conditions offer little or no incentive to do so, their advice is seldom heeded.

Jellineck writes that "there was in the past much mention of the slum-dweller who was driven to 'pubs', bars and saloons in order to obtain relief from his dreary home. This was, and is referred to as alcoholism of environmental origin . . . Many contemporary French writers on alcoholism have pointed out the escape from the dreary home to the more pleasant tavern. Bresard (1958) in a study of housing in relation to alcohol consumption, found a definite relation between daily wine intake and the number of rooms occupied by families".⁴

³ Honigman, J. and Honigman, I., 1965. How Baffin Islander Eskimos have learned to use Alcohol. *Social Forces*, 44.

⁴ Jellineck, E. M., 1960. Social, Cultural and Economic Factors in Alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol. Jellineck Jubilee Reprints*. Rutgers University New Brunswick, N.J., p. 586.

The reasons put forward in the present survey in support of drinking at home were that it was cheaper, that one was less likely to fall into temptation either to drink more than one intended and thus spend too much money, or through the presence of "free women". (On the other hand one respondent who had given up drinking altogether was considering returning to the beerhall because of the difficulty he was experiencing in finding "temporary wives" while his wife was in the country). One man who gave up drinking, and another who decided for economic reasons to drink only at home, soon returned to the beerhall because they became so lonely, and people thought the second man "proud and conceited".

Liquor is seldom kept at home but sent out for as the occasion arises. On the arrival of guests whom the host wishes to honour, a member of the family, often a child, is sent to the nearest outlet and the beer is brought home and drunk, usually when some food has been provided. The men usually drink together and the women often drink tea or soft drinks, even though they may consume beer when alone with their husbands. Younger married people are tending to drink together, but the women must, if they are respectable, appear to drink very little. In more modernised households, liquor is drunk in a style more closely resembling the European manner, but even in cases where the women participate they are usually reluctant to admit it to outsiders. One sophisticated woman informant denied drinking at all, but as she gained confidence in the interviewer, admitted first that she sometimes drank a small amount of beer at parties, and ended up by telling us, after some time, that in fact at cocktail parties she usually had "a couple of brandy and sodas".

Modernisation and better housing may be expected to increase the amount of drinking at home, particularly among the middle classes. European patterns are likely to be emulated here in type of liquor, methods of serving, and for effects falling short of intoxication. Lower socio-economic classes are likely to follow the almost universal pattern and continue to do most of their drinking in public places designed for this purpose.

Drinking in the Beerhalls

Drinking at home, usually with friends and particularly relatives, is for the ordinary man an adjunct to his main drinking, which is done in the beerhall as a group activity. Preference for public drinking places is not confined to African townships. In London (Edwards, Chandler

and Hursman),⁵ only 9 per cent of the working class subjects preferred drinking at home. A survey of an English industrial community found that people spent more time in public drinking houses than in any other building except homes and places of employment. The 'pub' has more buildings, hold more people, takes more of their time and money than church, cinema, dancehall and political organisations together.⁶

Wollacott⁷ speaks of the municipally operated beerhalls as a "major, if not the most dominant of the introduced social institutions among urban Africans . . . they provide an arena in which the individual can expand or sustain his involvement in the potential new experiences and contacts made possible in his urban circumstances".

In our previous survey we asked people why they went to the beerhall and offered a number of alternative reasons. Though the majority said then that they went for the beer, their second and third responses made it clear that when a man said he went to the beerhall to drink beer he went for many other reasons. In the present survey the men were asked what they liked best about the beerhalls. Thirty-six per cent said that the opportunity for social contacts was the best part of the beerhalls, and a further 13 per cent mentioned their pleasure in the music and dancing. The number who said that beer was the most important thing at the beerhall dropped to 24 per cent. A surprising 11 per cent said that there was nothing good about beerhalls but went nevertheless. A number of non-drinkers regularly go to the beerhall for the companionship and amenities, and some spend money in providing beer for others which they themselves do not drink.

The following excerpts from information collected early in the present survey describe a wide range of needs in patrons which the beerhall helps to fulfil.

Drinking to feel happy. (Informant: a forty year old married man employed as a night watchman.) Mr. M. C. said that as far as he was concerned, beer drinking was not having any bad effects on him. He always calculated his expenditure beforehand. He had never had trouble because of rents or the school fees of his children because of drinking. In fact, he found that drinking made him feel happier, and thought it would be sad without beer. He said that the provision of beer was a good thing. It was easier to get beer nearby for most of the day, and one was always

⁵ Edwards, G., Chandler, J., and Hursman, C., 1972. Drinking in a London Suburb. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. Supplement No. 6, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J., p. 84.

⁶ Mass Observations, 1943. *The Pub and the People*. London. Victor Gollanz.

⁷ Wolcott, H. F. *Plastic Mugs for Traditional Brew. Beer Drinking among Rhodesian Urban Africans*. Unpublished Manuscript.

assured of company in the beerhall, so that the chances of being bored were very little.

Varied reasons for drinking. (Informant: a thirty-two year old married man employed as a translator-editor for an African publisher). This informant reported that he drank more European-type beer earlier in the month and more African-type beer later in the month. He noted that the reasons for which he visited the pubs had varied with time. There had been a time when loneliness had sent him to the pub. After he married, he was no longer lonely and yet he felt he should go to the pub every so often. The mere desire of beer also sent him to the pub. The pub was also an important meeting place where people discussed current issues. Also, there was not very much else an African could do besides go to the pub and drink. The beer places were the nearest recreational places which everyone could reach with least effort. At first he said he had tried to look for other sources of recreation, but on account of distance they proved both inconvenient and expensive. He said he was finding it difficult to find any suitable recreation for his wife who did not drink and who did not work. He said that the recreational facilities available for women did not distinguish according to their educational standard and this made them largely unexciting for his wife.

Women and beer. (Informant: mid-thirties, married, a heavy-machinery operator who described a job which entailed spending long periods away from home.) As far as he was concerned, this man said, beer and women were inseparable. The places where one found beer, one could easily get women, and vice versa. He said there were occasions when he was forced to get a woman for the night simply because he happened to meet one and was "compelled" to spend money entertaining her with drinks. There were also occasions when he had gone to the pub specifically to look for a night partner but got so drunk that he failed in his original aim and went without one. This was because once he met the woman, she drove him to drink more and more, and when he was thoroughly drunk, other people who were less drunk stole the woman away. In any case, he said, prostitutes were always inclined to take advantage of one's drunken state to maximise their earnings. By running away from a man who had provided her with all the beer she wanted the prostitute assured herself of a cash payment from the next man.

It has been noted in the previous reports Reader and May,⁸ and May⁹ that beerhalls appear to fulfil an important need in the social and communal

⁸ Reader, D. H. and May, J. *op cit.*

⁹ May, J., 1972. *Survey of Urban African Drinking Patterns in the Bulawayo Municipal Townships*. Report for the Municipality of Bulawayo, Institute for Social Research, University of Rhodesia. (Roneo).

lives of people who have little else to provide a sense of community within the townships, and little other opportunity for social participation; and for the exchange of news, gossip and ideas or for interpersonal contacts. The beerhalls provide a forum for the exchange of information about available jobs and available women, news from home and available resources in time of trouble, and for the finding of people who speak one's own language or dialect. It is said that a stranger in town may go to the beerhall, and wander round listening for the language or accents of his home and will almost certainly find people from his own district eventually. They are a meeting place for kinsmen and clansmen who are often spatially separated in the townships where the shortage of housing makes placement haphazard. In addition the beerhalls offer music and dancing, both traditional and modern, games of various kinds, and serve as a meeting place for clubs and organisations. Through the social networks in the beerhalls, people not only establish themselves when they are newcomers in the urban milieu, but meet their needs for group participation and social contacts as town dwellers, and at the same time maintain ties from home.

"One might say that the active and personal social participation which takes place in many taverns is beneficial. In urban areas they appear to be meeting certain basic social psychological needs of their patrons. As urbanisation has increased impersonality, mobility, formal controls and individualism in every day living, men have been hindered in their attempts to adjust satisfactorily to urban life. Furthermore, the monotony of many types of work and the competitive drive of the entire industrial system with its emphasis on materialism, often result in frustration. These characteristics of modern urban life may explain in part at least, the importance of the role of the tavern in contemporary society."¹⁰

There is no doubt that the beer itself plays a large part in the conviviality and vitality of life in the beerhalls. "The social values facilitated by the consumption of alcoholic drinks spring from a recognition of their function in reducing social distances and strengthening group bonds. These values evolve around fellowship, social amity and group morale."¹¹ However, as a modifier of behaviour, alcohol does not necessarily fulfil only a socially integrative function, but can bring about behaviour which is personally and socially destructive. It is this side which makes the

¹⁰ Clinard and Marshall, 1962. *The Public Drinking House and Society*. In: Pittman, D. J., and Snyder, C. R., (eds.) *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns*. New York, Wiley, p. 291.

¹¹ Lemert, E. M., 1962. *Alcohol, Values and Social Control*. In: Pittman, D. J., and Snyder, C. R. (eds.) *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns*, New York, Wiley, p. 554.

beerhall or pub appear to many as a serious threat to the home and family, and a major source of crime, juvenile delinquency, sexual promiscuity and weakening moral standards generally.

There are both costs and values attached to drinking in the beerhall, and the costs must weigh against their socially integrative and necessary functions. However, to count these in terms of a sort of sociological book-keeping is to over-simplify. The beerhalls do indeed provide a temptation to people to drink excessively in a situation where there is a large degree of tolerance of drunkenness, where social controls are weak and there are few established norms of behaviour. It is not the beerhalls which are responsible for deviant behaviour, though it may often be sited there, but the social situation and circumstances in which both the beerhall as an institution and its patrons are placed.

Complaints about the beerhall. One man in five could find nothing about the beerhall that he disliked, though some regretted that they tended to overspend when they and their friends were having a good time. Sixty-three per cent of the men complained of the general facilities and service in the beerhall; the inadequate toilet facilities, the long queue for draught beer, the mugs, the fact that these had to be washed by the drinker, the overcrowding, lack of physical comforts and of shade. Bad beer accounted for 13 per cent of the complaints (this was just before the change to a new Superbrew) and 35 per cent complained of the bad behaviour of the patrons, the pushing and shoving and aggressive behaviour. (More than 100 per cent due to multiple answers).

Despite the complaints, when they were asked to suggest alternative amenities which might be popular 44 per cent said that there was nothing more attractive than the beerhall. Among the alternative amenities suggested were sports facilities (30 per cent), cultural facilities (18 per cent) and cinemas showing "town" type films (13 per cent) instead of those usually exhibited which are considered to be fit only for children.

Rural Drinking

Most men in our sample (93 per cent) were born in the rural areas. Fifteen per cent of these came to town as children under the age of 15 years, 30 per cent came as young adults of 16-20 years and 40 per cent came between the ages of 20 and 30, the great majority in their early twenties. Thus 70 per cent grew up in the rural areas, and came to town as work seekers. Most of them return regularly for short periods to their homes.

Return to Area of Origin

1. Annual leave—	21,55%
2. Holiday and occasional weekends—	18,10%
3. Every two or three months—	9,48%
4. Once a month or more—	28,45%
5. Less than once a year—	12,07%
6. Never—	7,76%
	<hr/> 97,00%

(One non-response, and one man spends occasional leave at his wife's home, but never at his own).

A man's drinking is done in two broad situations, town and country. Though he may modify his basic behaviour in each to suit the situation, the patterns of behaviour he has acquired in town tend, in his social drinking, to be translated to the rural context, and it is the rural patterns that appear to yield to change. Most men have come to town before they start drinking at home. The decision to do so has been their own rather than a traditional community recognition that such men are now worthy of respect and ready to play an adult role, which is almost always given only after marriage. Forty-five per cent of the men said they were already drinking in town when they drank for the first time in the village, and that here too it was their own decision to do so. It is likely that young men who have not gone to the towns would emulate this self-ascribed status of their peers when these return; and though their elders regret that even very young men are drinking in the rural areas now, it is accepted as inevitable.

So it is with mixed drinking; groupings according to sex and age seldom pertain except in the most formal ritual situations and in the most distant and conservative villages. As one man said, "When I return to my home for a weekend, my father and my mother, and my other relatives want to hear my news and the news of others in the town, so we drink together, men and women, young and old".

An examination of the age and sex structure taken in a rural Shona Ward near Salisbury¹² seems to suggest that the scarcity of men in the villages may be a factor in the breaking down in the age groupings.

<i>Age in years</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
15-19	61	68
20-24	23	46
25 years and over	90	182

¹² Chavanduka, G. L., 1970. *Social Change in a Shona Ward*. Occasional Paper No. 4, Department of Sociology, University of Rhodesia, p. 13.

It is possible that the higher proportion of very young men has influenced the acceptance of their beer drinking and that the absence of their immediate elders has not only raised their status but has made their company, when participating, more attractive to those older men who remain. In the country women are shouldering many of the responsibilities of family life and are perhaps no longer quite so prepared to remain on the perimeter of social life. The high numbers of widows and divorcees, may contribute to this, if the town patterns are operative at all in the village.

Changes toward a cash economy brought a realisation of the commercial value of so popular a commodity as beer, and led inevitably to *ndari*—"beer for sale". The proceeds from the sale of beer, traditionally brewed by women, are often the only source of income, the only cash procurable for the payment of school fees and equipment. Frequently, the only free beer available now is beer that is used on ceremonial occasions, or the beer which the wife, mother or sisters of the homecoming man brew in his honour if he has given warning of his arrival. This is now regarded as traditional and is often brewed even if the man is a known abstainer as a token of welcome and respect. The custom is of course of recent origin and has developed since the migration to towns began, and especially since communications improved enough for the female relatives to have sufficient warning of the homecoming.

Less than one fifth of the respondents said that beer was still drunk in the traditional manner on both social and ceremonial occasions in their villages, and over half said that traditional forms were observed only on ceremonial occasions. It has been reported that in some villages beer for all others than the immediate family is sold, even at religious ceremonies and other special occasions.

Traditionally beer has always been free, and the only element of barter which entered into drinking was the beer given to those who helped in the fields at a working party (*nhimbe*). The beer, even here, however, had an element of incentive rather than reward in the form of a wage, and did not in any sense belong to the volunteer labourers. It was drunk at certain times and in traditional manner, by the workers together with the host and his family until it was finished, and was not usually taken away by the workers.

A further change has been brought about by the number of commercial outlets which have grown up in the rural areas. A 'commercial' outlet may be a bottle store, a beerhall or beer garden operated by the local council or the farm supplying the beer. It may also be a distribution point, where a 'tanker' arrives at a fixed day and time and the beer is either drunk on the spot by people who have gathered for the purpose,

or is carried away in a variety of containers to nearby villages and resold at a profit to the entrepreneur—the “second retailer”.* Thirty-eight per cent of the men reported that alcoholic drinks were obtainable at commercial outlets accessible to their homes.

The beerhalls in the rural areas are often a source of resentment as they have reduced or removed a source of cash. If the beerhall is operated by the local council the nearby villagers may be forbidden to brew *ndari*. Many villagers do however still brew and sell beer. The beerhalls mentioned were sometimes a considerable distance from the village, and many people said that they drank *ndari* and at the local outlet at their village. Sixteen men volunteered complaints that the women's income from brewing had been curtailed or done away with, and that in many cases it was an old woman's only source of money. The majority of women interviewed resented the financial loss involved, but were additionally concerned that the beerhalls were a cause of moral decline.

“When (commercial outlets) first came we didn't realise they were bad. We thought they were a means of bringing about cleanliness to the people. Now we realise that all the western civilization the people are copying is rubbed out by the bad behaviour and irresponsibility brought about by these centres. Religion, cleanliness and education are now not appreciated. Young girls are no longer well behaved; you could not find virgins even among the very young. Children no longer grow to a big size because of having affairs with men. Married people appreciate (*sic*) prostitution seen at these centres and divorces are many. All the evils connected with beer drinking are widespread and life is dead. If God wishes, some of these things may come to an end—no man could bring an end to this.”

And

“Many people, especially men do not do their work in their homes. They spend all day in this place. Older people think this has caused broken marriages because people who drink tend to become loose with the opposite sex, (especially in a place where social controls operate less effectively than in the village situation). Young boys and girls are also getting very bad influence at this outlet because they often go for fun—they just loiter around and some of them are becoming the worst drinkers.”

Two women welcomed the coming of the beerhall system because it brought to country people at least some of the amenities of town—and a “place to go and dress smartly”.

*This is no longer happening.

The men, all of whose opinions were spontaneous arising out of other matters, were less disapproving than the women, and the main theme of their approval was the daily availability of good clean beer. The same fact, however, gave rise to much anxiety. Beer had never before been obtainable every day and people were seemingly unable to cope with this new availability. It was proving too great a temptation to many, with the result that the fields were being neglected, and the little available cash was being spent on beer rather than education and necessities. "In some cases even the ploughing is left to the women and the same people have poor harvests year after year."

Village bottle stores (some of which offer accommodation) and beer-halls attracted town customers. These visiting men either come alone and provide a temptation to the local women to earn a little money, or bring their girl friends with them which sets a bad example to the local young girls.

Despite the widespread bewailing of the evils of an increasing number of rural beerhalls, nearly two thirds of the townsmen going home do in fact at least sometimes drink at these commercial outlets, some because they prefer the beer for reasons of taste and hygiene, and some (17 per cent) because, as they said, they were afraid of witchcraft or poisoning if they drank beer brewed by anyone but a close relative. Jealousy was invariably the motive given here, and one man went as far as to venture the opinion that "the main cause of death (in his area) is witchcraft at beer parties". However, a more temperate informant said that town-people who go home "only occasionally are deeply distrustful of country people and are always afraid of being poisoned". A man who is afraid of witchcraft or poisoning is often in a dilemma—if he drinks the proffered beer he runs the risk of being poisoned; if he refuses it "they would gossip about you later and arrange for you to be bewitched".

There appears to be no difficulty in refusing a drink if a man is a known abstainer, but it would be extremely difficult to refuse a drink without causing offence if the man were known to be a drinker. Allowances are, however made for illness or mood, and sometimes a token sip is enough. Refusal to drink may be taken as an aspersion on the beer itself, or the motives of the brewer, or as a sign that the man has adopted European ways in town and has become too proud to drink the village brew. In any case, the majority of drinkers felt that it would be impolite and "untraditional" to refuse beer. Several flatly stated that it would be impossible to do so, though only one went so far as to say that "if one refuses a drink, the others think of you as uncultured or mentally deranged".

