

An exploration of approaches to the implementation of drinking and driving policies in South African Universities

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## **Dedication**

To my wonderful family, who gave me the strength and courage to go on.  
You are my backbone. Your unconditional love and support gave me the  
courage to fulfil my dreams. I love you all very much.

## Declaration

Except where otherwise specified in the text this dissertation is my own original work and has not been submitted in part or in full to any other university.

Signed: Thandeka Mthembu

Thandeka Mthembu

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## Abstract

Drinking and driving has always been a problem amongst university students. As Rocha-Silva (1981:1) states, drinking and driving accidents are one of the biggest problems that many universities internationally and locally have to deal with. The high level of drinking and driving among students in South African universities has prompted many universities to implement strategies to address the problem, such as the “Buddy Bus” campaign. The Department of Transport (DoT) has also implemented strategies such as the Arrive Alive campaign and Asiphephe to try and reduce the problem of drinking and driving in the country at large.

However, studies on drinking and driving behaviour according to Nuntsu (2004) still point to an increase in the number of young people who engage in drinking and driving despite the number of diversified initiatives that have been implemented by educational institutions, communities and by various government bodies to counteract it. This has prompted this study in identifying the implementation approaches used by certain universities in South Africa in addressing drinking and driving among university students and the marketing strategies used to promote the drinking and driving policies. These universities included; the University of Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University and the University of Pretoria (Gauteng Province), University of KwaZulu-Natal campuses (Howard College, Westville campus and Pietermaritzburg campus), and the University of Zululand (KwaZulu-Natal province), the University of Cape Town, Stellenbosch University and the University of Western Cape (Western Cape province).

The method used for this study was qualitative method and the data was collected using face to face in-depth interviews. Both purposive and quota sampling was used to select the sample for the study.

The findings showed that all the institutions under investigation had anti-drinking and driving programmes and campaigns such as “Buddy Bus” campaign and utilised music concerts with young famous musicians promoting anti-drinking and driving messages to students. However, they did not have formal, codified drinking and driving policies. Both the “top-down and the “bottom-up” approaches to policy implementation were identified in

the institutions investigated. The “top-down” approach is implemented by the people at the top level, for example, in universities the management set the rules and the students have to abide by them. The “bottom-down” approaches are managed by students. The students decide on how the policies should be implemented. This approach is more flexible as it allows negotiation between students and management. The “bottom-up” approach appeared to be more “popular” than the “top-down” approach as it was adopted by seventy percent of the institutions. These institutions saw the “bottom-up” approach as appropriate in implementing the drinking and driving programmes as it allowed the student organisations (street-level bureaucrats) to have input on the policy implementation process. Indeed it also allows for negotiation and consensus building. The sociological theories, e.g. social learning theory, used in the study to explain students drinking were also evident in the findings with some universities adopting some of their suggested preventative measures which include the emphasis on negative social consequences of alcohol use and employment of popular peer role models to discourage alcohol use. However, the availability theory appeared to be more relevant in addressing drinking and driving behaviour, because for students to stop drinking and driving, alcohol should not be available to them - the premise of the theory.

It was also evident from the findings that although there are programmes/strategies being implemented by the universities and DoT to address students drinking and driving, this deviant behaviour is still rife amongst the students. There is a need for more interventions from the universities, communities and DoT, all working together in developing and implementing drinking and driving strategies. There is also a need for theory-driven research on this “deviant behaviour”, especially studies that use sociological theories to explain this “deviant behaviour” and the factors contributing to it. This will assist in providing important information and an understanding of why students engage in drinking and driving and also help to explain this deviant behaviour using sociological theories. The results of this theory-driven research will aid in highlighting important issues that need to be taken into consideration when designing drinking and driving programmes/policies at universities. The findings show that there is a need for approaches that will equip young people with life skills such as decision-making and peer pressure resistance skills which will allow them to resist the temptation of drinking and driving. Future investigations should thus focus on an evaluation of the drinking and driving strategies and the approaches used to implement them so that new and improved strategies can be developed.

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## Definition of terms and abbreviations

- Anomie - It is a social condition in which there is lack of cohesion and order, especially in relation to norms and values (Johnson, 1995:11).
- Approaches - A way of considering or dealing with a problem (Robinson, 1999:62).
- ARA - Industry Association For Responsible Alcohol Use
- Deviance - Is any behaviour or appearance that violates a norm (Johnson, 1995:78).
- DoT - Department of Transport
- Implementation - To carry out, fulfil or perform (Robinson, 1999:677).
- Policy - A plan of action, usually based on certain principles decided on by body for individual (Hornby, 2000:976).
- Programme - An agenda, a series of planned projects to be undertaken (Robinson, 1999:1107).
- RAG - Remember And Give
- SLBs<sup>7</sup> - Street-level bureaucrats
- SRC - Students Representative Council
- Strategy - A long term plan for future success or development
- UCT - University of Cape Town
- UJ - University of Johannesburg
- UKZN - University of KwaZulu-Natal
- UP - University of Pretoria
- UZ - University of Zululand
- UWC - University of the Western Cape
- WITS - Witwatersrand University

## CHAPTER 1: Introduction

More and more young people are drinking alcohol and engaging in dangerous behaviour while they are under the influence of alcohol (Nuntsu,2004:16). Furthermore, university students fall within the age range that has the highest record of drinking and driving accidents (Ibid). This is manifested in our universities where young people consistently abuse alcohol because they want to “be cool” or to fit in with their peers. The high level of drinking among students in universities is a cause for concern for parents and society at large given their tendency to drive after they have been drinking (Nuntsu, 2004:14). It is this issue which has prompted this study in order to explore approaches used in the implementation of drinking and driving policies in South African universities. This study explores the various approaches used by different universities have used in addressing drinking and driving among students as well as what action universities are taking to improve techniques used for these policies.

According to Jernigan (2001:7), research shows that there is simply inadequate information about the drinking and driving policies in higher education institutions around the world. Furthermore, various campaigns around campuses to alert students to the dangers of drinking and driving have been largely ineffectual. This, according to Jernigan (Ibid), is also caused by the “ambivalence that some college administrators have about their role in establishing and enforcing such policies”. Sources of this ambivalence include misperceptions and beliefs such as:

- *Student binge drinking is a long-standing tradition that is resistant to change;*
- *Alcohol misuse (and to a lesser extent, other drug use) is an innocent rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood;*
- *Tougher policies will not work; and*
- *Tough alcohol policies and drug policies cannot be enforced without invading students’ privacy (Jernigan, 2001:7-9).*

Local and international universities have implemented their policies against drinking and driving differently. For example, the “*Buddy Bus*” Campaign at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg is a programme that was implemented to address drinking

and driving among students. Student volunteers run this campaign, which falls under the mandate of UKZN, Pietermaritzburg RAG (Remember and Give) organisation/committee. RAG is a fundraising organisation which “strives to promote the empowerment of the less fortunate in the community” and also offer assistance to students who cannot afford their own transport to reach their destinations. It provides free and safe transport for students, to and from nightclubs in town to residences on campus for most of the year. It operates between 8pm and 1:30am every Thursday night, every night during first year orientation week and after all RAG student events (<<http://www.rag.unp.ac.za>>). Another example of a programme from the University of Pretoria is the anti-drug campaign and alcohol abuse programme which aims at limiting risks by being responsible. Its slogan is “Graduate Alive”. During these campaigns they have concerts and famous musicians are invited to discourage students from using drugs and alcohol by telling them about the dangers of using these substances (SRC of UP: Interview conducted on 24 May 2005).