In ritual beer drinking it is impossible to refuse if one is participating in any way; it would show disrespect for the spirits and the family. A known teetotaler, even here, may be excused more than a token sip but it is better in the circumstances to have a stand-in drinker who will take the non-drinker's share.

Changes observed by Respondents. The changes of form observed on social drinking occasions were remarked on by 70 per cent of the people interviewed who drink at home in the villages. Fifty-one per cent of these stressed that young people are beginning to drink at a much earlier age, and were mingling with the older men when doing so; the implication being that the older men either accepted the fact that old curbs on early drinking had fallen away, or were resigned to it. Seventeen (28 per cent) extended this to include women, who were now much more frequently drinking the strong beer of the married men rather than the 'maheru', an unfermented beer formerly considered more suitable for women and young men. Men, women and young men now usually drink together "as though they were in a beerhall. This must inevitably lead to a loss of respect for each other". "Every one drinks, even children who can collect the price of a drink" and they are allowed to mix with their elders.

There is however one new form of segregated grouping by age: "During the drinking the older people sing and dance traditional music, while the young get together and play records and dance."

The changes began with 'ndari' (beer for sale) and increased as contact with towns increased as it then became possible for more people to come home at frequent intervals while remaining based in the towns, bringing with them drinking habits acquired in the beerhalls in town.

Parties, 'societies' and 'birthdays' are becoming increasingly common.* These are all forms of social, beerdrinking gatherings and the actual form varies slightly from village to village or district to district. In one fairly large village the families take it in turn to organise parties. The cost of these to the guests varies with the type of food and amenities provided, and some of them are large enough to warrant the slaughter of an ox, as well as the more usual chickens. African beer is brewed and served, but often European beer will be obtained from the nearby bottle store. Everyone has a share of the profits from time to time and the weekly party is a great draw for the townsmen from the district who come home regularly, bringing cash with them to pay for a weekend's drinking, eating, singing and dancing.

It is possible that this type of entertainment may be curbed in the future by Local Councils who provide beerhalls and look to the profits

*Drinking parties in which payments are made by the guests, are now widely known in the African rural areas of South Africa as well.

for revenue. It may then survive only on farms and in a different form in towns, where the system already operates but is not as conspicuous.

It is not only in the towns that rapid change is taking place. Improved transportation, especially the ubiquitous country bus, has not only enabled the townsman to return at comparatively frequent intervals to his home, but has made it possible for the countryman to come to town. Children are sent away to school; extension and conservation methods in farming and the establishment of local councils, the growth of rural townships and numerous other factors are producing radical differences in the way of life in rural areas. A study in Yugoslavia showed that "cultural traditions determine drinking habits and attitudes towards alcohol only under certain circumstances, namely, if some equilibrium is maintained in the life of the community; if the area is exposed to excessive pressures the cultural tradition may be overrun suddenly and abrupt changes in attitudes towards alcohol may occur".¹³

It is clear that great pressures have been, and are being exerted on the village life in the rural areas. Not the least of these is the accelerated interchange between town and country; and the establishment of beer-halls and other commercial outlets for the sale of alcoholic liquor are bringing changes of a radical nature of which the changing of drinking patterns is merely an aspect.

Rural Drinking by Urban Men. Fourteen per cent of the sample were men who had not been home for ten years or more and so did not contribute to this section.

Table:

Participation of Town dwellers by Percentage

Social drinking only—	21,31%
Ritual drinking only—	6,56%
Social and ritual	72,13%

Percentages of Town Dwellers—Reports of Forms of Drinking

1. Traditional forms observed	20,00%
2. Traditional forms observed only when ritual	55,76%
3. Modified or occasional tradi- tional forms	17,31%
*4. No knowledge	7,69%

¹³ Erlich, V. S., 1965. Comments on Mandelbaum, D., Alcohol and Culture. *Current Anthropology*, No. 3., June, p. 288.

*This figure includes those from villages which are completely Christian and teetotal, and those where traditional forms had so fallen away that the respondents did not know what they were.

Method of Distribution

1. Always given free	12,50%
2. Usually sold (<i>ndari</i>)	41,35%
3. Retail only allowed	8,65%
4. Retail and <i>ndari</i>	36,54%

Of the 61 drinkers who go home regularly:

- 11 (18,03%) drink only 'family' beer
- 16 (26,29%) are given 'family beer' and supplement from local sources (*ndari*)
- 13 (21,31%) drink 'family beer', buy *ndari* and use a commercial outlet.
- 7 (11,48%) drink 'family beer', and supplement from a commercial outlet.
- 10 (16,39%) drink only *ndari*.
- 3 (4,92%) get beer from commercial outlet only.

First Rural Drinking Experiences

Eighty-nine per cent of the drinkers recalled their first rural drinking experience. Forty-five per cent reported that this came about through their own decision and that they were already drinking in town at the time.

Type of Drinking Group

Mixed and mixed family groups	54,10%
Male company only, all ages	24,59%
Peer group only	11,45%
Close male relatives	8,20%
Non-response	1,66%
	<hr/>
	100,00%

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES TO DRINKING

General and Personal Attitudes to Drinking

In analysing drinking patterns, one of the major tasks is the attempt to locate such regulatory norms as govern drinking behaviour and to ascertain not only the extent to which such norms are shared between and within social and ethnic groups, but what degree of deviance from them is tolerated. In the consideration of deviance it is important to find out whose value hierarchies are being invoked: those of the African in the urban areas, or those of the dominant white society. At one extreme of the former society there are the norms of the African religious sects, and the faithful members of the stricter non-conformist churches which totally proscribe alcohol. The norms for adult drinking and drinking among the young are also different, and the drinking of a very young man may be considered deviant where the same amount in an older man would be normal. In general, however, we will be trying to discover the norms governing the drinking behaviour of the urban adult male drinker. "Where drinking occurs and its use is institutionalized, the regulatory norms have to do, not with abstinence, but with *moderation*."¹⁴

The primary difficulty lies in the definition of moderation in relation to drinking. Chafetz asks "what exactly is moderation?" and answers by saying "Curiously, moderation is beyond definition . . . Immoderate drinking on the other hand means problem drinking or alcoholism".¹⁵

Jessor states that "moderation as a regulatory norm for adults has to do . . . with the amount consumed, the appropriateness of the circumstances of consumption and the avoidance or immunization of the negative correlates and consequences of alcohol use".¹⁶ He is however writing from the point of view of white American society, rather than taking minority group values into account, one of which may be drunkenness itself. It seems clear from our data that a high value is placed by African drinkers in Rhodesia on drunkenness, particularly drunkenness which is 'controlled' to the extent that behaviour when drunk does not violate the individual's ideal relations with others. Moderate drinking is not seen, as it commonly is by Western Europeans, as drinking which is confined to an amount falling far short of that needed to produce intoxication but drinking not more than an amount which produces *moderate* drunkenness.

¹⁴ Jessor, R., Graves T. D., Hanson R.C. and Jessor, S. L., 1968. *Society, Personality and Deviant Behaviour: a Study of a Tri-ethnic Community*. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p. 38-39.

¹⁵ Chafetz, M. E., 1965. *Liquor the Servant of Man*. London, Phoenix House Library, p. 50.

¹⁶ Jessor (*et al.*), *op. cit.* 0.39.

In dealing with this section on attitudes in the interviews a choice of answers was at first provided, and the respondent asked to select the one that most nearly approximated to what he thought. Fieldworkers reports soon showed that the choice was more suited to white British or American drinkers than to African drinkers—that we were invoking our own scale of values rather than the African's. The first suspect set of answers included the two separate structured responses "because you like drinking" and "to get drunk". The field workers reported back that a great many respondents had said that they felt these two answers were basically the same. "If you like drinking, you like getting drunk." The second set ranged from "Drinking and getting drunk is one of life's greatest pleasures", through "drinking is all right in moderation" to "drinking is always wrong". There appeared to be confusion here (caused by the structured answers) between the first two of these responses. "Moderation" here definitely did not exclude the possibility, in fact the probability of getting drunk. Though the choices made, therefore, did not give us a clear picture of individual attitudes, they did provide considerable insight into acceptable limits to the amount drunk and the degree of tolerance of drunkenness, which was high by European standards. The African drinks primarily to get drunk, and though Ullman speaks of the reasons for drinking being in some circumstances "either social, as part of ritual, or individual, in order to obtain some effect or to gain whatever pleasure or ease can be derived from the act of drinking, exclusive of the intoxicating effect of the beverage",¹⁷ the intoxicating effect of the beverage appears to be in our context its major virtue.

Maddox¹⁸ comments on the difficulty of taking responses to questions about attitudes at their face value and it seems appropriate to the present situation to quote his remarks.

Of interest here is that "to get drunk" is an acceptable response to the general question "why do you drink?" "Why an individual drinks or abstains from drinking is not always apparent to himself much less to anyone else. Most individuals do learn, however, to anticipate in given situations the question "why did you do that?" Through interaction with others, individual responses to such questions tend to become standardized and to be shared with others. Social interaction through time produces shared "vocabularies of motives" which are ready answers to questions of motivation.¹⁹ Shared verbalisations about motivation for

¹⁷ Ullman, 1962. First Drinking Experience as related to age and sex. In Pittman & Snyder. (eds.) *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns*. New York, Wiley, p. 265.

¹⁸ Maddox, G. L., 1962. Teenage Drinking in the United States in Pittman & Snyder (eds.) *Society, Culture & Drinking Patterns*. N.Y. Wiley, p. 240.

¹⁹ Wright Mills, C. 1940. Situation, Action & Vocabularies of Motives. *American Sociological Review.*, 5904-913.

drinking or abstaining are not in themselves always to be taken at face value as explanations for such behaviour. These shared vocabularies do, however, provide insight into currently acceptable responses to such questions as "why do you drink?"

Reasons for Drinking (Individual):

	n	°
Like drinking	26	36,62
To get drunk	20	28,17
Friends do it, not to be left out	21	29,58
It is customary	0	0
Other reason	3	4,23
Non-response	1	1,41
	71	100,01

Attitude towards Drinking:

	n	°
Drinking and getting drunk among life's greatest pleasures	25	35,21
All right in moderation	45	63,38
Always wrong	0	0
Non-response	1	1,41
	71	100,00

Among the Non-drinkers:

	n	°
One of life's greatest pleasures*	3	6,67
All right in moderation	5	11,11
Always wrong	10	22,22
Indifferent to others drinking	27	60,00
	45	100,00

*The wistful non-drinkers were among those whom drinking made ill, the "gastric abstainers".

Tolerance for a certain type of drunkenness, and the idea that up to this degree, where control can still be exercised, moderation and moderate drinking only were involved, was shared by the women. Typical comments on their husband's drinking were "my husband is a moderate drinker. He never beats me when he is drunk", or "he only goes to sleep when he is drunk". Conversely, both men and women felt that women should not drink because they would not be able to fulfil their domestic duties when drunk. The idea that anyone could, or would want to drink without getting drunk was not widely held, though it was obvious that in fact a number of women do drink very moderately by any standards, and a few men do.

Taken Together:

	n	%
One of life's greatest pleasures	28	24,14
All right in moderation	50	43,10
Always wrong	10	8,62
Indifferent though abstinent	27	23,28
Non-response	1	0,86
	<hr/> 116	<hr/> 100,00

Limits to the Degree of Drunkenness

Light on Mashona norms of respectable drinking behaviour is provided by some of the many Shona terms used to described drinking behaviour.*

A drinker who drinks *zvire mavero* (moderately) limits his amount. He will know from experience when his behaviour is likely to become offensive under the influence of liquor and stop before that point of intoxication is reached. The phrase "*inwa zvire urwero!*" is used to admonish a person who has overstepped the mark on a previous occasion by, for example, vomiting in public.

Of the respondents in our sample, 50 per cent felt that a man would gain most respect from his drinking partners for his quietness and orderliness even though he were drunk. This category, and that of "his moderation" are almost certainly not mutually exclusive.

Drinking Behaviour most likely to Gain Respect:

	n	%
Moderation	26	36,62
Ability to drink without apparently getting drunk	9	12,68
Quietness and orderliness though drunk	36	50,70
	<hr/> 71	<hr/> 100,00

*(Translations were supplied by the Department of African Languages, University of Rhodesia, to whom we are most grateful.)

Drinking Behaviour most likely to Lose Respect:

	n	%
Aggressive behaviour	52	73,24
Constant excess	7	9,86
Neglect of responsibilities	4	5,63
Loss of control (i.e. falling down, getting lost)	3	4,23
Other replies	4	5,63
	68	98,41

It will be seen that drunkenness to a degree which falls short of a loss of dignity, loss of control or aggressive tendencies is not only widely tolerated but even expected of the drinking man. There was seldom hesitation in telling the interviewer how often the respondent got drunk, and regret was expressed in a number of interviews that it was not financially possible to become drunk more often. A number of the wives of men who claimed they were seldom if ever drunk disagreed with their husband's account of his extreme moderation. Church members were particularly wary of admitting frequent drunkenness, though some admitted occasionally becoming intoxicated. One church-going respondent told the interviewer that he was a secret drinker: he always "drank secretly with other church members".

Responsibility for Behaviour when drunk

With the concept of controlled drunkenness, most people felt that a man must be held responsible for his conduct when drunk. Only 10 per cent agreed with the idea of diminished responsibility. Though a further 9 per cent felt that a man could not be held responsible for his drunken behaviour if he had had no previous experience of what to expect. The 80 per cent who felt that complete responsibility must be accepted included 32 per cent of the drinkers who volunteered a reason for their opinion. In every case this amounted to the view that responsibility must be accepted because deviant behaviour while drunk was always premeditated, and the stage of drunkenness at which such behaviour became possible was calculated. A fairly common threat in Shona in this context is "*ndino kummira hwaatwa*" (literally I will drink this beer for you), meaning "when I have drunk this I will be in a state to get you" when the situation in the drinking group has got beyond the ideal of pleasant companionship and an aggressive stage has been reached.

Individual Reasons for Drinking

Bales,²⁰ identifies four attitudes to drinking: (1) Abstinence, which is usually religious, (2) Ritual: alcoholic beverages should be used in ritual, (3) Convivial: where alcohol is used to create solidarity and because it loosens the emotions, leading to social ease, and (4) Utilitarian or indulgent: where drinking is done to further personal satisfaction. Wherever the convivial attitude is highly developed it seems to be in danger of breaking down towards purely utilitarian drinking, and it is among the utilitarian drinkers that problem drinkers are to be found. Several studies in America have used the Jews as examples of ritual drinking, finding a connection between ritual drinking and sobriety. The Jews, however, value sobriety highly, and the Africans, even in ritual drinking, do not. Drinking in the urban situation in the beerhalls obviously has little ritual connotation, and can be looked at as either convivial or utilitarian.

Individual Attitudes towards Drinking

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Convivial	38	53,52
Utilitarian	31	43,66
Non-response	2	2,82
	<hr/> 71	<hr/> 100,00

The utilitarian drinkers here are not necessarily totally or mainly utilitarian in their attitude but show that they are aware of the utilitarian effects of drinking (i.e. its use in relieving anxiety) and drink to some extent for personal effects. The incidence of alcoholism in Japan has increased greatly since the Second World War, and a survey in Western Japan in 1965 indicated that there is much more awareness that alcohol is used to relieve anxiety among the younger people than the older. This is interpreted as an indication that convivial drinking is becoming utilitarian drinking, and that the latter will perhaps ultimately predominate. Such a factor may account for the sharp rise in alcoholism rates.²¹

²⁰ Bales, 1959. Cultural Differences in Rates of Alcoholism. In McCartney, R.G. (ed.) *Drinking & Intoxication*. Newhaven, p.203.

²¹ Sargent, M. J. Changes in Drinking Patterns in Japan. *Quarterly Journal of Alcohol Studies*. 28, 709-27. New Brunswick, Rutgers University.

In the African townships, a different situation is to be found. The younger people are drinking for convivial reasons and the older people tend to drink for indulgent and utilitarian reasons:

Attitudes to Drinking by Age:

<i>Age</i>	<i>Conviviality</i>	<i>Utilitarian</i>	<i>Total</i>
Under 30	19	7	26
Over 30	19	24	43
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	38	31	69

$\chi^2 = 5.4687$, 1 d.f., $p < 0.05$.

This significant result may be explainable by the tensions and frustrations inherent in town life, and that as a man's responsibilities increase so do his anxieties, and alcohol, instead of being principally a social asset, becomes an acknowledged way of reducing his anxiety and insecurity.

Anxiety over Individual Drinking

There appears to be little anxiety felt about the amount drunk individually. One drinker in five felt that though his friends were tolerant of his drinking his wife was not, or if he were very young, that his family did not approve. When the wives were interviewed, it emerged that on the whole it was not the drinking as such of which they disapproved; they felt that the money spent in the beerhall led to deprivation in the home. The majority of drinkers (54 per cent) considered that others were either admiring (23 per cent) or tolerant (31 per cent) of their drinking habits. Few had ever considered giving up drinking for any other reason than that they could not afford it at the time. Some of these had stopped drinking for a specific time in order to save for some material purpose, but returned to the beerhall when the necessary money has been collected. Twenty-two per cent of these men had at one time or another given up drinking temporarily or at least considered it, but 55 per cent had never done so. The majority (54 per cent) saw themselves as drinking less than their friends normally did, and only 7 per cent felt that they drank more than others. Thus there appears to be little anxiety evinced over the amount drunk, though some drinkers feared they might be spending more money than their responsibilities warranted. In an early interview, one man summed up what appears to be felt by many: "My family would still be suffering if I gave them a dollar more a week, and for that much I can get drunk every weekend".

Drinking as a Social Problem

The only indication of ambivalence in drinking attitudes was shown in the widespread opinion that excessive drinking constituted a real social problem among the African people .

Excess Drinking seen as a Social Problem (by Percentage)

	%
In urban areas only	32,39
In rural areas only	2,82
In both rural and urban areas	43,66
No real problem	16,90
Don't know	4,23
	<hr/> 100,00

The women of this urban sample were more conscious of the problem than the men, particularly as it applied in the rural areas (they spend more time there). They spoke of neglected fields, the weight of the work falling on the women's shoulders in many cases, because the men were drinking during the day.