While there are these programmes available to discourage students from drinking and driving, students continue to drink and drive. The question is – why is this case?

Rocha-Silva (1981:1) states that the problems caused by alcohol are costly in our society. Not only are they costly in terms of trauma (death and injury), but they also “constitute a serious obstacle to socio-economic development and threaten to overwhelm the health services”. Rocha-Silva (1981:1) further states that drinking and driving accidents are one of the biggest problems that many universities internationally and locally have to deal with. For example, Nuntsu (2003:131), state that “university students fall within the age range that has the highest record of drinking and driving accidents and that automobile accidents are the leading cause of death among the 17-24 age groups”. It is thus important to explore this in the South African context because university students represent a unique population of young adults at risk for alcohol problems. Our country cannot afford to lose its young people to thoughtless action such as drinking and driving. In the light of this, it is crucial that educational institutions and the community at large have policies against drinking and driving in order to protect young people and to promote safety. This study will explain transport policy in general in South Africa to gain an understanding of the context in which anti-drinking and driving initiatives at universities are located.

In an attempt to answer this question this study has explored the approaches used to implement anti-drinking and driving programmes and the marketing strategies used by universities to advertise these programmes.

Road traffic accidents are on the rise on South African roads and “more than 50 percent of all fatal accident in our country are alcohol related” (White Paper on the Road Accident Fund, 1998:28), There is a need to investigate implementation approaches of drinking and driving policies because the initiatives taken to deal with drinking and driving behaviour, such as confiscating the driver’s licence of a driver with a blood alcohol concentration (BAC) over the legal limit of 0.055mg/100ml, or stiffer fines have unfortunately resulted in little measurable long-term success. Furthermore, according to Nuntsu (2004:15), studies on drinking and driving behaviour still point to a general increase in the proportion of young people who engage in drinking and driving, despite the range of diversified initiatives that have been introduced in schools and communities by various government bodies, corporate consultants and traffic safety specialists, both locally and internationally, to counteract it. Nuntsu (2004:23-24) also state that young people engage in drinking and driving knowing that it is illegal and entails risks.

Interventions that have been implemented by the Department of Transport in South Africa include, Asiphephe, Arrive Alive Campaign, “Zero Tolerance” policies all attempt to address drinking and driving and reduce the number of road accidents. The Department of Transport has invested time and money on road safety education both in schools and tertiary education system. However, despite these interventions there are still many young people who engage in a drinking and driving behaviour. It is important, and timely, to explore the different ways that policies have been implemented. The Findings of this study on implementation approaches can be used to ground evaluation studies which can then inform future government policy (and indeed higher education policy).

According to Nuntsu (2004: 15) studies on drinking and driving behaviour still point to a general increase in the number of young people who engage in drinking and driving despite an array of diversified initiatives that have been introduced by schools, communities and by various government bodies to counteract it. This has prompted this study to try and identify the implementation approaches used by the educational institutions to implement these drinking and driving initiatives and to establish the marketing strategies used to promote

these initiatives so that suggestions can be offered on how to improve the implementation approaches and marketing strategies used in order to make them more effective in addressing drinking and driving among young people in South Africa.

A qualitative research method was used for the study and data was collected using face to face in-depth interviews. The sample comprised of university students from ten universities around South Africa and the management of these institutions including the Dean of Student Services, members of the Student Representative Council (SRC) and the Remember and Give (RAG) members. The sample was selected using purposive and quota sampling method.

The findings showed that all the institutions under investigation did not have the formal, codified drinking and driving policies. However, there were several observations which emanated from the study. All the institutions had anti-drinking and driving programmes and campaigns. Furthermore the results highlighted the use of a number of sociological theories underlying the drinking and driving approaches used by the institutions. These include Social Learning Theory, Social Bond Theory and Anomie Theory. An example of social learning theory is the use of popular peer role models to discourage alcohol use, the development of prevention and education programmes and the incorporation of young people as active participants in decision making.

The “bottom-up” implementation approach appeared to be very popular with most of the institutions investigated, with seventy percent of institutions adopting approach and thirty percent adopting a “top-down” approach. The “bottom-up” approach it allowed the students to participate in decision making and planning regarding the programmes to be implemented for students.

It is evident from the findings that institutions in South Africa are attempting to address the problem of drinking and driving among young people. It is also reassuring to see that a number of different preventative approaches are implemented by these institutions. However, it is also evident that these interventions do not always adequately and effectively address the problem. Students in these institutions appear to respond better to approaches with visual aids, live speakers and young popular public figures, showing that there should be more approaches portraying the latter features when implementing drinking and driving

programmes. Indeed approaches that will equip young people with life skills such as communication, decision-making and peer pressure resistance skills should also be increased. These skills according to Nuntsu (2004:25) would help improve general personal and social competence to resist the temptation to drinking and driving. Furthermore, there remains a need for formal, codified policies with related programmes that will run for the whole year rather than only during the orientation week and RAG week at universities.

## CHAPTER 2: Policy context

This section will explain Transport Policy in South Africa, that is, its role in the transport sector, the main issues facing the Department and some of the legislation on the drinking and driving. Acknowledging the main issues facing the Department of Transport and their policy priorities provide an understanding of what the Department is doing to address drinking and driving among the general population and thus university students. This section will also explore the context of drinking and driving among university students in South Africa by examining the available literature. Studying past research on the subject will help in determining the areas that need more research and also offer suggestions on implementing more effective strategies.

Transport plays a significant role in the social and economic development of any country. The effectiveness of this role is largely dictated by the soundness of transport policy and the approaches used in its implementation (Green Paper on National Transport Policy, 1996). Policy in this domain is the “driver of change in an economy and the role that transport policy formulation and implementation plays in attracting investments in the industry, the ability to follow market trends and to adapt to changing circumstances, makes it imperative that policy keeps pace with the needs of both freight and passenger customers” (Transport Policy Objectives. 2005). Transport policy thus defines the operational, ownership and investment framework within which the transport sector in its broadest sense operates.

The White Paper on National Transport Policy (1996) clarifies this role:

- *To promote the use of public transport over private transport.*
- *To ensure that public transport services address user needs, including those of commuters, scholars, tourists and the disabled.*
- *To promote safe and secure, reliable and sustainable public transport.*
- *To support the goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme for meeting basic needs, growing the economy, developing human resources, and democratising decision making.*
- *To enable customers requiring transport for people or goods to access the transport system in ways, which best satisfy their chosen criteria.*

- *To improve the safety, security, reliability, quality, and speed of transporting goods and people.*
- *To improve South Africa's competitiveness and that of its transport infrastructure and operations through greater effectiveness and efficiency to better meet the needs of different customer groups, both locally and globally.*
- *To invest in infrastructure or transport systems in ways which satisfy social, economic, or strategic investment criteria.*
- *To achieve the above objectives in a manner, which is economically and environmentally sustainable, and minimizes negative side effects.*

The above are the broad goals of the National Government's public transport policy, which gives a background to the goals of the public transport which seek to ensure that the vision for South African transport is achieved. This vision for South African transport is a system that will:

*"Provide safe, reliable, effective, efficient, and fully integrated transport operations and infrastructure which will best meet the needs of freight and passenger customers at improving levels of service and cost in a fashion which supports government strategies for economic and social development whilst being environmentally and economically sustainable"* (White Paper on National Transport Policy. 1996).

This quote outlines the vision of the National Department of Transport and the role it plays in our society. However the main policy objective for the National Department of Transport is to reduce the number of road accidents by encouraging and making more vehicle drivers responsible (Interim Report on the Arrive Alive Campaign).

The Department of Transport is faced with many problems that stem from those citizens who do not follow the traffic regulations by driving without drivers licence, drive irresponsibly, the high prevalence of speeding and driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs. To add on this, the Department is also responsible for addressing policy issues around transport and for providing a policy framework on issues regarding transport in South Africa (Interim Report on the Arrive Alive Campaign).



The overall structure of the Department is briefly outlined so as to get an understanding of the functions of the Department in relation to the different branches that are available and also to be able to know which branch the drinking and driving policies fall under.

The structure of the Department of Transport consists of three main branches; the first branch is the *Policy, Strategy and Implementation Branch*. Its function includes;

- *Facilitating and managing the development, planning and monitoring of transport policy and strategy;*
- *Promoting and facilitating the implementation of transport policies and strategies;*
- *Rendering a strategic information, research coordination and administrative support service to the branch and department* (The Structure of the Department of Transport).

The second branch is *Regulation and Safety Branch*, which focuses on enabling, coordinating and promoting quality and safety in road traffic through an all encompassing road traffic management strategy; and creating an environment which facilitates the development of an air transport and maritime industry which is safe, efficient and internationally competitive. This branch has two divisions namely: Road Traffic Management and Aviation and Maritime Regulation. The former also has subdivisions and Road Safety Projects is amongst these divisions. This particular division is where we can locate policies on drinking and driving and road safety which is of relevance to this study. The overall objectives of the Road Safety Projects are to:

- *Participate in the joint and undertaking of road traffic safety campaigns;*
- *Formulate and coordinate a communications and marketing strategy for road traffic safety on all levels;*
- *Undertake research on special target groups for traffic safety purposes;*
- *Formulate an educational strategy, develop and disseminate road safety training material for the promotion of road safety;*
- *Liaise with the National Department of Education and provincial authorities for the implementation of traffic safety education programmes in schools and other training institutions* (Ibid).

The drinking and driving policies, programmes and campaigns can be located under the Road Safety Projects, which fall under the *Regulation and Safety Branch* in the structure of the Department of Transport.

The third branch is the *Corporate Support Services Branch*, which is responsible for rendering an overall support function with regard to staffing matters, organisational and capacity development, information technology, financial administration, legal advice, logistical support, communication and a specialised secretariat service to all functional committees in the whole department. (Ibid).

The KZN Road Safety Strategy (1996) is one of the initiatives that was implemented by the Department of Transport to address speed and abuse of alcohol on the roads. The basic elements of the strategy are:

- *Enforcement – visible and high profile enforcement of critical areas of offence – especially speed, alcohol abuse, overloading, and seat-belt wearing.*
  - *Corridor and holiday planning*
  - *Purchase, training and use of new equipment*
- *Education – advertising to support enforcement, education of schools and communities and public awareness to encourage behaviour change.*
  - *Capacity building in communities*
  - *Special programmes aimed at pedestrians – adults and children*
  - *Coordination of road safety education and inclusion in the national curriculum*
  - *Campaigns in pubs, taverns and shebeens to discourage drinking and driving*
- *Engineering – low cost engineering programmes at hazardous locations. These involve erection of traffic lights, speed reduction by speed tables, rumble strips or building of pavements or barriers, or other remedial measures.*
  - *Identification of hazardous locations by communities*
  - *Improvement of vehicle design and maintenance, including vehicle roadworthiness and testing.*
- *Evaluation - to ensure appropriate treatments and programmes are embarked upon.*
  - *Production of accurate and up-to-date data on which to base evaluation and planning*
  - *Research projects for the effective implementation of various measures and for a scientifically based, data-driven strategy*

- *Establishment, financing and support of University of Natal Interdisciplinary Accident Research Centre (UNIARC) to carry out research in accordance with set priorities*
- *Proper dissemination of information collected (The KZN Road Safety Strategy. 1996).*

The Arrive Alive Campaign is another strategy that was implemented by the National Department of Transport. It was launched following the effectiveness of the KwaZulu-Natal "Asiphephe" (Let us be safe) project. This campaign was implemented as a short term initiative, focusing on holiday periods. However, it has become a year-round programme, using the four elements mentioned earlier in a countrywide road safety initiative. The primary aim of the campaign is to reduce the number of road accidents on South Africa roads by changing driver behaviour and attitude (Ibid).

The Department's priorities for the future include:

- *A move towards a more community-based approach, concentrating on public awareness and education programmes carried out through Community Road Safety Councils.*
  - *Implementation of national initiatives such as the Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences (AARTO) and Road Traffic Management Coordinating Committee (RTMCC).*
  - *Continued co-operation with Arrive Alive which is a national campaign.*
  - *The implementation of a long term, effective strategy and a proven business case for success, which will ensure continued support from government and business.*
  - *Collaboration with public and private sectors; as well as provincial, national and international road safety organizations*
- (<http://www.kzntransport.gov.za>).

With a sense of National Transport Policy context, it is also important to look at past research findings on drinking and driving among university students in order to determine the contributing factors that lead to this behaviour and the suggested preventative measures that emerged from the research in order to inform future policy initiatives.

The study by Nuntsu (2004:16), whose study at the University of the North on 'drinking and driving behaviour, knowledge, attitudes and perceived risks among university students', found that university students fall within the age range that has the highest record of drinking and driving and automobile accidents leading cause of death among the 17 to 24 age group. He further states that researchers attribute the high number of young people in traffic accidents to less experience in driving, their tendency to take risks deliberately and the social acceptability and availability of alcohol. Furthermore studies on drinking and driving behaviour still point to a general increase in the proportion of young people who engage in drinking and driving, despite the array of diversified initiatives that have been introduced in schools, hospitals and communities by various government bodies and traffic safety specialists to counter it. The initiatives include raising alcohol purchase age laws, increasing the alcohol price, confiscating the driver's licence of a driver who found with a blood alcohol concentration (BAC) at or above the legal set limits, and setting up roadblocks to check for alcohol-impaired drivers.