The spreading of beerhalls in the country areas was often blamed for for rural drunkenness. These together with the urban beerhalls and drinking places are held by a few of the men to be a "government plot" to keep Africans in check, and "politically unaware" by constantly narcotizing them with alcohol.

The interview below, with a sophisticated and politically active male of about fifty-five represents the views of a number of Africans who are aware of the social implications of current drinking patterns, although they themselves are drinkers. This informant said that since the coming into power of the Rhodesian Front there has been a deliberate effort not only to break political thinking by force but also to try and reduce the African's thinking by drowning him in beer. This, he claimed, could be seen easily by the efforts the authorities have made, be it municipal or national, in making the African drinking places the best recreational place of all social facilities presently provided.

He said that the policy of giving the pubs a "new look" by building beautiful brick shades all around the inside of the beer garden, the music, the warm fire during the cold season and the provision of snack bars, were all part of this new-look policy which has come into force during the past seven years. He said this was paying dividends as far

as the authorities were concerned, for not only were the African people drowning in beer—both the old and the young—but the authorities collected handsome profits both in money and political apathy amongst Africans.

He said that the soporific effects of alcohol were apparent in the African, for beer had become the commonest talk of the day over and above other important topics. Many families, especially in the lower income groups, were suffering because the father enjoyed himself at the expense of everyone else in the family. He said that general drunkenness was on the ascendance, and this had begun to affect young people whose future might be in real danger. It was very inhumane for the authorities to keep on increasing the supply of beer on the excuse that the demand kept increasing, when they knew alcohol was a substance whose consumption demanded further consumption. Whatever might be said to justify the ever-increasing supply of beer, specially in the urban areas, honest people must speak out against the bad effects it is having, directly and indirectly, on the social life of the African people. (Field workers report)

From another interview with a clerk in his thirties:-

“Improvements in beer drinking facilities are an attempt by the authorities to shock-absorb the effects of unemployment, discontent and political frustration. They have succeeded so well in town that when I go home I find that a council has been established as an extension of the system to the rural areas to achieve the same effect as has been achieved in town . . . I do not understand how people responsible for the welfare of a large number of people boast about the high consumption of liquor, a thing for which they should be distressed.”

Excessive drinking in the towns, it is thought, is a major cause of broken marriages, juvenile delinquency, malnutrition in the young and lack of schooling (fees cannot be paid if the father is drinking away most of his wages). Excessive drinking is seen as something that is done by others in large numbers. No one interviewed classed himself as an excessive drinker.

Concepts of Excessive Drinking

What might seem in middle class European circles to be drinking which at least borders on the pathological is seen by the African as merely recreational. Frequent drunkenness is not seen as excessive drinking but daily drunkenness is. Excessive drunkenness, rather than just drunkenness is socially unacceptable. Drunkenness to the point of released aggression, drunkenness to the degree of total inertia, i.e. falling

down and being unable to rise again, vomiting, urinating in public, losing the way home—a total loss of dignity in fact—is regarded as excessive drunkenness.

<i>Degree of Drinking seen as Excessive</i>	<i>% Respondents</i>
Frequent drunkenness	5,63
Daily drunkenness	21,13
Drinking leading to neglect of responsibilities	17,01
Indications of dependence (compulsive drinking beyond the limits of control)	25,33
Daily 'plateau'* drinking	12,68

*'Plateau' drinking: Constant intake of alcoholic beverage to maintain a desired state of (probably) semi-intoxication.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONAL CORRELATES OF DRINKING AND LEVELS OF DRINKING

Drinking Levels

Social drinking in the African urban context may be viewed as a re-integrating response to structural breakdowns in society that have left the individual in socially and normatively ambiguous situations with consequent high anxiety. Drinking offers a needed mechanism of social integration, and the absence of generally held drinking norms is conducive to extremes of drinking.

Entrance into a money economy and wage work have imposed daily and weekly routines which are alien and tension-creating for the African urban worker. As this industrial tendency increases, heavy weekend drinking and periodic indulgence, coupled with some absenteeism, can be expected to figure large in the labour problems of the people.

Excessive drinking may be seen, however, not so much as reaction to stress as an indulgence in one of the pleasures of the town, an indulgence unstructured by any traditional patterns of control.

In the following sections we will attempt to explore the relationship between levels of drinking and other behaviour. Quantity-Frequency or Quantity-Frequency-Variation classifications of drinking behaviour are not exact enough to permit drawing literal interpretations of an absolute kind, but by grouping the data as we have done we hope to achieve some insight into the relationship between both demographic and socio-psychological variables and the self-assessed level of drinking and drinking behaviour within our sample. It must be remembered that the judgement of quantity consumed, and its effect on the behaviour of the individual was a self-assessment and therefore not necessarily an accurate figure. This estimation was cross-checked with such other factors as amount spent, the number of free drinks received and the frequency of drinking occasions, in order to arrive at as accurate an assessment as is possible in the circumstances.

"The statistical reliability of any method of measurement which depends on the respondent's judgement of 'usual' behaviour is limited by several human factors (including the natural tendency to respond in terms of modal rather than mean behaviour). Hence the reliability of such a report of 'usual' drinking behaviour may not be high enough for exact placement of individuals on a scale or for reliable projected estimates of total national consumption. For purposes of total consumption estimates a more useful tool might be exact reports of

the quantity drunk in a specific recent period, such as the preceding 24 hours or 7 days. But this procedure would catch certain respondents at atypical times and lead to incorrect groupings. As Mulford and Millar²² say, the quantity-frequency index is the most useful tool for group comparisons. Since the goal of the present study is to describe usual behaviour in terms of group differences, the analysis is based on adaptation of this type of index".²³

In our groupings of types of drinkers we have taken into account the amount consumed in each week by the individual and the way his drinking is spaced, and his frequency of intoxication. A man who drinks three or four units a day, arriving at a total of 21-28 units a week may consider himself, and possibly is, a moderate drinker, while the man who drinks the whole 21-28 units in one weekend, each weekend, becoming intoxicated each Saturday and Sunday, would be classified as a heavier drinker with clearly defined and frequent drunken episodes. Problem drinkers and drinkers with potential alcohol problems will be found largely in this group.

Cahalan also writes: "It seems reasonable to assume that frequency of intoxication is a legitimate index of potential problems because people are more likely to get into trouble with others or to jeopardise their own health and security if they get drunk. Frequency of drunkenness in this survey was estimated by considering the amounts respondents reported they usually drank per occasion and the frequency with which they reported getting high or tight. In order to get a high score on this potential drinking problem one would have to be drinking a minimum of five or more drinks on one of the two most recent two drinking occasions and twice in the last year, or currently getting high or tight at least once a week."

It can be stated from the data collected in previous reports and reaffirmed in this survey, that drinking a minimum of five drinks or more on any occasion might automatically categorise an unwieldy and improbable number of our Rhodesian African drinkers in the category of heavier drinkers. The quantity-frequency index used by Edwards, Chandler and Hensman²⁴ in their London study where the heaviest drinking category was "comprised of those who drank more than three

²² Mulford, H. and Millar, D., 1959. Drinking in Iowa: The Extent of Drinking and Selected Socio-Cultural Categories. *Quart. J. Stud. Alc.* 21, 26-36.

²³ Cahalan et al. 1969. *American Drinking Practices. A National Study of Drinking Behaviour and Attitudes*. New Brunswick, N.J. Rutgers Centre of Alcoholic Studies, p. 12.

²⁴ Edwards, G., Chandler, J., and Hensman, C., 1972. Drinking in a London Suburb. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. Supplement No. 6, May. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University, p. 72.

pints of beer on a usual occasion and at least once or twice a week” was obviously not applicable to local drinking behaviour for the same reason. We have therefore used the criterion of twenty units or more per weekend, or ten units or more per drinking session, and weekly (at least) intoxication for our category of “Heavier Drinkers”. The heavier drinkers in this study are therefore those who not only drink in quantity but admit to frequent drunken episodes.

Classification of Drinking Level Categories.

Abstainers: Those who never drink any alcoholic beverages. This group divides into two: those who have never drunk at all and those who have for various reasons given up drinking and have not drunk for a year or longer. These groups will be treated together at this stage, and will only be separated for purposes of comparison in the section dealing with abstainers.

Light-Moderate Drinkers: The light-moderate drinkers range from those who drink less than once a month, often very infrequently, to those who may drink once a week, but never more than one or two drinks on any occasion and report that they never get drunk. (Three of these are young men who told the fieldworkers that they were only ‘learners’ yet but hoped in time to become ‘real drinkers’.) These form a very small category and it has been found convenient to group them with the ‘moderate’ drinkers in certain cases, and in others, as Cahalen has sometimes done, with the abstainers. It is hoped, in analysing a larger survey made in Harare township, to keep them completely separate.

Moderate Drinkers: Those who usually keep their drinking within bounds and who get drunk less than once a week. The range in this section and the previous one is very great, and the decision in many cases as to whether a man should be in the Heavier drinker group depended solely on whether he was drunk less than once a week. Into this category, too, were placed those men who said they were drunk once a week, but whose “quantity” appeared to be rather on the low side for this, and it was felt that they should have the benefit of the doubt.

Heavier and/or Episodic Drinkers. These are the people who drink and get drunk every weekend or more often. They include those who drink only at weekends and those who are drunk every day, or twice a week or more. In all doubtful cases information from wives, fellow-lodgers etc. was taken into account.

Levels of Drinking by Percentage:

	n	%
Abstainers	45	38,79
Light Moderate drinkers	17	14,66
Moderate drinkers	20	17,24
Heavy or heavier drinkers	34	29,31
	116	100,00

Personal Correlates of Drinking

(a) *Age, Education and Income.* Age makes no significant difference to level of drinking, except when considering the very young, and neither does education, where units of alcoholic beverage rather than types of liquor drunk are considered. Income in relation to levels of drinking is not statistically significant, though there are a few heavy drinkers in the highest income group, and the abstainers are also slightly over-represented in this group.

(b) *Religion and Levels of Drinking.*

	Drinkers		Non-drinkers		Total
Traditional	10	71,43%	4	28,57%	14
Optional drinking	27	67,50%	13	32,50%	40
Anti-alcohol	32	53,33%	28	46,66%	60
	69		45		114

Respondents were grouped here in three sectors according to the attitude of their religion towards drinking. Traditional African religion has no sanctions against beer drinking, and beer is incorporated in all religious ritual, so that this religion stands alone. Anglicans and Catholics were grouped together, for though excess is condemned, drinking is left to the individual's conscience. The Nonconformist churches, with the African sects, range from mere disapproval of drinking to the total prohibition of alcohol to all adherents.

The groups arranged in this way did not produce any significant differences in drinking levels. Nevertheless they were so arranged, rather than by individual churches since it had become apparent in our previous surveys that stated membership of any particular church could mean anything from devoted adherence to a vague connection made through

schooling in early childhood. Looked at in the present way, a stated adherence meant that, at least at some stage in life, the individual had been exposed to a greater or lesser extent to some particular attitude towards drinking.

It was also felt, however, that religious observance would be more meaningful than stated adherence and as was expected, the abstainers and the light-moderate drinkers were the most regular churchgoers. Seventy-six per cent of the abstainers go to church once a month or more frequently, as do 71 per cent of the light-moderate drinkers. Fifty per cent of the moderate drinkers go to church this frequently and 38 per cent of the heavier drinkers. Of the heavier drinkers, 53 per cent never go to church, whereas only 18 per cent of the abstainers do not attend church services. Allowing for the traditionalists in each group, (four of the abstainers are traditionalists and six of the heavier drinkers) 82 per cent of the heavier drinkers professed some church affiliation, and 91 per cent of the abstainers. Of these, 43 per cent of the heavier drinkers never go to church, despite their claim to membership of a particular church, and four (10 per cent) of the abstainers do not attend religious services. It would appear from these figures as well as from the previous studies that many of the claimed church affiliations were at least tenuous, and this occurred particularly among the heavier drinkers. Therefore any conclusions concerning heavy drinking and membership of particular churches to bear any weight would have to be re-examined in the light of religious observance and degree of affiliation.

(c) *Exposure to Deviant Role Models and Effects of the Presence or Absence of Sanctioning Agents.* Though there was a positive relationship between levels of drinking and the absence or presence of sanctioning agents in the individual's life, there was no relationship between exposure to deviant role models and excessive drinking. Role models tended to be removed in time, while sanctioning agents remained in the present and are a more important factor in the levels of drinking.

Exposure to Heavy Drinking. The general hypothesis here is that drinking and excessive drinking being learned behaviour, there would be seen a differential opportunity to learn deviant drinking behaviour, by what Jessor calls "exposure to deviance". "The central point here is that a major source of learning complex social behaviour is exposure as in the opportunity to observe both its occurrence and the functional consequences of its occurrence in the social environment".²⁵

In fact, the abstainers in the sample had more excessive drinkers among their close relatives than the heavy drinkers (35 per cent : 18 per

²⁵ Jessor, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

cent); but they had fewer close friends and fellow lodgers than the heavy drinkers. The replies here were necessarily subjective, since what might appear as excessive drinking to a Methodist church-going family, might not to a family of weekend recreational drinkers who regularly get moderately (and happily) drunk. Considerable detail was asked for. All vague answers such as those beginning "once I knew a man" were discarded, and the respondent categorized as having no close contact with heavy drinkers.

Heavy drinkers have more friends whom they consider to be excessive drinkers than others, but they would tend to be exposed more to the drinking population. They appear on the other hand to have fewer relatives who are excessive drinkers than have the abstainers. Cahalan (1969) shows that 72 per cent of the American population have either a close friend or relative with a serious drinking problem.

Our figures show that 60 per cent of the population knew at least one person whom they consider to be an excessive drinker. Of those mentioned in the interviews 7 would appear to be truly alcoholic. They have lost all means of livelihood in town: therefore they have lost their houses and have returned to the rural areas. They have sold such material possessions as they had to pay for beer, and two are currently selling cattle to the great distress of their relatives. A number of men told of friends or relatives who had been excessive drinkers to the point where personal relationships had broken up, and who had stopped drinking. Wolcott²⁶ notes this apparent ability to stop drinking if necessary, at will, even in cases where large amounts have been regularly taken previously. There are reports, too, of the craving for liquor being ascribed to spirit possession and of cures effected by exorcism.

There is then no significant relationship shown here between exposure to deviant models and heavy drinking. The main point of interest has been the large number of people who have known at first hand others who they deem to drink excessively, many of whom certainly by report appear to drink to a pathological degree. The extent of pathological drinking in the urban areas may well be obscured by the return of such drinkers to the African areas when the extent of beer drinking affects their working capacity and thus their ability to sustain themselves or their families in any way in the urban areas.

Sanctioning Networks. It was assumed that persons not tied into stable interaction networks, that is those who are socially isolated from responsible sanctioning agents, not only escape negative sanctions for deviance but are not exposed to positive sanctions for adhering to norms.

²⁶ Wolcott, H. F. *op cit.*

Further, the heaviest drinkers could be expected to be among these relatively isolated people, who would in addition have the greatest need for the companionship of the beerhalls.

Jessor in his *Triethnic Study of Social Deviance* devised an index of the relative absence of sanction networks which was followed in the present study.

"It consisted of five items each exploring participation (or lack of it) in formal and informal interaction systems. The absence of a stable family relationship, an informal visiting relationship, membership in formal organisations, significant religious participation or access to others by telephone, all were considered to indicate relative social isolation or freedom from the actions of possible sanctioning agents. Together, these ideas provide an index to a person's access to illegitimate means by virtue of his relative freedom from the operation of social controls."²⁷

Obviously the possession of a telephone did not pertain in our circumstances, so we discarded it. Low scoring indicated an absence of sanctioning agents and was indicated in the following way : if with regard to the family a person who is presently unattached, who does not live with a spouse, or in a family of orientation, or a substitute family situation (close relatives); who indicates no informal visiting, has no formal group membership, and reports that he attended church less than four times in the previous year, would score minimally. The decision to use attendance rather than church membership was based on reasons discussed in a previous section. A positive response on all items obviously scored high.

Absence or Presence of Sanctioning Agents and Levels of Drinking.

Group Affiliation	Abstainers and Moderate Drinkers		Heavy Drinkers		Total	
	00		00		00	
(0 & 1) Low	7	8,54	9	26,47	16	13,79
(2) Medium	28	34,15	11	32,35	39	32,62
(3 & 4) High	47	57,32	14	41,18	61	52,59
	82	100,01	34	100,00	116	100,00

$$\chi^2 = 7,1838, 2 \text{ d.f.}, p < 0,05.$$

Note: Two men scored 0 - both heavy drinkers.

Twenty men scoring the maximum number of points - 19 were abstainers, light-moderate or moderate drinkers. One only was a heavy drinker.

²⁷ Jessor, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

The index of relative absence of sanctioning networks therefore discriminates between heavy drinkers (absences of networks) and moderate drinkers and abstainers.

(d) *Satisfaction with Work.* Heavy drinkers who are illiterate or who have low literary skills and who are not literate in English show little difference from moderate drinkers or abstainers in satisfaction with their jobs. Reasons for dissatisfaction are mainly concerned with the inadequacy of the wage and the lack of security of tenure, and do not differ from group to group. Most workers compared their pay with that of their peers, but the better educated and more highly skilled compared their positions with those of European workers in the same trade, both economically and in terms of advancement. Their dissatisfactions, which were very strong, were in terms of lower wages and very much lower ceilings.

Compared to abstainers, however, the heavy drinkers at the higher levels of literacy are much more often dissatisfied with their jobs (50% : 32%). The heavy drinking here may be the result of expectations which are higher than his actual level of preparation can help a man to achieve. There is slightly more unemployment in this group, as it includes a number of school leavers who have not yet obtained employment.

(e) *Rural-Urban Orientation and Drinking Levels.* It was hypothesised that the degree of rural orientation would affect the individual's urban adjustment, and that those who scored highest on a rural-orientation scale would be most likely to fall within the group of heavy drinkers. Accordingly, individuals were scored on a basis of rural rights, wife's domicile and children's domicile. However, the difference between the mean scores for each group was insignificant. It seems that the degree of rural commitment has no bearing at all on either abstinence or the level of drinking.

The degree of commitment to rural life must however, be seen as only one factor in rural-urban orientation and can be viewed together with the individual's goals, and his perceptions of the opportunity structure in both town and country.

The majority of men (62 per cent) interviewed aspired to rural property as their main goal in life. One third of the men sent their wives back to the rural areas to farm land in order to maintain their rights to it and many were accumulating property, insofar as they were able, in the form of housing or beasts. This occurs despite the fact that most men view the rural areas as lacking in opportunities for earning money and come to town because of the poverty of their rural surroundings.

Rurally orientated goals may be seen to indicate not so much a rural orientation or a need for the social and traditional aspects of rural life, as a deeply felt insecurity in town, which forces each man to regard his home of origin, whatever the drawback, as what Mayer²⁸ describes as "a sheet anchor, a sole insurance against the emergencies of want and old age". From our material we would agree with Schlemmer²⁹ in his observation covering Durban Zulu townsmen, that there are very few people among these townsmen for whom security and frustration are not . . . "very salient features in their perceptions of town and rural life", and that it is the conditions which pertain in the townships which cause them to fall back on their 'home' areas and not because "every African is a tribesman at heart".

In order to examine the relationship of urban adjustment to levels of drinking and frequency of drunkenness, the following hypothesis is proposed:-

Those who perceive the opportunity structure in the towns negatively in terms of sheer economic necessity are less likely to adapt to urban life than those who perceive it in positive terms of economic and environmental advantages. The former may therefore tend to find relief in heavy drinking. Actual economic achievement could not account for heavier drinking, and it was felt that a value-conflict interpretation which is implicit in this context might be of more value.

<i>Perceived Opportunity:</i>	<i>Abstainer</i>		<i>Level of drinking:</i>				<i>Total</i>
			<i>Moderate</i>		<i>Heavy</i>		
Positive perceived economic and environmental opportunity	27	60,0%	15	40,5%	10	29,4%	52
Economic necessity only	18	40,0%	22	59,5%	24	70,6%	64
Total	45	100,0%	37	100,0%	34	100,0%	116

$\chi^2 = 7,68$. 2 d.f. $p < 0,05$.

This hypothesis was therefore supported.

Seventy-one per cent of the heavier drinkers against 40 per cent of the abstainers and 45 per cent of the moderate drinkers, said they felt there was nothing good about town life except the opportunity to earn

²⁸ Mayer, P., 1964. Labour Migrancy and Social Network. In J. F. Holleman *et al.* (eds.) *Problems of Transition*. Durban, Natal University Press and Institute for Social Research.

²⁹ Schlemmer, L., 1971. City or Rural Homeland. A Study of Patterns of Identification among Africans in Durban. Paper, 1st Annual Meeting of Association for Sociology in Southern Africa; Lourenco Marques.

money, and that the worst aspects of life in town were the insecurity of tenure in jobs and housing and the difficulty of living on wages inadequate to meet the rising cost of living. Abstainers and moderate drinkers more often perceived the town as offering positive rewards, both economic and environmental for themselves and their children, and appeared therefore to be better adjusted to life in an urban situation and to find less need for retreatism such as excessive drinking. This together with their greater degree of integration into urban social networks, and involvement with church groups and their more frequent satisfaction with their work indicates a greater involvement with urban life and a higher degree of adjustment than the heavier drinkers.

Attitudes to Rural Life. There was little or no connection between the perceived assets of rural life by the townsmen and his level of drinking. Twenty-seven per cent valued above other things the traditional activities of ploughing and planting and caring for their herds, the abstainers no less than the heavy drinkers. Eighteen per cent held traditional social values, the supportive kinship system, and traditional social relationships to be the best things about life in the country in contrast to life in the town.

Though the lack of opportunity for earning money was deplored in 74 responses, one third of the answers regarding the assets of rural life concerned the low cost of living, that food was 'free', there were no rents, and that water cost nothing. This would seem to indicate a widely felt and constant anxiety about meeting personal and family basic needs in town on inadequate wages and within a cash economy, rather than an actual perception of rural life as idyllic. Twenty-six per cent of the moderate drinkers and abstainers responded in this way, and 42 per cent of the heavier drinkers, a further indication that their level of drinking and drinking behaviour may be a response to the anxieties and frustrations of their situation.

Individual Problems and Problem Drinking

A useful definition of problem drinking is provided by Plant³⁰: "*Problem drinking is a repetitive use of beverage alcohol causing physical, psychological or social harm to the drinker or to others.*" This definition stresses interference with functioning rather than any specific drinking behaviour.

³⁰ Plaut, T. F., 1967. *Alcohol Problems*. A Report to the Nation by the Cooperative Commission of the Study of Alcoholism. Washington, pp. 3738.

Such a definition is also compatible with Knupfer³¹ who says that a problem—any problem—connected fairly closely with drinking constitutes a drinking problem.

In this section we wanted to see what were considered problems by the respondents and which were the widest spread or commonest problems which respondents connected closely with their drinking and drinking behaviour.

Money difficulties were the most often mentioned (22 per cent)* and these covered being carried away by the mood of the moment to spend far larger sums than had originally been intended, the loss of money by theft when the respondent was drunk, and also the knowledge that more money was being spent in the beerhalls than the man's financial commitments warranted; but the whole was accompanied by a reluctance to forego both the social and the alcoholic pleasures of the 'pub'. This complex was usually coupled with an acknowledgement of family problems connected with drinking, particularly the wife's disapproval of wasted money or her objection to being beaten up by her husband whenever he was drunk.

Family problems (15 per cent) develop with economic problems to a certain extent, as they often hinge on the wife's consciousness of family deprivation through the amount of an already inadequate wage which is spent on drinking.

Fighting when drunk, which is outside the bounds of propriety in properly controlled drunken behaviour is accepted as a problem in 11 per cent of the drinking population, and is probably closely connected with "loss of friends" (7 per cent).

Eleven per cent of the drinkers have had trouble at work, or lost their jobs through their heavy drinking, as in the following case:

Many Hazards. (Informant: 28-year-old, married, employed as a market research assistant. The interview was held in a beer garden). "He told me he was giving me his view of alcohol consumption 'like a burnt child who dreaded fire'. He said beer drinking had led him personally into many hazards amongst which were his loss of two good jobs as an insurance filing clerk. He lost both jobs due to coming to the office conspicuously drunk. After this he had stayed without employment for nearly 8 months until he got his present job.

"He said that because of the hardships during his period of unemployment, due to the fact that he had not been saving any money because of

³¹ Knupfer, G., 1967. Epidemiologic studies and Control Programs in Alcoholism. *American Journal of Public Health*, 57, p. 974.

*n 34 heavy drinkers plus 37 moderate drinkers.

excessive drinking, he had decided to stop his drinking. He regretted his past.”*

A further 11 per cent of drinkers have suffered injury through accident when drunk and 4 per cent have been arrested for public drunkenness. Altogether 55 per cent of the drinkers have experienced some form of problem, of which 22 per cent have two types or more. Forty-five per cent have no problems. Problem drinking is often not seen as such by the drinker. The man with whom the following interview took place obviously regards his drinking behaviour as one of the rewards of a lifetime of hard work and enterprise which have given him the means to drink heavily and continuously.

A ‘Life of Drinking’ since Retirement. (Informant: Mr. N., in his sixties, retired after 30 years of regular employment in federal government service and still the owner of a small shop). “Mr. N. said that beer had become his most valuable ‘food’. He talked boastfully about the fact that he had been living a life of drinking since his retirement. He said he drank about all varieties of beer or spirits, and that he was drinking every day because he was now resting after many years of work and his children were augmenting his savings. He said he drank almost every day. He particularly has to have about a tot or two of brandy every mid-morning to revitalize himself. He thinks the minimum he drinks is about half a dozen pints of beer and a tot. He didn’t know the maximum. He said that he is considered by the people within his ‘clique’ to be the heaviest drinker because he drinks regularly throughout the week since he does not work.

“Mr. N. did not know his average expenditure per day, per week, or per month. He explained that he has been very generous to people who cannot manage to provide their own beer.

“When asked whether beer was good for him, he said that he had never had any suffering attributable to beer. He considered himself fit and sometimes he is in the beerhall or any drinking place more hours of the day than he is out. But he finds himself quite happy and sound all the time and can check on his business regularly.” (The interviewer had added the following note two days after the interview: “I visited his shop to find out something about him. There were three employees there. They were talking about him saying he had lost all sense of direction and was completely finished. They pointed at several empty bottles of brandy.” The interviewer summarised, “this informant should be earmarked for the study of actual or likely alcoholics”).

*This man was interviewed in a beerhall, where he was drinking beer. Several of the men interviewed said they had given up drinking, but what they meant in fact was that they had given up getting drunk.

It need hardly be pointed out that the heavier drinkers and those who are drunk most frequently comprise most of the drinkers with problems, but these include, too, the heavier drinking moderates.

These men are not necessarily what are usually called "problem drinkers". However, the fact that they have, or have had, problems connected with drinking and continue to drink to the same degree, indicates that there is at least a likelihood of any one of them, if he is not so already, becoming a problem drinker.

It appears from our work that the dysfunctions of drinking are not reflected in a high rate of alcoholism but in the costs of heavy drinking and frequent drunkenness and their attendant problems. This is clearly seen here in that over half the drinkers have experienced problems connected with their drinking. A large proportion of these problems seem contingent on the economic situation pertaining among the African population, where wages are not sufficient to cover both family responsibilities and an acceptable level of recreational drinking, a situation which would tend to lead to "escape" drinking, and to greater difficulties yet. This is perhaps an oversimplification, and to pursue it would involve taking into account a number of other variables. The point is made here that whatever else is involved, drinking is, partly because of the anaesthetising effect of alcohol and partly for the socially integrative effect, tension-reducing. For the heavy drinker drinking is thus a generalised tension-reducing response which comes to be used for a wider and wider range of problems, including those which derive from the heavy use of alcohol itself.

CHAPTER V

ABSTAINERS

Among the 45 abstainers were three men who said that they had not started drinking yet but had every intention of so doing when they felt the time was ripe. (One of these men had his drinking programme mapped out, with the goal of becoming a "real drinker" by the time he was thirty-five). Though these three have been included in the non-drinkers numbers in other sections, it would be illogical to do so now, in looking at the non-drinkers' reasons for abstinence and attitudes to others drinking.

There are thus for the purposes of this section 42 non-drinkers, (36 per cent). Of these, 29 (25 per cent) are those who have never drunk alcohol or have done no more than try it when young, and 13 (11 per cent) who have given up drinking. Cahalan³² found that 32 per cent of his national sample abstained, and 23 per cent of the men in his sample were non-drinkers. Jessor³³ in his triethnic study, records that of the Anglos in his survey, 25 per cent were abstainers, and 5 per cent had given up drinking. 17 per cent of the Spanish were abstainers, and 7 per cent had given up drinking, whereas only 3 per cent of the Navajo Indians were abstainers though 17 per cent said they had given up alcoholic beverages. These proportions are (except for the Indians) not dissimilar to our own, though there seem to be here a higher proportion of non-drinkers generally, and particularly when women non-drinkers are considered.

Abstinence is therefore, at a proportion of 36 per cent of the population, an important alternative pattern of behaviour to drinking, especially in view of the amount consumed and the frequency of drunkenness among those who do drink, and the small number of infrequent and light moderate drinkers shown.

Religious Prohibition to Drinking. There is no significant difference between drinkers and abstainers in their stated religious affiliation but there is a positive relationship between church attendance and abstinence. 44 per cent of the abstainers attend church every Sunday and 9 per cent of the heavier drinkers do. Many of the abstainers bear office in their religious groups and none of the heavier drinkers do so. It was seen in an earlier section that the abstainers are significantly more firmly woven into the urban social fabric of nuclear family, informal and formal groups and religious congregations than the heavier drinkers.

³² Cahalan, D., *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 19.

³³ Jessor, *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 184.

Nine of the abstainers who were practising members of non-conformist sects which forbade drinking insisted that their abstinence was their own choice, and not a result of religious injunction.

Reasons for Abstinence:

1. *Obedience Abstinence.* (12) The person concerned had never drunk alcoholic drinks in response to either church or family prohibition.

2. *Principled Abstinence.* (13) Liquor had always been avoided, because it was seen as a cause of social or spiritual demoralization, or as a weakness in others leading to behaviour such as a non-fulfilment of responsibilities or constant loss of dignity, and a wish not to be associated with such.*

3. *Indifference Abstinence.* (4) A dislike of beer itself, or of the personal effects which beer-drinking produced, and indifference to the social values of drinking.

4. *Economic Abstinence.* (3) Here the men concerned felt they were unable to afford to drink and fulfil their family responsibilities.

5. *Health Abstinence.* (3) Those concerned still felt that drinking and getting drunk were among life's greatest pleasures, which they must regrettably eschew.

How far the last two categories are rationalizations of inculcated beliefs in the evils of drinking, or to what extent principled abstinence is a disguised Obedience and at the same time a small declaration of independence, is impossible to tell at this level.

Of those who have given up drinking, one has done so because he has been converted to a non-drinking religious sect, four for economic reasons in that they had recently taken on new responsibilities or had lost jobs, or had had to take on jobs at lower wages and could no longer afford to drink, and the rest (8) because of some malady of the gastric tract which they attributed to beer drinking. The abstainers are more conscious of their health than the drinkers, and find the unsanitary conditions of rural life and the lack of health facilities disturbing to a greater extent than either moderate or heavy drinkers. All, none the less, have a marked preoccupation with gastric functions of the body.

Abstainers' Attitudes to Others Drinking: (Men)

	n	%
Indifferent	27	60,00
Disapproval	10	22,22
Disapproval of excess only	5	11,11
	42	93,33

*One principled abstainer is a heavy Cannabis smoker.

There is no difference between drinkers and abstainers in their attitude to women drinking (see section on women drinkers).

The general indifference of the abstainers to others drinking suggests that most of the Principled Abstainers may well be, in fact, Obedience Abstainers, declaring their independence by rationalizing their acceptance of an imposed sanction at odds with a cultural value.

CHAPTER VI

DRINKING AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

Young People in the Beerhalls

As this was a follow up of a study done eighteen months previously there were very few youths still under twenty in our sample—only six in all. Much of our information in this section came necessarily from our field workers, whom we sent into the beerhalls to observe young people at various times of the day or evening, and from information given by other respondents.

The age limit for drinking on licensed premises is 19 years, though there are many younger people always present. It is extremely difficult to differentiate between youths of 17 and those of 19, and at peak hours it is impossible to check their ages. This is usually done only if a group is causing trouble or appears likely to do so. Eight of the older drinkers complained of the laxness of the authorities in allowing young people in, but a further five realised that it was nearly impossible to prevent those under age from entering. Sixty per cent of those drinking in the beerhalls thought that the age limit was too low. Many of these clung to the traditional idea that a man should be married and a responsible member of the community before he was allowed to drink, though the younger men tend to feel that earning a living, even at nineteen, was enough of a mark of adult responsibilities.

The young, whatever the complaints about their behaviour, appear to drink much less, and get drunk less often than the men of 25 and over. Four out of every five of the under-twenties drank only African beer, and many of those in the beerhalls do not drink at all, especially those present during the daytime. Many of these are unemployed and can afford to drink only minimally if at all. They may, in the evening, share their working friends' beer, but their consumption and that of most of these working friends is usually low or moderate. The attraction of the beerhall to such youths is far less the beer than the companionship of their friends. The young drinkers, far more than the older ones, say they drink only for social reasons; and they like drinking mainly because it is done in the company of friends.

A fieldworker visiting the beerhall in the late afternoon notes:

"I noticed that most of the boys (between the ages of seventeen and twenty) were not drinking at all, and had come solely to listen to the band. All the time I was there not one of them bought any beer. They later scrambled to the chairs near the bandstand the minute the singing group appeared.

And again:

"About fifteen juveniles were grouped around a game of draughts; many of them appeared to have come recently from the country. This is the only group I could see. Their ages seemed to be between seventeen and twenty, and none of them were drinking. They were either watching the game or sitting in moody silence."

Later in the day, in the evening, another observer noted that "youngsters apparently from the country are often with older people from their own home district, and are drinking African beer. They get more drunk but do not make much trouble. They, to a certain extent, obey their elders. The 'townies' prefer to remain with people their own age or are always moving, whistling. These young people are not always drinking. Most of the time they are around the juke boxes, playing pop music or playing games. They can be drinking at the same time and making a lot of noise and blue jokes which usually result in a fight. They usually settle it among themselves; the older are hesitant to interfere because the former hit hard".

A certain number, probably a high proportion of these youths are in the beerhall because of the lack of any alternative social amenities. They may come from overcrowded homes, or may be job-seekers lodging with a relative until they have found jobs, or lodgers sharing crowded premises. There is little else for them to do. Apart from football matches, where there is gate-money to be found, and "Teen-Time" in the community centres, very little else is offered. "Teen-Time" sessions are usually organised once or twice a week by a club in collaboration with a band. The entrance fee is usually about 30 cents a head and attendances range from about 20 or so for the groups of lesser musical repute to two or three hundred when there is a very popular—usually foreign—band playing.

In contrast to these there is always the beerhall. Here a band may be playing, or piped music or a juke box will be available, and the youths can meet their friends with or without the price of a beer. Here with their peers they can, through the entertainments provided, identify to a certain extent with the "pop culture", wearing the same jeans and bright shirts or whatever the current banners of protest that young people the world over are clothed in. It is here too in the beerhalls that their elders observe what they consider to be the unseemly and regrettable behaviour of the young. The youths are taking on the traditionally adult male privilege of drinking, and they are inevitably conspicuous while they are doing it—and audible too. They are identifying at the same time with a world youth culture, and they are doing it, not as their European

contemporaries a few miles to the north are, in places especially designed for the young and where the mature on the whole have no wish to be, but in the beerhall, which is adult male territory.

In addition to the other attractions of the beerhall, young people do go there to drink. Drinking in most societies is an adult prerogative and the drinking of youths, as Maddox points out, appears to "be most adequately understood as a social act, as a mechanism of identification by which many teenagers attempt to relate themselves, however prematurely, to the adult world. Drinking is one of the available mechanisms by which the drinker may say to himself and others 'I am a man' or 'I am one of the crowd'. This is possible because a segment of cultural tradition to which he is likely to be exposed has defined drinking in this way. Such a cultural definition permits teenage drinking to become an improvised *rite de passage*, a dissolver of teenage status and an introduction into the life of an adult".³⁴

The requisites for permitted drinking—that a man be a respected member of the community, and almost certainly married are not only falling away in the towns but in rural areas too. Here the country contemporaries of the urban frequenter of the beerhall are drinking too, now that the traditional forms are no longer commonly observed.