Nuntsu (2003:131) further states that the over-involvement of young people in traffic accidents is attributed to less experience in driving, drinking, their tendency to take risks deliberately and the social acceptability and availability of alcohol. Furthermore there appears to be a prevailing lack of knowledge pertaining to the fact that driving under the influence is a detectable crime (Nuntsu, 2003:94). Students fail to realize that the consequences of using the road when drunk can be very serious, apart from the possibility of death or injury, the imposition of a fine and/or prison sentence can leave you with a criminal record.

According to the study by Nuntsu (2004:23), other underlying factors underlying the high collision rate among young people is inexperience, for example, most drivers in universities are beginner drivers, which makes them more likely to be at a higher risk of crashing especially if they indulge in deliberate risk-taking behaviour such as drinking and driving, most of them also have no driver's license, so they drive illegally. This poses a major public health problem. Prevention programmes should therefore be directed towards making young people cautious, not only of drinking and driving, but also of their driving behaviour in general, including driving without a license. Nuntsu (2004:24) also found in his research that 74.3 % of the respondents (44.6% of the males and 29.7% of the females) have experienced being passengers in cars driven by drivers under the influence of alcohol.

Amongst those who admitted to drinking and driving, males (7.9%) constituted a higher percentage than females (3%). This finding aligns with that of Saffy (2002) that men had the tendency to driving while under the influence of alcohol than women. Some of the reasons for this are that males tend to obtain their drivers license earlier than females, they drink more frequently and drive more frequently also males like to engage in risk-taking behaviour more than their female counterparts. Thus it is important for drinking and driving programme planners to take the dynamics of gender into consideration when developing drinking and driving prevention programmes (Nuntsu, 2004:24).

Furthermore, respondents in general had a low level of drinking and driving knowledge as the majority reported to be unsure about the definition of drinking and driving, the definition of BAC and the safe limit of alcohol consumption. This lack of knowledge implies that there is a need for knowledge-based drinking and driving programmes. The programmes should equip young people with comprehensive information on drinking and driving. However researchers state that straightforward factual information that informs young people that drinking and driving cause great personal risk for them may not be enough to bring about change (Beck *et al*, 1991:50). Young people should rather be equipped with life skills such as communication, decision-making, and peer pressure resistance skills. Possession of life skills would improve general personal and social competence to resist the temptation to drinking and driving (Nuntsu, 2004:25).

Rocha-Silva (1997:82) and Donovan (1989:275-276) indicate that the limitations of preventative initiatives, especially in European and African countries with regard to young drivers who drink and drive are complex. They argue that social norms, customs and practices such as attitudes towards laws, government control, individual rights and freedom, attitudes of the police, the role of alcohol in society and the role of the private automobile, determine whether a drinking and driving countermeasure is acceptable (cited in Nuntsu, 2004:15). In South Africa cultural norms promote the use of wine, beer and spirits at almost all social occasions in the cities, suburbs, townships and villages (Rocha-Silva, 1992:57 cited in Nuntsu, 2004:15). In other words, alcohol is viewed as a social drug to stimulate friendly interaction in social gatherings. It is also viewed as sign of adulthood and a symbol of enjoying life and thus total abstinence will be impossible. Rocha-Silva (1997:4) further states that conformity to general norms surrounding the use of alcohol is likely to lead to more drinking and driving behaviour (Ibid).

Peltzer and Phoswana (1999:1) argue that the role of cultural and contextual factors in drug and alcohol misuse needs to be recognized, especially given that university students do not rate it as a threat in their lives and that of their community. A research intern at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Sharon Meyer (2005), stated that “the culture of drinking and driving is popular among students. They worry more about being caught by police than about getting killed or killing someone”.

A survey study completed by Saffy (2003:91) at the University of Pretoria aimed at ascertaining the perceptions of students the seriousness of driving under the influence of drugs including alcohol. The findings reiterated that students did not rate drinking /using drugs and driving as a serious crime. Most students reported drinking and driving and claimed that since they were never caught by the police, they would continue with this behaviour. Interestingly Saffy’s (2003:91) study revealed that even though most students were guilty of driving under the influence of drugs and alcohol, men rated higher than women as drivers of vehicles under the influence of drugs and as passengers, where the driver was under the influence of drugs and alcohol. Very few students admitted to driving under the influence but were not afraid to be passengers when the driver was under the influence of alcohol. Some of the reasons given by the students in the survey for choosing to place themselves in such a situation, included: “I needed to get home and had no other form of transport available”; “I also used, so it was okay”, “did not care” and “he was my friend”(Saffy, 2003:91-92). Other respondents justified their choice of being a passenger in the car by stating that they knew the driver well and that the drugs and alcohol do not affect one’s driving ability. This kind of attitude from the university students is the major contribution to the high percentage of students involved in road accidents while inebriated.

According to the report entitled *National Strategic Action Plan (NSAP) for the Prevention of Substance Abuse among the Youth in South Africa* report by Stephanie Brewis (1999:5), the effective prevention of substance abuse among young people in South Africa can be facilitated through “initiating and sustaining a process of stakeholders at all levels, participatively unpacking prevention issues, devising and implementing an evidence-led plan of preventive action as well as ensuring the detailed monitoring and evaluation of the plan’s implementation”. Brewis (1999:15-16) also stated some of the issues that need to be addressed in order to curb substance abuse among young people in South Africa and the incidents resulting from their abuse of illicit drugs and alcohol, include:

- *The involvement of the youth in the planning and implementation of policy and programs*
- *The prioritization of drug-related prevention by government departments*
- *The institution of information channels between all stakeholders, apart from ensuring the filtering of information to grass root agencies*
- *The dissemination of credible and positive drug-related preventive messages to young people, and these specific needs should be targeted to primary school children, secondary school children, students in tertiary institutions and so forth.*

It is important to involve the youth in the planning and implementation of the policy and programme to substance abuse among young people because it will make the programmes more effective in that they are created by the youth who have an understanding and better knowledge on what will work to reduce substance abuse among their peers. Furthermore, the young people seem to identify more with their peers who have had similar experiences. Although it is not guaranteed that involving youth in the planning and implementation will reduce youth substance abuse, however it has a potential of producing more positive results. Providing students with factual information about drinking and driving, drug- abuse and the dangers these cause in the lives of the young people is also a good strategy to curb the problem in the early stages so that by the time these young people are exposed to alcohol and illicit drugs they have all the facts and are educated in how they can avoid being victims of substance abuse.

In addition to this Brewis (Ibid) further stated that strategies to be adopted should:

- *Provide appropriate education and information to all target groups that is, pre-scholars, primary school children, secondary school children, non-school going children (drop-outs/street children), and institutionalised children, students in tertiary institutions and young people in the labour market;*
- *promote healthy life styles and constructive entertainment opportunities to all target groups;*
- *empower the youth through life-skills and other training;*
- *establish appropriate facilities and resources for youth and*
- *involve government at all levels to ensure prioritization of drug-related prevention.*

Brewis' study is important for this study because it serves as a possible framework for analysing the implementation of preventative strategies of substance abuse. It also makes suggestions for implementation approaches that may be implemented in order to control substance abuse among the youth. As Brewis (1999:5) states, the National Strategic Action Plan (March, 1999) "provides basis for local and international preventive agent to communicate with one another democratically and inclusively, and for new initiatives in South Africa systematically linking with and building on existing preventive efforts".