One field worker gave an account of a group of young people in a tavern in a good area, which serves as an explanation for many of the complaints of the older people. The youths concerned were well dressed and appeared to be fairly well supplied with money, and they and the young girls with them were drinking European beer. "After the supply of beer was running low a collection was made among the male members of the group and the young ladies volunteered to go and buy more beer. By this time the young ladies were no longer shy. A lot of hugging and kissing was now taking place and this seemed not to please the group (of adult males) sitting nearby, who became vocal in their disapproval. The younger group ordered more European beer, but the older group found they were running out of money and bought African beer, which the younger people referred to as 'pig's food' and '*mandaka*' meaning mud. This thoroughly annoyed the older group who by this time were making threats (which the youngsters were daring them to put into effect). A fight was only prevented by the municipal police and a little later by a European constable who at the request of the beerhall police examined the young men's papers and ordered them out of the hall as being under age. The elders, who showed no signs of intoxication, left a few minutes later."

³⁴ Maddox, G. L., 1962. Teenage Drinking in the United States in Pittman, D.J. and Snyder, C. R. (eds.). *Society, Culture & Drinking Patterns*. New York; Wiley, p. 244.

This is not an isolated incident, but typical of the behaviour of some of the young with money to spend. Similar incidents have been observed when 'gangs' are drinking together; "they give each other courage to behave badly".

The young people themselves have as varied reasons for being in the beerhall as the older men, as the following excerpts from interviews show:

A Lot of Fun. (Informant: S. N., an 18-year-old who assisted his his mother by obtaining fruits and vegetables for her to sell.) S. said he had been drinking for two years. After gathering the things his mother required early in the morning, he often visited the pub. His reasons were that after a morning of running about he need refreshment and most of his friends tended to be in the pubs, especially in the afternoons. He said it looked to him like everyone of his age who had left school drank, and even some who still went to school, also drank. S. said there was a lot of fun to be found in the beer gardens with the boys. They liked to watch how people behaved when drunk. There were also people who were good at telling all sorts of stories, varying from fighting, daring, thieving, and sexual experiences. He said that the most popular people with the boys of his age were those who talked of their sexual experiences. He said that there were certain older people near whom they always tried to sit because of their wider experience and the advice they offered in their talking.

S. said that he and his friends talked about what they heard from these older people. There were two or three of his friends who had considerable experience with sex and every so often they would tell of the latest event. The other things they talked about were the latest films they had seen, the latest records in the hit parade, the fiction comics, and about football (soccer) teams, football matches, and individual players.

An Escape from Being Lonely and Depressed. (Informant: K. M., 25 years old, unemployed for a long time until just prior to the interview, when he had taken a temporary teaching position). The thought of his complete dependence on his mother at the age of 24, K. M. said, was one of the things that drove him to form the habit of drinking often. He had managed to begin a course at the University but had not done well and so had to leave. He had tried hard to look for employment, going to many interviews which required minimum qualifications, lower than his own. During those interviews he said, he soon noticed that he was always sent to be interviewed by African personnel officers while his European colleagues, nearly all with lower qualifications than his, were interviewed by European personnel officers.

At the end, the latter were always taken. After three months of the same pattern, he stopped going to look for jobs.

After that he experienced the most boring period he had ever had in his life. His mother went to work, and so did his elder brother and younger sister. After 7.30 a.m. he would be in the house, alone and lonely. Everyone seemed to have been watching that he was a loafer. He felt depressed when he remained home alone, and he did not like the idea of the neighbours looking at him throughout the day and talking about his rotting education. He tried many things. At first he would go to the newspaper office to read free newspapers. When he had begun to run very short of money for bus fare, he tried to have long, aimless walks. But this did not remove his depressed thoughts. The only place where he got some comfort was in the pub. He found many friends there. They did not drink particularly much, but there were many advantages. In the first place, there was no embarrassment because the majority of people who came to the pub during working hours were unemployed. Secondly, there was always the chance of hearing where employment chances might exist. And there were games, such as draughts, so that one did not feel every moment of the day ticking away."

Though this informant is older than the young people under discussion, his story is typical of many younger people of moderate to high education.

Percentages of People complaining of the Main types of Bad Behaviour of Young People.

Aggressive behaviour	40,85%
Rudeness and lack of respect to elders	21,18%
Nosy and uncouth behaviour	15,49%
Criminal behaviour	7,04%

Complaints of aggressive behaviour often include references to lack of respect as well. The criminal behaviour includes mention of male and female prostitution and petty thieving, either outside the beerhall in order to get money, or picking pockets inside. One mother told the field worker that she knew that her unemployed teen-age sons and their friends were getting their money to spend in the beerhalls by picking pockets at the bus terminal and in the beerhalls, but they simply laughed when she taxed them with it and she felt "utterly hopeless".

The most common reason given in explanation both for the young people's presence in the beerhall and for their bad behaviour both in the beerhall and out of it, is "lack of parental control". The conflict between generations in a changing social environment, particularly where

roles within the family and the family structure have changed and continue to change, and are therefore imperfectly comprehended, must inevitably be greater when the young are not only often better educated than their parents but literate in illiterate homes, and the parents are often unable to provide even basic necessities. Hellman³⁵ comments on the same situation in South Africa, "in the complex, heterogeneous environment of the towns, where a multitude of choices is open to the individual, generally accepted norms of behaviour are as yet only in the process of development, and the home cannot give the child the emotional support he needs. It is inevitable that lack of parental control should be the syndrome causing the people continuing impotent anxiety".

Others (35 per cent) blame the lack of school places and the lack of training facilities for the enforced idleness at a time when the main preparations for adult life should be being made. These, together with the lack of employment opportunities for the school leaver, have created a large class of idle youths. For them, the beerhalls offer comfort and entertainment, and, for the poorest, an assuagement of hunger. The dregs at the bottom of the mug form for many their most substantial meal on some days.

Beer as Food. (Informant: 22-year-old, single, employed as a clerk.) The informant said that after he left school and before he had started work, he went to the pub largely because he was hungry. At those times, he said, he let others drink the thinner part of the beer at the top and he would drink the heavier part at the bottom of the mug. He said that even now that he had a job he visited the pub at least three times a week plus the weekend. African beer remained his favourite because it was food as well as drink. Usually he did not go home to have his supper, because it was difficult to cook after work, and he found that he often lost his appetite. Beer was the only thing for which he never lost his appetite. During the weekend, he usually drank European beer because he had time to prepare food.

Learning to Drink

Drinking is seen as a learned accomplishment. Through practice a man learns how to comport himself while drinking, and the youth and young man is seen as going through a period of apprenticeship. A number of young men told us almost apologetically, that "*hwahwa hwakanaka-hwakaipa*"—"I am learning to drink—i.e. I only drink in small quantities" and expressed the hope that in a few years they would be "proper

³⁵ Hellman, E., 1971. *Social Change Among Urban Africans in Adam, Heribert, (ed.) South Africa. Sociological Perspectives.* London University Press, p. 166.

drinkers". Another phrase, "*hana nhete*" implies loss of control when drunk and usually applies to "learner drinkers".

The older men who complain about the drinking behaviour of the younger men often attribute this to a lack of knowledge of how to drink. "They drink too quickly—they are still learning to drink and do not know when to stop." This leads to fighting (usually among themselves but there are sometimes gang scores to be settled, and older people become involved), and a general air of rudeness and aggressiveness and a lack of respect towards older people. In short, the younger man cannot drink *zvino mvere* because of lack of experience. A proper drinker knows from experience when his behaviour is likely to become offensive and stops drinking just short of this point. In the absence of traditional controls on his drinking during this learning period, the young drinker often oversteps the mark, and his behaviour is viewed as reprehensible by those who have mastered the necessary techniques. It is recognised of course that even seasoned drinkers deviate from the ideal state of drunkenness, particularly when there are women present, who are said to be the most common cause of beerhall fights.

As has been said, young people do not appear to drink immoderately on the whole, and their bad behaviour as observed by their elders is probably the result of other social factors rather than attributable directly to the use of alcohol. Violence in the townships is deplored by many of the men and the danger of being attacked and robbed on the way home from the beerhall, and outside its precincts is a real one. (This is of course not peculiar to this country—in towns and cities everywhere a drunken man tends to be the victim of "rolling" as it is called in America). A Bulawayo municipal newsheet gives advice in one of its issues to the drinker to go home by well lit streets and avoid lonely routes because of this danger.

Some dagga smoking undoubtedly takes place in the beerhall but is more usual elsewhere, particularly in the "bush" near a beerhall, where groups of young people are said to gather to get moderately "high" before going on to the beerhall, as this is a much cheaper way to intoxication than relying on alcohol alone.

To enforce the nineteen-and-over rule in the beerhall without providing alternative places for social participation could well lead to an increase in dagga smoking and "bush-drinking". In this case liquor is bought at the bottle stores and consumed under unsupervised conditions, leading to a higher incidence of drunkenness and its consequences. The smoking of dagga and drinking are not necessary alternatives, since the same people frequently do both.

Circumstances of First Drinking Experience

Ullman³⁶ found in his investigation that "more addictive than non-addictive drinkers remember the first drink", and "more of the non-addictive drinkers become intoxicated to some degree on the occasion of the first drinking experience". An account of the first drinking experience was therefore asked for in the present study, in order to follow up the case histories of those who both remembered their first drinking experience and who had become intoxicated at the time. This was related both to present problems and to the level of present drinking. In analysis it was found that all but two of the drinkers remembered their first drinking experience, and that those two came from an area where it is common to give beer even to very young children. Of the remainder, 53 per cent had not become intoxicated, and 43 per cent had been drunk. In each case, the majority had had their first drinking experience with their peers, either in peer groups on no special occasion or with peer groups at such social occasions as weddings. There was no relationship between becoming drunk on this occasion and later problem drinking. The difference between the situation Ullman is discussing (American) and the situation here probably lies in the difference in attitude towards drunkenness which here seems to be widely regarded as an inevitable, and valued, consequence of drinking. The importance of beer in the whole social structure makes the first drink, even when not taken traditionally, an important *rite de passage*, and therefore memorable.

Circumstances of First Drinking Experience:

	<i>Not Drunk</i>	<i>Drunk</i>
With peers	29	21
With relatives	7	5
Alone	2	2
No recall		2

To the young African, unlike his counterparts in America, the drunkenness is considered inevitable, and what is important to him is to learn to manage his drunkenness within socially acceptable limits.

³⁶ Ullman, A. *op. cit.* p. 262.

CHAPTER VII

DRINKING AMONG WOMEN

Women Drinkers

In the first survey, where male field workers asked questions about drinking, 88 per cent of the married women denied drinking at all. In this sub-sample, where women fieldworkers were employed, whose questions about drinking were embedded in an interview concerning the life styles of the married women interviewed, 69 per cent said they were total abstainers, and it is probable that even here there were more women who drank than would admit to doing so. With an N (present sample) of 67, little can be safely deduced about the women who do drink (31 per cent) or 21 cases, and the account must necessarily be fairly impressionistic.

Of the 21 women who say that they drink, 14 are in their twenties, three in their early thirties, three are about forty and one is 55.

Two of the older women are drinking companions of their husbands in the beerhall. In fact one of them met her present husband in the beerhall a few years ago.

The younger women in their twenties and early thirties have, all but one, some degree of education; two have been educated up to Form 2 level, 7 have Standard 6, and rest have Standard 3-5. They normally drink only in their own or friends' homes, when they are with their husbands. They are all young women who, with their husbands, are adapting to a modern form of marriage, where husband and wife "move together" and entertain in mixed company, the women drinking moderately and the men probably outdoing them by a wide margin. They may have a drink (with their husbands) if they are in an hotel or similar situation, and they accompany their husbands to such entertainments as football matches or cinemas. Those who are not happily married nevertheless keep to the elementary family without relatives, and go out and entertain with their husbands. Several couples in fact have as a basic difference some form of kinship obligation, such as relatives taking hospitality for granted, which is resented by one of the spouses.

Most of the women who drink (and nearly all of them drink very moderately by any standards) attend church regularly, but any religious prohibition seems to pale before the symbolic value of drinking alcoholic liquor by the modern wife. Those whose husbands drink more than they consider moderately are intolerant of this, not because of disapproval of drinking or even drunkenness *per se*, but because money is being wasted that would be better spent on their children and the household generally.

Ten of the women drink European beer only, and most of the others drink what is suitable in the circumstances. This would be African beer when in the country or with visiting African beer-drinking relatives in the town.

Some women drink with their women friends during the day. Others spend their day in the beerhalls, but are not considered to be respectable unless they are very old, when their presence is possibly excusable. We have reports of a "shebeen" where very respectable women, who would not like to be seen at a bottle store making purchases, may buy their supplies to take home or drink with other women during the day. There are other houses of impeccable reputation where women meet in the afternoon and drink European beer with great restraint, and where the mode of dress is extremely important and always very correct. Both these types are for "ladies only", though the former may change in the evenings and male patrons may attend.

A brief description of the unmarried widowed or divorced drinkers can be found in our earlier report (Reader & May, 1971),³⁷ and it can be seen that of the women who admitted drinking, 52 per cent were divorced, widowed, separated or never married. These include the unmarried mothers and 'free' women who are constantly in the beerhalls, either as prostitutes or seeking male companions who will buy them drinks, food and possibly enter into temporary liaisons with them. Not all the women who go to the beerhalls are in this class, but the majority are thought to be, and therefore the better class women will not put themselves in a position to be so classed. One of the women drinkers in the sample does go to the beerhall during the day, where she meets men and supplements her housekeeping money, unknown to her husband. She goes to the beerhall with her husband in the evening, and prefers it to drinking at home because it is "where there's life". She and her husband are both heavy drinkers.

Women in the Beerhalls

Extracts from field workers' notes: "In the afternoon there were also quite a number of women mainly drinking African beer. The majority of the women were middle aged, and were sitting in groups in the African beer section, though there were a few drinking European beer, and these were sitting among the men. I saw about five young mothers sitting with the older women. Some had babies on their backs or children playing nearby. None of the women seemed to pay much attention to their

³⁷ Reader, D. H. and May, J. *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

children. Some of the women had their knitting with them and they were dividing their attention between their knitting and drinking beer. Some of the women had baskets full of groceries with them.

"It seemed that the women were contributing to the buying of African beer. There would be a long pause or wait after the finishing of a mug of beer. This would be followed by the unfolding of pieces of cloth where they kept their money. In most cases the women who appeared young among the groups were sent to buy the beer. I observed that some of the women contributed about two or three cents to the buying of beer.

"There was a great number of Malawi women in the beerhall. These were mainly sitting alone. Most of the women were respectably dressed in dresses reaching well below their knees, and turbans sat haphazardly on their heads. There was nothing fashionable or attractive about these women. They were a homely lot. The women who had a claim to attractiveness and who were well dressed were those who were drinking European beer with some men.

"The number of women who had been drinking African beer dwindled considerably when it was getting on to five o'clock. By the time it was 5 p.m. there were only a handful of them at the African beer section and these were all very old women. The going out of the women who had been drinking African beer during most of the afternoon was accompanied by the coming in of well-dressed young women who came in through the European beer section. Whereas the women who had been in the beerhall during the afternoon had no make-up on, the ones who came in during the evening had lipstick and other forms of make-up on. Some of them were sporting slack suits. These women would first stop at the bottle store to buy a pint or two of European beer and then they would wander in the beerhall until they found somewhere to sit. In most cases these women would be called by men who would whistle to them. It was obvious that some of the women were waiting for someone because those of them who had been sitting alone were joined by men.

"Also around 5 p.m. there was a great number of working women who came in in groups. These would only stop for one or two mugs of African beer before leaving. Some of them still had their work aprons on".

And . . .

"I have seen only Malawi men who bring their wives to the beerhall. These are for the most part old couples. During the drinking the wives were so free that one would think they were not married.

"The Rhodesian African women I saw were not accompanied by their husbands. They usually bring a little money, about twenty cents, to

start off with, and are later joined by men who are on night-shift or are having a day off, and who buy the beer for the women. The women drink African beer when they are on their own, but when they are joined by men they can jokingly ask for European beer, and sometimes they get it.

"One group whose conversation I could overhear, were discussing the dishonesty of their husbands. They complained that men these days spent a lot of money on beer with prostitutes. Men cheat their wives by not telling them their exact incomes so that they have more money to enjoy themselves. They also talked about the Mushandira Pamwe Hotel, now nearing completion—the first of its kind in the township, especially because it will provide bedding. 'Once this hotel is completed, our husbands will never sleep at home. They will be sleeping with those mini-skirted women in the hotel, telling us they are going out on duty and other excuses'. Mutanga Night Club had already destroyed many families, the women agreed, and it does not provide bedding!

"The women left one at a time at about half past three. They were not drunk, but told each other that when their husbands came home they would pretend that 'they had never had a sip'.

"From their dress and other indicators, these women are from a low-class group."

Men's Attitude to Women Drinking

The most common male attitude to female drinking is one of disapproval if she is a married woman, and tolerance towards those women who are not male property: the widows, divorcees and deserted women who form a large proportion of the female beerhall habitués.

The majority of men feel it is only respectable for a woman, particularly a married woman to drink in the privacy of her own home, or in special circumstances in the cocktail lounges or hotels. The latter are somewhat suspect, as the multi-racial hotels are felt to be a convenient place for rich African businessmen to entertain their girl friends in a certain amount of privacy and sophistication. Younger people of relatively high socio-economic standing do, however, visit these hotels and places like the airport for meals and/or drinks. The wife in one such married couple asks for soft drinks wherever she is, because her husband would not allow her to do otherwise. Fifty-four per cent of the men said that married women should only drink in their homes, and a further 26 per cent felt that married women should not drink at all, mainly because if a woman drinks she will get drunk and neglect her house-keeping duties, and if she drinks in public similarly, she will also become

drunk, and allow familiarity from males other than her husband of a kind which she would normally reject.

The male attitude is quite different as regards the "free women". As one man said: "No man would like to see his wife drinking in the beerhall because this would make him lose dignity with his relatives, but free women should mingle freely with the men"; and another "The women cause trouble by chasing men, but they should mix freely because we need them". On a more pragmatic level: "unmarried mothers must go to the beerhall to earn a living—and they get more from drunk men".