Since this study explores implementation approaches used for drinking and driving in South African universities, it is important to see if the universities being studied do adopt some of the strategies suggested by Brewis' study in implementing their drinking and driving approaches. If they do not what other approaches are being used by these universities? Brewis' action plan provides a guideline on how to implement strategies and the important factors that should be addressed when implementing prevention strategies of substance abuse among young people.



## **CHAPTER 3: Theoretical framework**

This section discusses the theoretical framework used for this study. Firstly, the sociological framework examines different sociological theories that explain why young people drink alcohol. To understand the many factors that may contribute to deviant youth behaviour (such as drinking and driving) and to identify potential action strategies to reduce youth drinking, a broad range of theoretical approaches should be considered. These theories thus attempt to provide some explanation for why young people engage in deviant behaviour of this nature. Secondly, the policy framework discusses the theory behind public policymaking and the subsequent policy implementation approaches. In order to create effective policies to combat drinking and driving amongst university students it is important to understand the ideal way of implementing such policies and techniques that will assist in addressing drinking and driving among young people.

### **3.1. Sociological framework**

There are many sociological explanations as to why people drink and drive – particularly amongst the university student population. As Boyd and Zucker state “it is important for people to consider a broad range of theoretical approaches in order to understand factors contributing to youth drinking and to identify potential action strategies to reduce it” (1995:199).

One of these theories mentioned by Boyd and Zucker (1995:202) includes Banduras’ (1986) *social learning theory*, which hypothesises that “alcohol use is socially acquired”; people only adopt behaviours that are rewarding by observing other people’s behaviours and their consequences. According to this theory, people base their actions on what they find rewarding. For example society might attach the belief that people who drink are more fun than those who don’t drink, by using media to encourage the behaviour. Thus young people are learning that a behaviour such as drinking is not only “ a result of directly experienced cues and reinforcements but also of observing the response to cues and the reinforcements received by role models, either through observing or mass media” (Boyd *et al* 1986:203). Behaviour that is rewarded tends to be repeated. Rhodes and Jason (1988:9) further suggests that “behavioural patterns will be more or less problematic depending on the opportunities and social influences to which one is exposed, the skilfulness with which one

performs, and the balance of rewards one receives from participation in these activities". For example, young people may see other drinking friends receiving more attentions and become more sociable and lively after drinking and they might want the same feeling. It seems then that the rewards one receives for behaviour will directly affect the likelihood that one will continue that behaviour (Ibid).

Rhodes and Jason, 1988:10), further state that, "substance abuse is conceptualized as a socially learned, purposeful, and functional behaviour which is the result of the interplay of social-environmental and personal factors". The theory has been criticized for placing low importance on the inner determinants of behaviour because it assumes that individuals develop behaviour by observing others. Because of its lack of attention to human values in relation to behaviour, the theory has been criticized for viewing people as "empty organisms" (Sue et.al. 2003:53). The *social learning theory* offers as preventative measures, "the emphasis on negative social consequences of alcohol use, appropriate modelling by key role models as parents, employment of popular peer role models to discourage alcohol use, and limiting the presentation of drinking models in media to which youth are exposed" (Boyd *et al* 1995:203).

The second theory that can be used to explain youth drinking is *anomie theory*, which represents a breakdown in the social structure. The consequences of this breakdown for the individual are often referred to as alienation - a feeling of powerlessness, estrangement, and isolation from society (Marshall and Meier, 1985:69). The theory suggests that "social disorganisation, lack of social integration, and lack of normative consensus lead to alcohol use" (Boyd *et al* 1995:204). This means that if a society has individuals who are connected and have norms that guide their behaviour to keep them organised, then it is likely to have young people who feel connected to their society and are recognised by the society as important and in return will strive to do good to gain respect from their society. According to this theory, breakdowns in the social structure result in individuals being alienated from the society and as a result are more prone to "deviant" behaviour (alcohol consumption). *Anomie theory* explains alcohol use (as a form of deviant behaviour) as based on the fact that this kind of behaviour is "highest among the poor and lower class, where the greatest pressures for deviation occur and where opportunities to acquire both material goods and a higher level education are limited" (Marshall and Meier, 1985:69). It claims that deviance is the result of certain societal strain (such as a lack of resources) that places pressure on

individuals to become deviant. This theory according to Marshal et.al. 1985:72-73), has been criticised for oversimplifying the explanation of deviance, given that there are many factors that influence deviant acts. Although some people may engage in deviant acts because they are frustrated about their inability to achieve success, most deviant acts actually arise out of a process of interaction with others that may serve as reference group for the individual and whose advice is importance to the individual. The theory has also been criticised for its class bias by assuming that deviant behaviour is disproportionately more common in the lower class. Furthermore, the theory also does not recognise the importance of deviant subcultures, deviant groups, the role of characteristics of urban life, and processes of interpersonal influence and control (Ibid). This theory suggestion for prevention strategies encourages the incorporation of young people as “active participants and decision makers in efforts to address alcohol use, not only focusing on narrowly defined youth domains but also on broader institutional and community decision making” (Boyd *et al.* 1995:204).

Thirdly, the *social bond theory* refers to the connection that exists between the individual and society. The theory states that “youths who are less bonded to society are more likely to consume large amounts of alcohol” (Boyd *et al.* 1995:205). This theory posits that “deviance” occurs when the social bond is weak or lacking. This theory views deviant behaviour as a consequence of when an individual’s bond to significant groups is weak or broken. There are four elements of this social bond. These include:

- *Attachment* – refers to the ties that an individual has to significant others such as family members, peer groups, school, church, workplace and other social institutions. Attachment involves the degree to which the individual has affectional or emotional ties to these people, identifies with them, and cares about their expectations. According to social bond theory, individuals with strong attachments are less likely to engage in deviant behaviour. For young people, attachment to parents is of primary importance. The quality of communication with parents is a major indicator of parental attachment (Durkin, Wolfe and Clark, 1999:451-452).
- *Commitment* – the second element of the social bond refers to the amount of time, energy and resources and ambitions a person invests in conventional activities such

as getting an education or holding a job. Social bond theory further states that individuals with strong commitment will not want to jeopardise them by engaging in deviant behaviour.