Men's Concepts of the Type of Women frequenting Beerhalls

Free women and prostitutes	60,56%
Mixed—some respectable, some not	32,40%
Don't know	7,04%

Their own status, of course, influenced the men's judgment here. Those whose own friends and relations patronised the beerhalls tended to be of fairly low status, and they did not regard the women present in the same light as those of higher status.

There are borderline cases where the wife is taken to the beerhall, given a drink bought previously at the bottle store outside and left to drink it alone there. Or she may wander off to find her own place in the beerhall, or may be given money by her husband to go to another beerhall. The husband then has no objection to her drinking in or near the beerhall, so long as he is not embarrassed by her physical presence.

Malawian women seem to be allowed more latitude and attend the beerhalls more freely, often sitting in groups together. Malawians generally seem to be regarded, in the words of several interviewers as "more primitive" and one Malawian man complained bitterly that he was no match for the cunning Rhodesian African prostitutes.

CHAPTER VIII

ILLEGAL DRINKING

It is impossible to estimate the amount of liquor brewed or distilled privately and sold, but fieldworkers, and both Police and the Municipal Liquor Undertaking estimate a considerable rise in the last two or three years, particularly in distilled spirits such as Kachasu. Various types of beer are brewed and vary with fashion. At one time the most popular beer was made with brown bread and sugar, but recipes vary.

A certain amount of beer is brewed in the traditional manner for ceremonial purposes. Usually only one small pot is brewed for the immediate participants, and the rest is bought from the beerhalls. In other houses beer is brewed illicitly for normal drinking but the risk attached to this, considering the availability of municipal beer, is felt to be too great.

Shebeens of all types are very common and well patronised. The liquor is usually European beer, and may include commercially distilled spirits and Kachasu. Most, though not all run some sort of brothel as well, and some are quite frankly primarily brothels. One such establishment is run by a nursing sister in a well kept house set in a pleasant cultivated garden. The girls, chosen for their beauty, live on the premises, and are not expected to do anything but beautify themselves and ply their trade, servants being engaged to do all the menial labour of the house. Prices of liquor are high and clientele is select and always known to the owner. Music and food are provided at a cost, and the house has a good reputation among the patrons.

There are many other less elegant houses, which are best described in the fieldworkers' words. The first two are reports from women fieldworkers. The names used are fictitious.

A Convenient Establishment: "Gladys has only one room in her home. She keeps beer for weekend customers and seldom trades during the week. She buys two crates of beer for \$3,40 and sells it at the rate of \$10,80 per crate. Recently she has been buying beer from a man who has become her boyfriend at \$2,40 per crate, so her profit is greater. Gladys says that men usually come to her shebeen at night, and on rare occasions bring women with them. These are prostitutes which the men have picked up. A few of the women are married and come during the day when their husbands are at work. If they come on Saturdays they leave by 11 a.m. so that they have time to go home and chew newspapers so the smell of beer is obliterated. Men who steal other men's wives in order to have sex with them must make an appointment, and when they come Gladys gives them time to do this. She does not

charge them anything but they must buy her beer. This is a privilege for regular customers only. Gladys says most of the beer is bought on Friday nights by men who will be competing for her. Each one will be showing off that he has more money than the next, and Gladys will automatically take the biggest spender. The more cunning ones give Gladys about \$1 beforehand as a booking fee, but if after the party someone gives her \$2, he will be the one to remain after the rest have gone."

A Better-Class Shebeen. "Mary says her customers are high class well-off people who come for the comfort of good seats and nice cold beer, and they converse comfortably away from the noise of the beerhall. The customers are usually men; few bring their girlfriends because a shebeen is no hiding place. There are few fights as they are sophisticated people, and those that occur are quickly cooled down in fear of the police. The shebeen keeps girls for any customer who is interested and also provides bedrooms. The women have usually gone by 11 p.m. and the men remain in their groups talking. Some men come there to sell things like dagga and clothes, but are not allowed in unless they are well known. The customers sometimes complain that they have been robbed while drunk but do not pursue that matter. Mary herself has men, and makes a good income from this, though not with her husband's knowledge. The turnover on drinks at weekends is often around \$200; the house is large and has a beautiful garden. I (the fieldworker) interviewed Mary outside as the house was full and noisy."

A Kachasu Shebeen. The fieldworker (male) visited this four roomed semi-detached house at seven o'clock on a Saturday night. Two nearby houses were also shebeens where *Kachasu* and *Sikokijona* were being sold. "The Kachasu is bought from several sources at \$6 per gallon. This is concentrated and is usually diluted to about 50 per cent of its original strength with water. The owner of the shebeen reckons to make at least 100 per cent profit, as a bottle of diluted Kachasu is sold for \$1, (six bottles to the gallon). The spirit is usually sold in quarter bottle measures and mixed in glasses, usually with Coca-cola. In addition to Kachasu, European beer is also sold at 50 cents per quart bottle. The owner makes a considerable profit as his friend who works at Rhodesian Breweries obtains it for him at low price. The beer is refrigerated, and no food is supplied. The shebeen is operated by the head of household and his wife, both of whom are middle aged members of a church which prohibits drinking, and are regular church goers, the husband playing in the church band. Asked about the views of other church members on his activities, he said there was some gossip but no one had ever accused him (because he knew too much about their more private activities).

In his view his religious beliefs do not conflict with his running a shebeen, and God will not punish him because he is helping himself, and eking out his poor wages as a messenger.

"Kachasu and beer are sold every day of the week, but peak hours are on Friday and Saturday nights when the beerhalls have closed. People come in groups of two or three and some bring their girl-friends. They come through the back door and the front door is always kept locked. The customers must be known to the proprietor or brought by regular customers, and it is the latter guests who cause trouble and are never allowed in again. People who pass out are dragged into the spare room or outside on the lawn to sleep it off.

"Most of his regular customers do not patronise the beerhall but treat his house as their 'local', and have formed themselves into small friendly groups which meet regularly. These customers usually leave when the beerhall crowds arrive. They feel that the people from the beerhalls are rough and mannerless. Quite a number of young males come in on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, and sit in the kitchen or spare room, preferring not to mix with the older men.

"At the time of my (the fieldworker's) visit there were about seven men there sharing a bottle of Kachasu, which they drank straight. The radio-gram had been shut off and the windows had drawn black curtains. The conversation was general, and they kept to low tones. Every now and then the owner would go out to look out for police. He had not been prosecuted up till then and claims that although the African police know of his shebeen, they leave him alone because he runs a quiet and orderly house and always gives them free beer.

"Asked whether Kachasu had any ill effects that he knew of, the owner replied that 'a person who drinks Kachasu must eat a lot or his complexion would turn pitch black and his skin would peel off, that some people have skin sores which take a long time to heal, and that Kachasu drinkers lose a lot of weight'."

Parties are a popular and lucrative form of entertainment. These take a variety of forms, a popular one being a joint venture entered into by several families, whose houses are used in turn. A subscription is met by the families for purchases, and drinks at the party itself are offset against this up to a certain limit. Music is provided by records which are charged at 5 cents a 'spin'. Food too can be bought and the party may go on for the entire weekend, with people sleeping and waking and drinking at their own convenience. These parties are seldom raided unless a neighbour complains of the noise, though plain clothes policemen have been known to infiltrate. The fines imposed have been taken into account in the charges made for food and drink, and are usually covered.

Both European beer and African beer are sold at these parties, and we are told, an increasing amount of Kachasu.

Kachasu is usually obtained from nearby Tribal Trust Lands, and townships, but may be brewed locally, particularly, we are informed, at St. Mary's. Stills made of galvanised iron are not costly and are reasonably efficient. The writer saw a small still among the buckets and baths being peddled by a cyclist in the European Borrowdale area recently, so they are presumably easily obtained.

CHAPTER IX

IX THE ECOLOGY OF HEAVY DRINKING

Many of the explanatory studies of drinking habits, especially of pre-literate societies have been concerned with an all-embracing explanation in the society concerned. As social life becomes more varied and complex with urbanization and modernization, so the motives for drinking heavily become diversified, and there are probably in any such society as many multiple factors behind an individual's heavy drinking as there are heavy drinkers.

Economic Factors

Jellinek³⁸ observes that some assessment of the role of socio-economic factors in the ecology of excess (drinking) and ultimately alcoholism, should not be neglected. By 'economic origin' may be meant the economic condition of the individual, general economic depression of the country and pressure from a material economy in which the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages play such a vital role that they give an incentive to large individual consumption.

The public drinking place may provide relief from overcrowded and inadequate houses. Bresard³⁹ in a study of housing in relation to alcohol consumption found a definite relationship between daily wine intake and the number of rooms occupied by families.

Another factor belonging in the category of 'economic origin' is the type of economic insecurity which was particularly prominent in Europe in the course of the Industrial Revolution. These factors are of particular relevance in Rhodesia where poor and overcrowded housing and economic insecurity are common in African urban life.

Jellinek⁴⁰ notes that the price of food in relation to the price of alcoholic beverages is another economic factor, and where alcohol is cheaper it may be substituted to a large extent for food. It has been observed in Salisbury that a working mans' "lunch" is often a mug (or more) of beer obtained at one of the beerhalls situated in the industrial sites, and many men rely on beer in the evening as the main part of their evening intake of food. It is noted in another chapter that unemployed youths find sustenance in the dregs left at the bottom of beer mugs. African beer is a cheap, if inadequate substitute for food on many occasions for many people in the townships.

³⁸ Jellinek *op. cit.*, p. 568.

³⁹ Bresard, 1958. Cited by Jellinek, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

⁴⁰ Jellinek, E. M., *ibid.*, p. 569.

When the French speak of 'economic origins' they refer to the great importance of vinicultural and related industries in the national economy, and the identification of the general population with these interests. There is no such identification in Rhodesia with the Municipal products, but the justification of municipal officials for the encouragement of beer drinking and the increase and improvement of outlets is very often that "their money goes back to the people in the form of social welfare and housing". Municipal beer profits are the main source of township welfare money. It may be that this justification fails to take into account the high social costs of heavy drinking; and increased production and consumption which is made to seem most desirable might, in fact, add largely to the need for welfare services.

"Large vested interests have their effects on public opinion and acceptance. There are definite interactions between the two; where there is a certain readiness to accept large individual consumption, the pressure from vested interests may reinforce the public attitude to a high degree, or on the other hand the public attitude may greatly facilitate the assumption of power on the part of the vested interests."⁴¹

The extensive advertising in all media by a large commercial concern eager to win the lion's share of a large market cannot go unobserved here. Advertisements play on a product image reflecting manliness, high status and sophistication, and rapidly increasing sales each year of clear beer to the African population prove their efficacy. "As advertising aims at influencing public attitudes, and as the latter play an important role in the genesis and control of problems of alcohol, advertising cannot be ignored by the scientific student of these problems."⁴²

These constant pressures occur in a society where a high level of drinking is acceptable and there is a high degree of tolerance for drunkenness. With other economic factors these pressures are a contributing factor to heavy drinking and therefore alcohol problems, but cannot be viewed without further social and socio-psychological factors which together create a situation in which widespread heavy drinking could be expected to occur.

Sociocultural Elements. There are in the literature on alcohol, a number of explanatory hypotheses concerning both the drinking patterns of particular peoples and cross-cultural comparisons. Though no one explanation can account for the alcohol problems or drinking patterns in a complex urbanizing or modernizing society, they may throw some light on situations in which heavy drinking may be likely to occur.

⁴¹ Jellinek, E. M., *ibid.*, p. 571.

⁴² Jellinek, E. M., *ibid.*, p. 572.

Donald Horton in his well known cross cultural study, maintains that the primary function of alcoholic beverages in all societies is the reduction of anxiety.⁴³ People habitually subjected to stresses of food scarcity, acculturation or war, drink heavily to reduce anxiety so generated. Horton also noted that heavy drinking could generate anxieties and the amount of drinking allowed is the interplay between the anxiety reducing and anxiety producing function of alcohol.

Field⁴⁴ builds upon and modifies Horton's study and finds drunkenness determined less by the level of anxiety than by the absence of corporate kin groups with stability, permanence and formal structures, and well-defined functions. Presence of such a group provides controls over heavy drinking which are not available to others.

Child, Bacon and Barry⁴⁵ support many of Horton's general ideas though they suggest greater stress on the importance of dependence conflict as a source of anxiety.

Dozier⁴⁶ suggests that socio-cultural deprivation, when seen as such, is a powerful incentive to heavy drinking. He also proposes that alcohol use provides new modes of social interaction to substitute for those which have been lost owing to severe shocks of acculturation.

Jessor and his associates postulate as the central sociological hypothesis that "the magnitude of deviance rates at a given location in society, will vary with the degree of value access, dysjunction, anomie, and access to illegitimate means characterizing the location". They also advance a psychological hypothesis that the likelihood of occurrence of deviant behaviour will vary directly with the degree of personal dysjunction, alienation, belief in external control, tolerance of deviance, and tendencies toward short time perspective and immediate gratification characterizing an individual at a given moment in time.⁴⁷

This general model was applied in the tri-ethnic study by Cahalan *et al.*⁴⁸ In their national study of American Drinking Practices they stated that their findings bore out the principal findings of Jessor's study in every major particular. Deviant behaviour here included drunkenness and excessive drinking.

⁴³ Horton, D., 1943. The Functions of Alcohol in Primitive Societies. A Cross Cultural Study. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. 4, 199-310.

⁴⁴ Field, P., 1962. A New Cross-cultural Study of Drunkenness. In Pitman and Snyder, (eds.), *Society, Culture & Drinking Patterns*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, p.p. 48-73.

⁴⁵ Child, Margaret K, Barry, Herbert III & Child, Irvin, 1970. A Cross-cultural Study of Drinking in Snyder, Charles and Schierzer, D.R., *Proceedings of Research Sociologists Conference on Alcohol Problems*. U. of Illinois.

⁴⁶ Dozier, E. P. Problem drinking among American Indians. The Role of Socio-culture Deprivation. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. 27, 72-87.

⁴⁷ Jessor *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 111.

⁴⁸ Cahalan *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 9.

Mangin⁴⁹ and Lemert⁵⁰ see drinking as a means of social integration, a way of providing needed primary social relationships rather than a response to anxiety. These authors were describing the response of particular peoples: the Northwest coast Indians in America and Canada and the Andean Indians; but similar observations have been made elsewhere, and may be applicable to many societies or subgroups of societies.

A great many of these studies concerning problems of excessive drinking are essentially elaborations of Horton's contention that the primary function of alcoholic beverages in all societies is the reduction of anxiety, though the focusses have been on the socio-cultural location of anxiety.

Attention to group norms and to sources of stress, and the polarization of explanatory hypothesis into "anxiety" and "social integration" have diverted attention from the range in the patterns of drinking behaviour within any society; Ferguson observed two broad categories of drinkers among the Navajo Indian problem drinkers undergoing a three year course of treatment:

"Excessive drinking among individuals from technologically under-developed groups confronted with severe acculturation problems has sometimes been attributed to anxiety arising from stress. Another view is that excessive drinking is not so much a reaction to stress as an indulgence in one of the new found pleasures of the town, an indulgence unstructured by any traditional patterns of control. The tendency to type the drinking pattern of certain ethnic groups persists . . . yet our study indicates that there are clearly several types of drinkers among the Navajo Indians; generalisations must be made cautiously. The situation is too complex for the attribution of simple causes or the creation of facile typologies.

"I would venture the conclusion that every alcohol-drinking society has both anxiety drinkers and recreation drinkers who become addicted. Anxiety drinking is perhaps not too different from anxiety drinking in the American public at large, where value conflicts and attempts to adjust to modern industrial life produce stress. *What is distinctive about Navajo drinking is the presence of forces which promote addictive recreational drinking without adequate counter forces to control it.*⁵¹ (My italics).

That there is widespread heavy drinking and frequent drunkenness among the urban Africans has been shown in previous surveys, (Reader

⁴⁹ Mangin, W., 1957. Drinking among Andean Indians. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. 18, 55-66.

⁵⁰ Lemert, E. E., 1954. Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians. *University of California Publications in Culture and Society*, 2, 303-405.

⁵¹ Ferguson, F. N., 1968. Navajo Drinking. Some Tentative Hypotheses. *Human Organisation*. 2, p.p. 159-167.

and May 1971⁵², and May 1970⁵³), and we have demonstrated in the present study that there are both heavy recreational drinkers and heavy stress drinkers and that both types may be combined in one individual, under what we have called Convivial and Utilitarian drinking.

Theoretically, stress drinking may be accounted for by a number of factors both sociocultural and economic; and conditions in the urban African townships, both social and individual are such that would make a high rate of heavy or excess drinking probable:

1. Economic factors: inadequate housing, economic insecurity; the low price of beer in relation to other food and promotion of beer consumption by vested interests in a situation where there is already environmental support for heavy drinking.
2. Stresses resulting from transition from one type of society to another, from a subsistence agrarian to an industrial economy. Culture contact difficulties are particularly apparent, according to Dozier⁵⁴ when contact with the dominant culture is confined largely to the work situation and when other moves to adapt to the dominant culture are usually rebuffed.
3. Socio-cultural deprivation: overt discrimination—economic, social and political; poverty, poor housing, lack of education, and opportunity. These are factors which have been shown to be associated with delinquent behaviour and a readiness to find relief in high levels of drinking.⁵⁵
4. Value access dysjunction: (Jessor *et al.* Graves^{56, 57}). Economic goals have been shown to be of greatest importance in the perception of urban life; and wages which are not in line with the rising cost of living preclude for many the acquisition of material goals or afford any security for the future.
5. Strong kinship ties: Kinship ties are weakening in the urban situation and social controls operating in the traditional structures cannot survive in strength in a modernising population.

Added to these considerations is the situation where the beerhall has become the most important recreational institution in the townships, where social participation is sought and found and the drinking of beer provides temporary resolution of stresses and anxieties.

⁵² Reader and May, 1971. *op. cit.*

⁵³ May, J., 1970. *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ Dozier, E. P. *op. cit.* pp. 72-87.

⁵⁵ Dozier, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵⁶ Jessor, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁵⁷ Graves, T., 1967. Acculturation, Access and Alcohol in a Tri-ethnic Society. *American Anthropologist*, 69, pp. 306-320.

The African townships can be seen as providing a climate in which heavy drinking might well be expected to be widespread, and though there appears to be little alcoholism of the type usually found in Western Society, certain individuals appear to drink enough to cause some degree of physiological change, and therefore dependence.