- *Involvement*- the third element of the social bond refers to the amount of time a person spends engaging in conventional activities, such as doing schoolwork or participating in sports. According to social bond theory, individuals who spend their time involved in conventional activities do not have enough time available to engage in deviant behaviour such as drinking and driving. For example, for university students, indicators of this element of the social bond could include time spent studying or working at a part-time job while they are not in classes (Durkin et.al, 1999:452).
- Finally, *belief* – refers to the acceptance of a conventional value system. The social bond theory maintains that any weakening of these conventional beliefs, such as a general acceptance of the rules of society as being morally valid and binding as well as respect for authority increases the likelihood that an individual will engage in deviant behaviour. It is believed that as these elements weaken, an individual will lack restraint and thus will deviate. Durkin, Wolfe and Clark, (1999: 452) further state that there have been very few studies that explicitly examined the relationship between elements of the social bond and drinking among college students. However, the studies that have been conducted nonetheless provide useful insights about the possible between elements of social bond and binge drinking among college students. A study that was conducted in 1987 which examined the effects of the social bond variables on the alcohol consumption patterns of students in a college in Maryland looking at the attachment, commitment, and involvement components of social bond theory, found that “students with strong bonds to the college community, religious institutions, and family drank less than students with weakened or broken bonds” (Ibid).

This theory suggests “collaborating with young people and building opportunities for them to participate actively in their families, schools, and communities would reduce alcohol use” (Boyd et.al, 1995:205). The social bond theory also recommends implementing common

sense policies to inhibit deviant behaviour such as keeping young people involved in conventional activities. It also suggests the development of prevention and education programs to control alcohol-related problems through facilitating students bonds to the college community (Durkin et al., 1999:460).

Finally, the *availability theory*, which points out that “the degree to which alcoholic beverages are accessible to people affects the amount and pattern of alcohol use” (Boyd et al., 1995:204). The availability of alcohol for consumption is an environmental and economic feature held by some people to have a direct causal connection with national drinking patterns (Sargent, 1979:68). According to this theory there are many dimensions of alcohol availability and can be grouped into three categories. These include:

- a) *Physical availability*, which refers to the amount, diversity, and proximity of alcoholic beverages in the environment; so in other words the more production of alcohol you have in a society, the variety of different labels of alcohol available and also the more alcohol outlets that are available will affect the drinking patterns of people in that if is easily accessible than they are likely to drink it;
- b) *Economic availability* is the degree to which acquisition and consumption of alcoholic beverages requires expenditure of resources in relation to resources available (e.g. the cost of obtaining alcohol in relation to disposable income), in other words the drinking patterns of an individual are affected by the amount of money available to spend on alcohol and
- c) *Legal availability* which is the degree to which purchase and consumption of alcohol is limited by law (Boyd et al. 1995:205). For example, age of purchaser (i.e., must be over 18 years or over), or amount of alcohol (i.e. no sales to intoxicated customers).

Furthermore, the increasing availability of alcoholic beverages in many countries can be accounted for largely by the growth of industrialisation and increase of production (Sargent, 1979:68). The availability of alcohol directly affects opportunities to drink. For prevention measures they propose reducing accessibility and availability of alcohol by “creating barriers to young people’s drinking and also through public policies, taxes and physical restraints” (Boyd and Zucker, 1995:205).

These theories begin to highlight suggested reasons behind the drinking and driving behaviour amongst university students and offer suggestions for prevention strategies that can be used to reduce drinking and driving problems in universities. These included, employment of popular peer role models to discourage alcohol use; incorporation of young people in decision making and collaborating with young people and encouraging them to participate actively in their schools and communities. This connection will be further elaborated on and illustrated by exploring the implementation of drinking and driving policies at a series of higher education institutions across South Africa.

### **3.2. Policy framework**

While firstly defining public policy, this section will explore various approaches to public policy implementation. This will provide a theoretical background to various approaches to policy making and policy implementation. This knowledge will be used as a guideline to identify the implementation approaches used in different institutions to address drinking and driving among the students.

#### **3.2.1. Public Policy**

Anderson (1997:9) defines public policy as “a purposive course of action of a person, group, or government, within a given environment, to address a particular problem or issue”. Thomas Dye (1995:3) defines public policy as “anything a government chooses to do or not to do”. In this definition Dye (1995:3-4), sees the government as the only agent of public policymaking. Other groups such as private organisations or individuals are not considered public policymakers. Dye sees public policy as a course of action undertaken by government (only government) to address a problem. This then differs from Anderson’s definition which considers everyone capable of being policymakers. Thus there are many definitions of public policy; some are more applicable, accommodating and popular than others. Dye further states that public policy does not only refer to government action or change, but also to government inaction. Dye’s definition is thus slightly limited as it only recognises the government as the only agent of policymaking.

According to Anderson (1997:14), there are various categories of public policy; *Substantive policies* involve “what government is going to do, such as constructing highways, paying welfare benefits, acquiring bombers or prohibiting the sale of liquor”. *Procedural policies*

on the other hand focus more on how something will be done, that is, “specifying the process and techniques that they can use in carrying out their programmes”. Policy classification can be further divided into *Distributive policies* which involve “allocation of services or benefits to particular segments of the population as well as use of public funds to assist particular groups, communities, or industries” (Anderson, 1997:15). *Regulatory policies* have to do more with “imposing restrictions or limitations on the behaviour of individuals and groups” (Anderson, 1997:16). Thus regulatory policies reduce the freedom to act of those who are regulated, be it organisations, workers or bankers. An example of the *Regulatory policy* is the Zero Tolerance Policy which is the drinking and driving policy by the KZN Department of Transport that restricts the vehicle drivers from overloading, driving whilst drunk, driving without a valid license and not wearing a seat belt whilst driving and so forth. *Self-regulatory policies* are also aimed at achieving some restriction or control of human behaviour but focusing particularly more on a group who wants to protect and promote the interests of its members (Anderson, 1997:17). *Redistributive policies* involve “deliberate efforts by the government to shift the allocation of wealth, income, property, or rights among broad classes or groups of the population such as haves and the have nots, proletariat and bourgeoisie” (Anderson, 1997:18). The Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) is an example of the redistributive policy. The RDP is “an integrated coherent socio-economic policy framework that seeks to mobilise all our people and our country’s resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future” (ANC, 1994:2). This policy is an attempt by the Government to remove the segregation, inequality and the economic inefficiency to create a society where everyone has equal access to resources regardless of their racial background.

Whether labelled regulatory, distributive or redistributive, all policies incorporate an element of control. That is, by one means or another, they are designed to cause people to do things, refrain from things, or continue doing things that they otherwise would not do (Anderson, 1997:245). Anderson (1997:246) further states that the control techniques that an agency is permitted to use may in practice have important consequences for the content and impact of policy, for policy as an “operational reality” that affects human behaviour (Ibid). Control techniques may be based on a number of behavioural assumptions. For example;

- *Capacity-enhancing techniques*, such as job training, information and counselling programs, rely on the notion that people have the desire or motivation to do what is required but lack the capacity to act accordingly.
- *Hortatory techniques*, such as declarations of policy, appeals for voluntary co-operation, warnings against littering or drunk driving – assume that people act on the basis of their beliefs and values and will likely do what is right if they know about it.
- *Authoritative techniques* rest on the premise that requirements and restrictions, backed up by sanctions, are necessary to prevent people from engaging in undesirable, evil, immoral, or unfair behaviour.

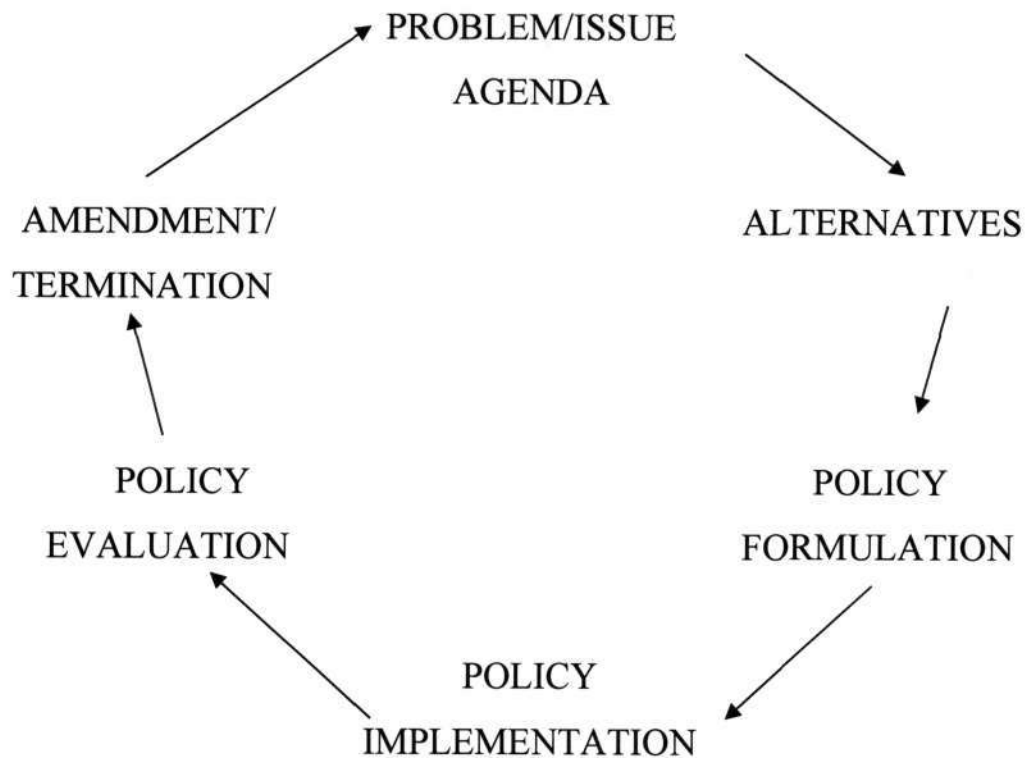
In sum, for a policy to be effective, more is needed than substantive authority and sufficient funding to cover financial costs for implementation. Adequate and suitable techniques of control and implementation must be authorised for the responsible agency.

### **3.2.2. The Policy Cycle**

The stages of the policy cycle will be briefly explained to illustrate how they interact with one another in the policy process. Many authors organise the policy process into a series of sequential stages, the combination of which is referred to as the *policy cycle*. As Colebatch comments “these stages are often represented as a circle, suggesting that there is a natural progression from one stage to the next” (2002:49). The policy cycle is the most common approach to policy analysis in which clear stages through which a particular policy will move are identified.



The stages of the policy cycle approach are:



Source: Colebatch, 2002:50.

The *agenda or problem/issue* stage involves presenting of the problem to the policymakers or the government who then decide on what problems or issues to address. The *alternative* stage involves looking at alternatives in selecting the proper course of action, which will solve the problem. The *policy formulation* stage involves developing policy proposals to resolve issues and problems. The *implementation* stage involves implementing the courses of action chosen. The *evaluation* stage involves evaluation of the implementation of the decision to see if it had the expected impact on the problem. Changes are suggested and adjustments are made. Finally, in the *amendment/termination* stage the policy is amended or terminated (Colebatch, 2002:50).

Howlett and Ramesh (1995:12), see the policy cycle as advantageous, in that it facilitates the understanding of public policy process by breaking it into sub-processes, which can be investigated in terms of its relationship to the other stages of the cycle. However simple and orderly the policy cycle approach appears, it is not without criticisms. John (1998:22-

23) argues that the policy process is not as simple and straightforward as the cycle approach assumes; it is rather complex and chaotic.

Peter John's idea of the policy process (confusingly labelled "implementation analysis" although it refers to the entire policy process and not the implementation stage alone) claims that the policy process is not linear and orderly, but involves discussion and negotiation between different parties in order to reach decisions. Feedback loops further complicate the process and highlight one of the perceived weaknesses of the traditional policy cycle approach – that of unrealistic order (John, 1998:23). Implementation analysis sees the policy process as chaotic; full of discussion and negotiation in-between each stage, thus complicating the process. Peter John further states that "participants must accept the rapidly changing, flexible and chaotic nature of decision-making rather than guiding the policy through preordained stages" (John, 1998:26). He further states that "policy is by definition complex and changeable and political actors who recognize its nature are likely to be more successful than those who uphold rational procedures" (1998:27).

### **3.2.3. Policy implementation**

Implementation is the stage of the policy cycle with particular relevance for this study because the study focuses on implementation approaches of drinking and driving policies in South African universities. It is thus important to understand conceptualizations of policy implementation and the approaches that are used to implement public policies.

Anderson defines policy implementation as "what happens after a bill becomes law" (Anderson, 1997:214). He further states that implementation consists of "those players, organisations, procedures, techniques and target groups that are involved in carrying policies whether of legislative, executive, or judicial origin, into effect in an endeavour to accomplish their goals". He describes policy implementation as "neither a routine nor a highly predictable process" (Ibid). In other words it is not an easy and predictable process. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973: xv) define implementation as "a process of interaction between the setting of goals and the actions geared to achieving them". They further define implementation as being "to carry out, accomplish, fulfil, produce, and complete a task according to the rules and regulations set by the policy (1973: xiii). Cloete & Wissink (2000:166) defines it as "encompassing those actions by public or private individuals (or

groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions". According to Hanekom, policy implementation involves much more than just carrying out of what was decided on by the policy-maker, it also involves "determining what the intentions of the legislator are, whether the allocated resources are adequate, political feasibility, economic uncertainties, administrative practicality and whether its implementation is causing the policy to deviate from the original intention of the policy-maker" (1987:54-56).

Anderson (1997:216) states that implementation either uses a "top down" or "bottom-up" approach. The two implementation approaches will be briefly discussed below in order to establish whether the universities being investigated uses a "top down", "bottom up" or alternative approach.

### **3.2.3.1. Top down approach**

In this approach authority to prescribe rules that have to be adhered to by everyone, lies with the top-level officials. The focus is more on their actions and everyone has to adhere to whatever rules they prescribe. The "top-down" approach is a prescriptive theory, which places more emphasis on the definition of goals by the "top" people, rather than on the role of the people down the line (Parsons, 1995:467). The "top-down" approach focuses on creating the proper structures and controls to encourage compliance from the lower level people with the goals set at the top.