It must be remembered, however, that what would be deemed pathological drinking by the dominant white society may not appear so to an African who regards his weekend drunkenness as a form of recreation which has the added value of a degree of oblivion. He shows little anxiety over the amount he drinks or the frequency of his drunkenness, and great deal of tolerance towards others.

Abstainers too, show little concern over the drinking behaviour of others. In weekend drinking and weekend drunkenness the drinker is following a pattern which is accepted by the members of his community. He is not an alcoholic addict and cannot be accused of psychological abnormality. Jellinek sees such drinking as possibly functional, where people drink to achieve a certain preconceived result and this can be directly correlated with the "need for release . . . and the control of aggression". In this case their "ailment is not excessive drinking but rather the social and psychological difficulties from which alcohol gives temporary surcease".⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Jellinek, E. M., 1952. Phases of Alcoholic Addiction. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 13, p. 675.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY

Drinking in the Home. Drinking in the home is common as an adjunct to beerhall drinking and most often takes place with other male members of the household, or fellow lodgers, and with visiting relatives. African beer is most commonly drunk in these circumstances, though European beer is not uncommon, especially among younger and better-paid drinkers. The beerhall is nevertheless the favourite situation for most drinking occasions.

Preference for drinking at home is associated with high socio-economic status and is probably related to changing patterns towards nuclear family living and leisure patterns which include wives, and with adequacy of housing. European beer is widely used, and other couples are often included. Intoxication is seldom the goal on these occasions, and the women drink very moderately.

Drinking in the Beerhalls. The majority of men prefer the beerhall for the possibilities of social participation and group enjoyment of drinking. Facilities provided for entertainment such as music and dancing, and games such as draughts are very popular and help to create the convivial atmosphere. Lack of comfort and inadequate services are felt to be a drawback, particularly in the more austere beerhalls; and among the more urbanized there is a growing dislike for the traditional sharing of mugs and a preference for packaged beer which is more "hygienic".

The beerhall plays a very important part in the urban social life in providing a meeting place, decent recreational facilities and a focus for community life. Though we might not go all the way with the Salisbury Mayor who wrote that "history may record that the Rufaro Brewery has been an important contributing factor to the level of happiness and tranquility which we have been able to maintain in recent times",⁵⁹ it has been instrumental in developing an important social institution within the townships, without which adjustment to urban conditions of living would have been very much more difficult for the thousands of patrons whose leisure hours are spent in the beerhalls. The latter provide not only a necessary social milieu but a cheap form of liquor which, though it may not be as nutritionally valuable as was previously thought, provides a useful adjunct to what is often a deficient diet.*

⁵⁹ Liquor Undertaking Dept. Report 1967. Introduction by His Worship the Mayor.

*In Mexico it was found that drinkers of Mexican beer, "pulque" have a rate of nutritional deficiency of 9 per cent compared to 45 per cent among the others (Chafetz *Liquor the Servant of Man*, *op. cit.*, p. 30). It is not within the scope of this survey to obtain comparable figures for the local urban population, but they would be interesting for comparison in view of the much-advertised nutritional benefit African beer drinkers are deemed to obtain from all types of commercially-brewed African beer.

Any approach to the undeniable problems associated with the beer-halls must take their positive functions in African social organisation into account. The beerhalls, like their counterparts in other countries are blamed for a great many social problems such as excessive drinking, crime, juvenile delinquency, broken marriages and neglect of children. Beer gardens have an essentially volatile atmosphere especially when crowded, and tensions brought in with the patrons from outside are not always happily resolved. Political tension has led to the breaking up of beerhalls by the patrons, and riots have begun here and continued elsewhere. Professor Wolcott's description⁶⁰ of the Bulawayo beer gardens is as applicable in Highfield: "Most violence was interpersonal, resulting in fights and stabbing, but there were still incidents of collective violence and mob reaction, and if the stories recounting such incidents are not necessarily accurate they were nevertheless effective in keeping everyone mindful of how quickly a beer garden crowd could get out of hand." The combination of heat, alcohol and a large number of people crowded together is always potentially explosive and exploitable, and this has long been recognised. An inscription from the 5th century B.C. near the stadium at Delphi forbids the carrying of wine into the stadium, and University authorities in America have found it expedient to exhibit similar signs at football grounds as has the South African Rugby Board at international matches.

Both the functional and dysfunctional aspects of the beer garden are not unique, but almost universal. In Salisbury, the beerhalls are undoubtedly the most important centres of urban African social life, centring as they do on a traditional activity adapted to meet the needs of an urbanizing people.

"The ambivalence between attitudes of acceptance and use by large numbers of persons and an attitude of rejection by others raises several issues. The most important issue is whether or not the tavern is a detrimental institution, as its opponents claim, or a harmless one as its proponents say. It has been accused of being a major factor in prostitution, gambling, alcoholism, crime and delinquency and of being a threat to basic social institutions. The extent to which the tavern is actually associated with these activities can only be determined conclusively by further research on this neglected institution"⁶¹

Drinking in the Rural Arcas. Drinking, centred round ritual and work situations among kinship groups separated by sex and age encompassed a third dimension when the need for cash gave rise to the brewing of

⁶⁰ Wolcott, H. W., *op. cit.*

⁶¹ Clinard, M., *op. cit.*, p. 288.

ndari or "beer for sale" and traditional controls began to break down in the new situation. The absence of many men from the villages, and their frequent returns from the town bringing with them their urban drinking freedoms and also the money to pay for *ndari* even if, traditionally, they were not yet of an age to drink with their elders, contributed further to changing rural drinking patterns. The growth, in the past few years, of a number of commercial outlets, both bottle stores and beer gardens, has narrowed the gap between town and country drinking styles, traditional drinking giving way to urban patterns of organisation at social gatherings.

Considerable resentment, particularly on the part of the women is discernable where rural beerhalls are organised by local authorities, both on moral grounds, and because the women are deprived of a means of earning money, often the only means of providing school fees and clothing. Though both men and women tended to emphasize the negative aspects, it must not be lost sight of that these places probably have the same function as the town beer gardens in helping to meet social and recreational needs. They also serve as a meeting place for men from neighbouring villages, where people may share interests and problems or relax and enjoy a more varied environment than village drinking may provide, and obtain wider social contacts with visitors from the towns and elsewhere.

There is no doubt however that the whole pattern of drinking in the rural areas is undergoing considerable change, and is probably a reflection of the general change which is occurring in all but the most remote areas, largely brought about by increased communication with the urban areas and imposed changes in organisation through local councils and the introduction of community development schemes.

It must be noted here that though for the majority there is some connection with their rural homes of origin, an increasing number of adult males have little or no connection with their "homes"; and their drinking patterns, as their life styles, do not include rural situations at all. In this sample, 13 per cent of the adult males were either born in town or came to live permanently in town as children below the age of ten years; and nearly 10 per cent of all males have not visited their rural "homes" for ten years or more. From information received concerning other survey samples and from the survey carried out by this unit in Harari this is a lower figure than those obtained elsewhere and, in any case, can be expected to rise as each successively larger cohort attains adulthood.

Attitudes to Drinking. Though there is a relatively large number of non-drinkers among the urban African population, the majority of these

are tolerant of others drinking and there appears to be little ambivalence felt by the drinkers about their own drinking. Moderation does not preclude drunkenness, so long as, intoxicated, the drinker maintains some degree of control, so that his behaviour does not violate his ideal relations with others or involve too great a degree of loss of control, and therefore loss of personal dignity. Bad behaviour in intoxication is frequently held to be premeditated and therefore not excusable on the grounds of diminished responsibility.

Drinking is largely proscribed for those who cannot cope with intoxication. Young men and adolescents must learn, as they reach maturity to control their drunkenness, but married women, if drunk will neglect their tasks—both drunkenness and household duties are time consuming and therefore not compatible. Married women too, must not be exposed to the sexual dangers of drunkenness or they will disgrace their husbands. "Free" women are allowed a larger freedom, both in drinking and sexual opportunities, and their presence in the beerhalls is generally acceptable. It is only with education and urbanisation that drinking and getting drunk are separated, and the women may drink while it is understood that they will stop far short of drunkenness.

Motivation. Drinking is largely regarded as recreational and convivial, with "controlled drunkenness" as its object. A fairly substantial number of drinkers, however, recognise the use of alcohol in relieving anxiety, and drink for this effect. The younger (under 35) drinkers tend to drink for conviviality, and a significant number of older drinkers for indulgent or utilitarian reasons. It is suggested here that this may reflect greater anxieties with increasing responsibilities, and be an indication that problem drinking which is found mainly among utilitarian drinkers, may be expected to increase, and utilitarian drinking may be expected ultimately to predominate.

Concept of Excessive Drinking. Constant drinking beyond the limits of controlled drunkenness, and daily drunkenness were seen by sixty per cent to constitute excessive drinking. Frequent drunkenness (provided it did not exceed the limits of 'controlled drunkenness') is not seen as pathological. Almost the only sign of ambivalence toward drinking appears in the opinion of the great majority that excessive drinking constitutes a very real social problem, particularly in the towns.

Sixty per cent of the respondents said that they have known at least one person whom they considered an excessive drinker. Several of these were said to have stopped drinking when they realized the costs, and others who continued have returned to the rural areas as they are no longer able to live in town and obtain liquor, or indeed, to keep a job,

and therefore accommodation. This may account for the very small number of respondents interviewed who were felt to be possible alcoholics.

Levels of Drinking. Drinkers were divided into Abstainers, Light Moderate Drinkers, Moderate Drinkers and Heavy or heavier drinkers. One problem here was the small number of light moderate drinkers, who nevertheless form a class of their own. This has occurred in the Harari Study (unpublished) too. The number of abstainers, though higher, is comparable with that in other countries. Prolonged and heavy drinking is common, and at least a degree of drunkenness is not only condoned but valued. If men drink at all, they tend to drink heavily and often with a predominant pattern of weekend drinking with frequent drunkenness.

Sociological and Demographic Correlates and Levels of Drinking: The most important factor here was shown to be the degree of affiliation to a church or sect. The highest proportion of abstainers was found among the practising members of those religious organisations which disapproved of or banned drinking. That not all members of these churches were abstainers is explained by the looseness of the tie in many cases, where it was purely nominal. This was not so in all cases, and regular churchgoers of the stricter denominations were occasionally drinkers, but for the most part the heavier drinkers have little present affiliation with the various churches.

Personal Correlates of Levels of Drinking. The abstainers and moderate drinkers were significantly those who scored highest on the devised affiliation scale—the men who lived within a nuclear family, who belonged to both formal and informal groups, and who reported at least four church attendances in the last year.

It is of interest to note that of the twenty men who scored the maximum number of points, only one was a heavy drinker.

Thus those men whose families lived in the urban area, and who were most firmly enmeshed in urban-based social activities, are seen to be those who either abstain from drinking, or who appear to handle their consumption of alcohol with circumspection.

Compared to abstainers, the heavier drinkers are more often dissatisfied with their jobs, especially at the higher levels of literacy and skill.

Just as those who appeared to be more settled in their urban environment as regards family and other groups, so those men who perceived positive economic and environmental opportunities in town life tended to be abstainers and moderate drinkers. Conversely, those who see town

life in terms of economic necessity only, largely because of the poverty of their home areas, adapt less easily and tend to find relief in heavy drinking.

Stated rural goals may be a reflection of the insecurity felt within the towns by the majority of urban residents—a desired form of insurance against mishap, illness or old age, and these together with rural orientation judged in the light of present rural possessions and commitments are not significantly related to levels of drinking. On the other hand, the degree of integration into the urban situation and the perception of positive values in urban living are related to abstinence and moderate drinking, and a significant proportion of those who are relatively less integrated into the urban structure and perceive urban opportunities negatively, are heavy drinkers.

Women Drinkers. More women than men are abstainers and married women who drink tend to drink moderately or very moderately. Women who frequent the beerhalls tend to be married women of low status, old women past childbearing age, and, largely, 'free' women who wholly or partly rely on their earnings as prostitutes for a living.

Younger married women who have, or whose husbands have a more modern view of marriage, drink with their husbands or with guests in their own homes, but seldom outside, though those in the higher economic levels may accompany their husbands to places of entertainment where food and drink are served.

Older women may drink with their husbands, or with other women in their homes, and there are private drinking places, some of the utmost respectability, where women may gather together during the day.

The majority of married women do not drink and disapprove strongly of other women doing so, though they are more tolerant of drinking on the part of their husbands, especially if they feel no economic deprivation as a result.

Men's Attitude to Women Drinking. The majority of men feel that a married woman of child-bearing and rearing age should never drink in public, though it may be permissible for her to drink in moderation at home in the presence of her husband. Changes in this attitude can be observed among the better educated and sophisticated, who condone the wife's drinking (lightly) in the presence of other married couples, or relatives.

The unmarried, divorced or deserted who frequent the beerhalls are regarded very differently, and the men compete in buying drinks for them with the object of gaining a temporary sexual partner.

Women in the beerhalls tend to be of low social status, old women, or to be prostitutes or "free women", and the presence of the last group is greatly appreciated by the male patrons.

Young People. Though there are many young people always present in the beerhalls not all of them actually drink, but come for the company and the amenities provided, especially the music. There are undoubtedly heavy drinkers among them, and their drunkenness and drunken behaviour is a source of great concern to their elders. There are few alternative sources of entertainment for these young people, and few other places where they can meet in a relaxed and convivial atmosphere, and where there is no absolute necessity to spend money.

There is a considerable amount of speculation as to the amount of cannabis that is smoked by the young people, especially as a quick and cheap aid to intoxication either in the beerhall, or as a preliminary outside. We have noted a growing concern among the parents of adolescent children, and there does not appear to be any difficulty in getting supplies in the vicinity of the beerhalls. The present investigation has not covered the use of drugs, though fieldworkers were asked to report any incidence that came to their notice, and comments on its use among the young appeared in interviews with the women.

Older people complain of the lack of parental control and of the lack of respect for their elders that the young display, especially when drinking.

Ecology of Drinking. Theoretically it would seem likely that heavy drinking would occur in the sociocultural and economic circumstances pertaining here, especially where there was individual psychological vulnerability. Acute addiction appears rare, but there is a pattern of weekend excessive drinking which though it may not appear pathological or deviant in the light of urban African values is none the less excessive by western standards, with ensuing social costs and considerable exposure of a large number of people to alcoholic risk, or at least to problem-drinking through addiction.

APPENDIX A

EXCERPT FROM THE REPORT OF A WORKING GROUP ON THE STATISTICS AND THE SURVEYING OF ALCOHOLISM AND ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

In the report on its first session the Alcoholism Sub-committee of the Expert Committee on Mental Health recommended the convening of a small expert working group for the study of statistics related to the problem of alcoholism. The recommendations of this expert sub-committee on the surveying of Drinking Patterns follow.

The figures (1) or (2) indicate whether the particular section is dealt with in the first occasional paper (1) or the present study (2).

The Survey of Drinking Patterns

The survey should proceed with modern statistical sampling methods and should produce sufficiently large subsamples in order to permit of differentiation among cultural sub-groups (occupational, ethnic, social sub-groups, etc.) of the parent population under question.

Below are enumerated a few items which should be included in the survey:

- (1) Determination, by sex and broad age-groups, of the frequency of use of beer, cider, wines and spirits.
- (1) The occasions for drinking (meals, celebrations, solemn occasions, etc.).
- (1) The locale of drinking.
- (2) Drinking of the sexes together or separately.
- (2) Attitude of the sexes towards drinking by the opposite sex.
- (2) Tolerance for drunken behaviour.
- (2) Negative sanctions on unacceptable drinking behaviour.
- (2) Who are the sanctioning agents?
- (2) Expressions relating to drunkenness and the meaning of these expressions.
- (2) Motivations for drinking.
- (2) "Prestige" of drinking.
- (2) Refusal of a drink (e.g. the ease, or difficulty of refusal in the milieu concerned).
- (1) Ideas about alcohol as a food, a medicine, etc.
- (2) The motivations of total abstainers.
- (2) The role of alcoholic beverages in the family budget, if feasible.

"Trouble" caused by excessive drinking:

- (1 & 2) (a) Loss of time on job.
- (b) Loss of jobs.
- (c) Difficulties with family.
- (d) Arrest for drunkenness.
- (e) Neglect of children.
- (f) Hospitalisation because of drinking.
- (g) Occurrence of "blackouts".
- (h) Frequency of intoxication, etc.

These questions may lead also to a fair estimate of the incidence of alcoholism in the area under study.

APPENDIX B

SHONA DRINKING TERMS

(Compiled by Maia Chenaux-Repond, Research Assistant)

The following pages contain a collection of commonly used Shona drinking terms, which, while the list is by no means comprehensive, may serve to indicate by their numerousness the importance of beer to the African people in Rhodesia. Slang words which are a feature of the beerhalls and which may go out of fashion and be replaced have been included. Many of the words were used during interviews, or were contributed and collected by the field assistants during the research period; and help was sought from as wide a range of informants as possible.

Mr. George Kahari and Mr. Aaron Hodza of the Department of African Languages, University of Rhodesia, kindly both supplied information and checked on translations and other aspects and their help is gratefully acknowledged.

Main Types of Alcoholic Beverage

hwahwa (Zezuru)	beer	brewed from maize meal and malt
mhamba (Manyika)	"strong" beer as opposed	derived from rapoko (chimera).
doro (Karanga)	to "sweet" beer—see below	For method of preparation see p. 93
bumhe	"sweet" or partially	beer at specific stage in brewing
biti	fermented beer	process, of low alcohol content,
mangisi (Karanga)		liked by abstainers
mahewu	light beer of very low	beer brewed from thick maize
	alcoholic content	porridge (sadza), usually left-
		overs. Sadza is softened with
		water, a little malt made from
		rapoko (chimera) is added. In hot
		weather it takes one day to ferment
		and is ready the following morn-
		ing. Liked by abstainers and con-
		sidered suitable for women and
		young men
chikokiyani (skokiaan)	alcoholic beverage (brewed)	potent alcoholic beverage brewed
		from thin maize porridge with
		addition of yeast, sugar malt
		derived from rapoko (chimera).
		Other additives—which make the
		brew more potent, but at the same
		time make it a health hazard,
		include: methylated spirit, car-
		bide, household cleaning sub-
		stances, etc.
kachasu	alcoholic beverage	alcoholic beverage distilled from
	(distilled)	such ingredients as beer (some-
		times mhanga, see p. 93, or beer
		which has turned out too bitter),
		ground maize, brown bread,
		sadza, various wild fruit and par-
		ticularly masawu berries (fruit of
		Ziziphus abyssinica)—after these
		ingredients have fermented. For
		method of preparation see p. 94

Quality of the Beer

ndunje	}	bitter or sour beer—badly brewed beer
mutyuviza		
ndyavava		
muswa (Z)	}	stale beer
mushwa (K)		

Purpose

Beer, traditionally, was brewed for a special purpose which was always named and explained by the *mutsvimahwaha*, the “owner of the beer” on whose instruction the beer was brewed. Beer brewed for various purposes has different names which denote its purpose or function and do not refer to the beverage as such.

musumo	introductory pot
	(1) a small pot of beer offered to the husband by the wife to notify him that she has brewed beer as instructed. The beer is drunk by the husband, and his immediate relatives. If the husband should refuse the beer, no more will be drunk by anyone. The purpose of the beer is explained by the husband.
	(2) first pot of beer offered to assembled company at a party. The beer is shared by all.
	(3) The term may be used for the first mug of beer offered to friends in the beerhall, or the first crate of beer brought out at a party in the urban area.
jerawachera	disparaging term, describing a pot of beer to which no formalities are attached, and from which guests help themselves.

Beer Brewed for Ceremonial Purposes

hwahwa hwckurova guva	literally “the beer brewed for beating the grave”. beer brewed for inheritance ceremony	
hwahwa hwechenura	beer brewed for second funeral ceremony, held between funeral and settlement of estate	kudenura: to cleanse lit. beer for cleansing
hwahwa hwemashave	beer brewed for shave spirit	
hwahwa hwemudzimu	beer brewed for ancestral spirit	
hwahwa hwemvura	beer brewed for rainmaking ceremony	mvura: rain, water

Beer Brewed for Secular purposes

nhimbe (Zezuru)	beer party for communal work	kutimba: to dig
hoka (Manyika)		kukoka: to invite
humwe (Karanga)		
jakwara	beer party for communal threshing	
humbura	first sharing of beer at beer-work party before work begins	kumbura: to scrape to skim
gombora	afternoon sharing of beer at beer-work party	
mharadzo	(1) last pot of beer given at beer-work party as a sign of dismissal	kuparadza: to finish to dismiss

- (2) last pot of beer or last crate of beer brought out at social parties. It is referred to by name when brought out by the host. When it is finished guests are expected to leave

ndari	beer brewed for sale	
mwana asina-hembe	colloquial name for ndari	lit. the child has no shirt
kunwa doro zvechirango	a sip of beer taken as a token of respect and goodwill. Even a non-drinker is in many circumstances expected to take a sip as a token of respect and goodwill. He may then pass the pot to other guests and need not consume any further beer	chirango: token of goodwill or respect

Secular Occasions for Beer Parties

Nhimbe (Z)
hoka (M)
humwe (K)

Men and women of neighbouring villages loosely form themselves into nhimbe groups who work in rotation on the fields of one of its members. The owner of these fields must prepare generous quantities of beer (both "sweet beer" and "strong beer", i.e. bumhe and hwahwa), which is drunk by the participants at frequent intervals between work. More beer may be provided in the evening and dancing may take place. Since every field owner holds several nhimbe parties during each agricultural season and participates in those of most co-members of the nhimbe group, these beer-work parties are of considerable social importance.

Ndari: from "beer for sale": *Ndari* is one of the results of a need for cash in a changing economic system and is not traditional. *Ndari* parties are organised by individual householders, very often by women, and are frequently to raise money for a specific purpose, such as for school-fees (see above, *mwana-asina-hembe*, "the child has no shirt"). Usually only home-brewed beer is sold. There may be music and dancing. *Ndari* parties are advertised by word of mouth. Both men and women, old and young people are encouraged to attend and drink together. Women in a specific area often consult with one another and take turns brewing beer for sale, so as not to interfere with each other's business. Many complained that local Councils discouraged or prohibited *ndari* parties or that Council Beerhalls took business from village brewers.

bhafadhe

beer party arranged by members of money-sharing group in rotation

term derived from English word "birthday"

The purpose of bhafadhe parties is to drink and make merry for the financial benefit of members of money-sharing groups in rotation.

The member of a bhafadhe group whose turn it is to receive an agreed portion of his fellow-members' salaries—or, where no salaries are earned, an agreed sum of money—organises the party. Group members are expected to attend or send a representative. The organiser provides food and drink—usually rice, meat and/or chicken and locally brewed and/or commercially sold African-type and European-type beer, and often also cool drinks are served. There is music and dancing. Both men and women participate.

There are various types of financial agreements. Group members always pay the host an agreed fee. In some groups this entitles them to free food and drink, in others they get some free and are expected to buy over and above their free share. Non-members of both sexes are encouraged to attend, but must pay for all refreshments. Prices are definitely above cost. All takings go to the host.

Often group members keep account of how much fellow members spend at each other's bhafadhe. If X spent \$1,00 at Y's bhafadhe, Y is expected to spend \$1,00 at X's bhafadhe. Sometimes participants challenge fellow guests to perform certain feats in return for small sum, which is also handed to the host.

kopa (M)	beer party arranged by members of a group who share wages ¹ money and who have some other common purpose	term derived from English word "co-operative"
*sosaiti	as above	term derived from English word "society"
"tea party"	as above	

Where Councils discourage ndari parties, such parties may be given a name indicating a traditional ceremony in which beer drinking plays a part. Where mission stations discourage traditional ceremonies, such ceremonies may be referred to as "ndari" or "bhafadhe" as a means of disguising the real purpose of the gathering. "Jerusarema", a dance involving beer-drinking originating in the Wedza area, is an interesting example of this.

THE DRINKING OF ALCOHOL AND ITS EFFECTS

1. *Terms for Drinking*

kudzvuta	to drink lightly	lit. : to sip
kuraidza	to drink lightly	lit. : to taste
kuravira	to drink lightly	lit. : to taste

* *Sosaiti* is not necessarily an occasion for beer drinking. The members of a sosaiti group are often women and sometimes abstaining men. In these cases no beer drinking takes place at their meetings. Women's sosaiti groups often have a purpose over and above the purpose of money sharing. E.g. the member whose turn it is to receive the money may have to spend it on improvements to the home, which are discussed by the group.

kuraira	to drink lightly	lit.: to taste A light drinker will often state that he does not drink beer, but only sips or tastes it. Women in particular do this, lest they be suspected of excessive drinking, objectionable drunken comportment and loose morals.
kunwa	to drink	
kudya mhamba	to drink	lit.: to eat beer
kubata mukombe	to drink	lit.: to touch the ladle (mukombe: ladle)
kushapira	to drink heavily, copiously	
kudakwa	to get drunk	
kudangaza	to be drunk to reel and stagger because intoxicated	
kuraradza	to reach advanced stage of intoxication	
kunwira urombo urombe	to drink indiscriminately	kunwira: to drink to urombo: poverty urombe: foolishness

2. Colloquial Terms

kudhonza	to drink	lit.: to pull
kuvarwa	to be drunk	to be overpowered by drink lit.: to be closed
kukiwiwa	to be drunk	lit.: to be locked up kiyi (derived from English)
kufa	to get drunk to be dead drunk	lit.: to die
guka majoints	feeling of weakness after having been drunk	kuguka: to break off, to loosen the term refers to the spastic effects of drink
ndiri "on on"	I am feeling drunk	ndiri: I am

Terms for Persons Who Drink Heavily

munwi	drunkard	applied to a person whom you know from personal experience to be habitually drunk
muraradzi	drunkard	term used as above
mudakwi	drunkard	term used as above
chiradza	drunken person "a drunk"	applied to a person found in a stage of intoxication
chidakwa	drunken person "a drunk"	term used as above

Nicknames for Heavy Drinkers

mhirimo	person who drinks large quantities	lit.: a beer-pot (person who is the shape of)
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chigubu	person who drinks large quantities		lit.: calabash
mubva-dzasukwa	drunkard	a person who leaves (only) when they (the pots) are being washed	kubva: to leave kusukwa: to be washed
musiya-dzasukwa	drunkard	as above	kusiya: to leave
chirara-mubhawa	drunkard	a person who sleeps in the beerhall	kurara: to sleep bhawha: beerhall
chigona-mubhawa	drunkard	as above	gona: Nyanja for sleep
chigara-mumukombe	drunkard	a person who lives in ladle (beer mug)	mukombe: ladle
chiputa-masese	drunkard	a person who seeps (even) the dregs	kuputa: to sip masese: dregs
mufambira-dzapakwa	drunkard	a person who goes wherever they (the pots) have been filled	kufambira: to go to, for kupakwa: to be filled
tsoka-dzehwahwa	drunkard—one who appears to be wherever beer is brewed	lit: beer-feet	tsoka: feet hwahwa: beer
mafashambidze	heavy drinker	a person who pours (beer) down his throat in large quantities	kushambidza: to pour
madurire	heavy drinker	as above	kudurura: to pour
bete	heavy drinker	a person who goes to find beer and only returns after a few days (cockroaches are always found round a beer-pot and when one falls in it cannot get out)	bete: cockroach
hwahwa-ndi-uraye	heavy drinker	lit.: beer-kill-me term also used by drinker himself, urging the state of intoxication to hurry up and overcome him	kuuraya: to kill

Moderation

kunwa zvine mwero	to drink moderately	mwero: measure, moderation, appropriate measure mwero is used in lit. sense of measure and figuratively, e.g. “Haana mwero”: he has no sense of what is right and proper
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A drinker who drinks “zvine mwero” limits the amount he imbibes. He will know from experience when his behaviour is likely to become offensive under the influence of liquor and he will stop drinking before that degree of intoxication is reached. Actual

amount is not specified. A person may know that he has to stop at the sixth quart or at the sixteenth in order for his behaviour not to be sufficiently affected to become offensive.

inwa zvine mwero drink with moderation! this phrase is used to admonish a person who has overstepped his mark on previous occasions, e.g. by vomiting in public

Nicknames for Persons "Who Cannot Hold Their Liquor"

hana nhete	inexperienced drinker who loses control easily	hana: heart nhete: thin
ane maramba doro	stage reached after prolonged drinking career, when a person's tolerance has broken down and he gets drunk on very little alcohol	lit.: beer refuses him doro: beer kuramba: to refuse
maramba doro	person who misbehaves when drunk	lit.: beer refuses him doro: beer kuramba: to refuse
ndino kunwira hwahwa . . .	I am drinking this beer for you	(When I have drunk this I will be in a state to get you)

The beer is drunk in order to "take away one's sense of shame" (Dutch courage). The phrase "I am drinking beer for so-and-so" is said to be commonly used

Nicknames for Women Drinkers

hwenga	derogative word for woman who drinks The term refers to behaviour under the influence of drink, i.e. talking too much.	lit.: parrot
doghi	derogative word for woman who drinks The term denotes a woman of loose morals. It may also be applied to a man with loose morals.	term derived from English word "donkey"
chiradza chomukadzi	term applied to woman who drinks in a "manly" fashion, with sense, retaining dignity while becoming	chiradza: drunkard mukadzi: woman

Nicknames for Abstainers

mufundisi	abstainer	lit.: minister of religion
mupostori	abstainer	members of the Apostolic Church are forbidden to drink alcohol
mukristu	abstainer	lit.: Christian

mu methodist
(mucatholic is someone who drinks like anyone whose church does not prohibit alcoholic beverages)

Nicknames for Alcoholic Beverages—Used mainly in the Urban Areas

African Beer (brewed by Liquor Undertaking)

Amato	African beer	term derived from Amato and Sons, retail firm with largely African clientele. The term emphasises cheapness—"poor man's drink"
Ranchod	African beer	term derived from Ranchod and Sons, general haulage firm, suppliers of sand, stones and topsoil. The term refers to the dregs in the beer
masese sese	African beer	lit.: sand dregs, sediment—the term refers to the dregsand sediment in the beer
jecha	African beer	lit.: sand—refers to dregs, sediment
madaka	African beer	lit.: mud—refers to dregs, sediment
kudya kwenguruve scof senguruve chikafu chenguruve	African beer	kudya, scof, chikafu: food nguruve: pigs lit.: pigs' food Some European farmers are believed to include brewery dregs in their pigs' food
"electric mud"		Beer brewed by electric machines—not by people known to the drinker
"clear water revival"	African beer (very recent)	a term derived from name of "pop group" Credence Clear Water Revival, critical of the quality and consistency of the beer
katsekera	brewed beer	term derived from nickname of superintendent "Katsekera": one who locks the houses, i.e. evicts people if they do not pay their rent (term derived from Nyanja). "Katsekera" may mean municipal official or anything municipal
makadibokisi	Rufaro Ngoto	derived from English word cardboard boxes. Rufaro Ngoto is packed in cardboard containers
chipanda pandas	African beer	term derived from Nyanja word "chipanda", name for a specific woven container, made waterproof with bees-wax

European Beer

mabhodoro	(bottled) European beer	lit.: bottles
mabosvo	(bottled) European beer	lit.: trumpets (The actions in drinking from a bottle of beer and blowing a trumpet are alike)
shumba	European beer, trade name "Lion"	lit.: lion
"L.P."	quart of European beer	abbreviation for long-playing record
"seven single"	pint of European beer	term for short-playing record
"washdown"	the term usually denotes a pint or two of European beer taken in the cocktail lounge after drinking a lot of African beer in the common section of the beerhall. Often a "washdown" is taken just before closing time	

Chikokiyani

verenika	chikokiyani	name of a girl. The term is intended to deceive possible informers: Let's go and see our girl-friend Veronika . . .
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baba wabhoi	chikokiyani	term of address used by wife to husband, meaning “father of the boy” (colloquial), traditionally she would address him as “father of so-and-so”
mukoma Johani	chikokiyani	} brother John } brother Joe
mukoma Jowe		
chi-one-day	chikokiyani	refers to the fact that chikokiyani can be brewed in one day

Kachasu

“Number One”	kachasu	strong kachasu, first quality
“Number Two”	kachasu	weaker kachasu, second quality
“Kabanga”	kachasu	term derived from chilapalapa word for “perhaps”
“nipier”	kachasu	term referring to the potency to the beverage
“S.P.”	Kachasu	abbreviation for “Satan Power”

Note on Nicknames

Slang and nicknames vary from beerhall to beerhall and from township to township and they are changing constantly. Witty names are greatly appreciated, are eagerly retold, catch on for a while and are eventually replaced by new ones. The brewing of kachasu and chikokiyani are illegal. Nicknames for the beverages are intended to deceive and thus change rapidly.

Words for Drinking Places

shabhini	} shebeen	
shebini		
bhawa	beerhall	derived from English word “bar”
“church”	nickname for beerhall	. . . the church of drinking people

APPENDIX C

SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE BEER BREWING PROCESS

Seven-day Brew—Hwahwa Wemazuva Manomwe

Preparation of Malt—Kunyika Chimera

Rapoko is lightly stamped, winnowed, put into a sack and left immersed in a river to soak and swell for three to four days. The sack is then removed from the river, weighted down with stones to get rid of excess water, and the rapoko is left to sprout. After germination has taken place the grain is spread out on a flat rock and left to dry. It is winnowed again so that the germs break off and can be discarded. The malt (*chimera*) remains and is ground on a grinding-stone.

Brewing—Kubika Hwahwa

1st Day

Maize meal and malt derived from rapoko (*chimera*) are mixed in approximately equal quantities and added to water contained in a large drum or clay pot. The mixture is stirred regularly while being brought to the boil and for a further few minutes, while boiling. The resulting mixture (*masvusvu*, *godzongwa*, or *masvuta* (M)) should be very thick. It is left to cool and then thinned considerably with water. Some more malt (*chimera*) is added and the mixture covered.

2nd Day

The mixture is sieved. At this stage it is called "sweet beer" (*bumhe* (Z), or *biti*). "Sweet" beer is not intoxicating and is drunk by abstainers, who are usually women, but also some men. The mixture is boiled over a roaring fire until half the volume is evaporated. The process may take the whole day. It is called *kupiso doro* and the product is *mapiswa*. The *mapiswa* is covered and left to ferment overnight. Partly fermented beer is generally called *mhanga*.

3rd Day

Another portion of *masvusvu* is prepared. When it has cooled it is added to the partly fermented beer. The product is "strong" beer, called *murega*, *musungwa* or *ngoto*. The beer is now bitter and intoxicating and may be drunk by those unable to wait until it has fully matured.

4th Day

The mixture is thinned again with cold water and more malt is added to it. The results in *makandirwa*, which is poured into clay pots and left to ferment further.

5th Day

Fermentation is taking place. The resulting product is called *madirwa* or *murega*. The word *bumhe* (K) is also used with this meaning.

6th Day

Malt (*chimera*) is stirred into a large tin of water and heated until the mixture has turned brown and is just beginning to boil. When it has cooled it is added to the fermented beer. The beer is then strained. It may be immediately, but is better if left to mature until the following day.

7th Day

The beer is fully fermented and ready to drink. It is now called *doro*, *hwahwa* (Z) or *mhamba* (M).

Five-day Brew—Hwahwa Wemazuva Mashanu

Five-day brew is brewed in essentially the same manner as seven-day brew. However, the process is speeded up at various stages by decanting the mixture into many flat containers so that it cools off more quickly, thus permitting the next stage in the brewing process to be started. Five-day brew is considered to be inferior.

THE PROCESS OF DISTILLING KACHASU (KOREKORE)

Kachasu beer is brewed from a fruit called "Masawu". Ripe masawu are gathered from the end of June. They are dried and when they are dry they are pounded and water is sprinkled over them and they are put in a covered tin to ferment. When they start fermenting water is poured over them and the mixture is left to stand for four days. On the fifth day a big clay pot with a small hole near the top is taken. They put something like a mat on the bottom of the pot. This is to prevent the masawu from sticking at the bottom. The fermented mixture is then poured into the small hole and the pot is covered with a smaller clay pot which should fit in such a way that no air can go in or get out. They seal the clay lid to the pot to be doubly sure that no air gets out. After this the pot is put over a big fire and the pipe end not fitted to the pot should rest on the mouth of a bottle. So when the mixture is boiling hard the vapour drops into the bottle through the pipe; and so the vapour is the Kachasu sold at 25 cents a bottle.

Family receipt supplied by informant.