According to Parsons (1995), implementation requires a "top-down" system of control and communication, and resources to do the job. He further states that the rational model (top-down approach) is "imbued with the ideas that implementation is about getting people to do what they are told, and keeping control over a sequence of stages in a system, and about the development of a programme of control which minimizes conflict and deviation from the goals set by the initial policy hypothesis" (p466). It focuses on the senior decision-makers, the top government officials, who often play a marginal role in implementation compared to lower-level officials who are predominantly the implementers.

Cloete & Wissink (2000:33) refer to this approach as the elite/mass model, which is based on the assumption that a small, elite group (usually government) is solely responsible for

policy decisions and that this group governs an ill-informed public (the masses). Policy decisions made by elite flow downward to the population at large and are executed by the bureaucracy.

The “top-down” approach is criticized for being a prescriptive theory as it places too much emphasis on the definition of goals by the top, rather than on the role of the people on the lower level, it does not take into account the role of other actors and levels in the implementation process, it lacks an understanding of the process as a negotiation process, and correspondingly a lack of understanding of the possibilities for implementing agencies to respond to prescribed goals and adapt them to local conditions (Bogason,2000:103). Howlett and Ramesh (1995:157) further criticize the “top-down” approach for its emphasis on senior decision makers, who often play only a marginal role in implementation compared to lower level officials who are predominantly the implementers. The “bottom-up” approach contends that this approach gives too much attention to top-level officials and either ignores or underestimates the efforts of lower-level (or street-level) officials (Parson, 1995:467-469). The “top-down” approach assumes that policy is contained in a single statute or other authoritative statement (Birkland, 2001:181).

An example of this approach in South Africa is when a policy is developed by the top government officials (Cabinet members), for example, the Zero Tolerance Policy in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). The Cabinet members potentially fail to consider the problems that are encountered by lower level officials when implementing these policies (Bogason, 2000:103).

### **3.2.3.2. The bottom-up approach**

The “bottom-up” approach on the other hand argues that what is really important is the relationship of policy-makers to policy deliverers. It suggests that implementation is best studied by starting at the lowest levels of the implementation process and moving upward to see where implementation is more successful or less so (Birkland, 2001:178). The “bottom-up” approach sees the process as involving negotiation and consensus building. It also lays great stress on the fact that ‘street-level’ implementers have discretion in how they apply policy (Parsons, 1995:469). While the “top-down” approach is seen as rigid since decisions are only made by top-level officials, the “bottom-up” approach is seen as more flexible

because lower-level people (street-level bureaucrats) have an input in the policy implementation process (Ibid). The “bottom-up” model of implementation also has shortcomings to consider. It has been criticized for assuming that all groups are active participants in the implementation process. For example, in situations where the employees do not get along with a Manager, they may be less inclined to participate in the implementation process (Ibid).

According to Howlett & Ramesh, studies conducted on “bottom-up” approaches have shown that the success or failure of many programmes often depends on the involvement, commitment and skills of the actors at the bottom or street-level bureaucrats who are directly involved in implementing programmes. They further state that the key advantage of the “bottom-up” approach is that it directs attention to the formal and informal relationships constituting the policy networks<sup>1</sup> involved in making and implementing policies (1995:157). An example of this approach is the Arrive Alive Campaign, which promotes road safety. This campaign was launched in 1997 by the then Minister of Transport, Mr Mac Maharaj. It was aimed at reducing the accident rate by 5% in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, and the Western Cape provinces over a four-month period. The focus of this campaign was on reducing the number of road-related injuries and deaths by targeting drunk-driving, speeding, and not wearing seatbelts (Parry & Bennetts, 1998:109). This campaign would not have been a success without the commitment and involvement of the SLB’s (for example, the traffic officers, who ensure that rules are enforced) in the implementation process.

The “bottom-up” approach is more flexible than the “top-down” approach because the lower-level workers (the policy deliverers/implementers) have more input and discretion in the decision making. For example, the personnel in charge of the policy implementation in the Department of Transport have relationships with the public and they come up with strategies to promote road safety as part of the Arrive Alive Campaign. For example, the Department of Transport, together with universities and schools create plays for the public and students perform in them and use them to pass the message of responsible drinking and driving to the educational institutions and the public at large. The Arrive Alive Campaign

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<sup>1</sup> Policy network connotes ‘a cluster of actors, each of which has an interest, or “stake” in a given policy sector and the capacity to help determine policy success or failure’ (Peterson & Bomberg, 1999:8).

has been running for a number of years and it is said to be improving every year because more organisations are getting involved in helping to promote the safety of the public by promoting responsible driving (Interim Report on the Arrive Alive Campaign). The involvement of the general public and the educational institutions appears to be the right strategy because the young people are the ones who tend to engage in risky behaviour of drinking and driving and as a result become involved in road accidents. The involvement of young people in coming up with workable strategies for the Department of Transport indicates that much can be achieved when policy makers and future policy implementers collaborate on the implementation of policies.

Parsons (1995:471) stresses that “a problem with both the “top-down” and “bottom-up” approaches is that they tend to oversimplify the sheer complexity of implementation”. Policy implementers according to Parsons (1995:472) inhabit a world which bears little resemblance to the rational ideal. He further states in reality there are disagreements about policy goals and objectives, vagueness and ambiguity about policies, procedural complexity, inconsistency between powers available and existing problems; and conflict arising from public participation, pressure group activity and political disagreements.

#### **3.2.4. Who implements policy?**

According to Anderson (1997:218) administrative agencies are the primary implementers of public policy, however many other players may also be involved and contribute in various ways to the execution of policies. Administrative agencies now often referred to as “bureaucracies”, according to Anderson, perform most of the day-to-day work of government, their actions affect citizens more regularly and directly than those of other governmental bodies. Furthermore, they have increased discretion in deciding on a particular course of action. As a result, they tend to become the political targets of those seeking to influence their decisions (1997:216-217). The different players identified by Anderson include legislature, the courts (legislation is enforced primarily through judicial action), pressure groups, and community organizations (Anderson, 1997:218).

The *Legislature* – according to Anderson, displays much interest in the implementation of policies and uses several techniques to influence administrative action. One technique includes the specificity of legislation. Deadlines may be specified for some actions, as,

stringent rules or requirements, may be incorporated in a law, to go into effect if an agency does not act with effectiveness (1997:218-219).

In South Africa, the executive system has developed over the years on the basis of the inherited British Cabinet system (Westminster), where political office-bearers (ministers) in the Cabinet are primarily responsible for specific executive portfolios. This state of affairs necessitates the involvement of Cabinet ministers in the administrative affairs of government and theoretically reduces policy-making autonomy considerably in contrast to the position of top bureaucrats in the presidential system of executive authority (Cloete & Wissink, 2000:289).

The *Courts* – legislation is enforced primarily through judicial action. In some instances, the courts may be directly involved in the administration of policy (Anderson, 1997:220-221). Anderson, 1997:221), further state that, the courts' most important influence on administration, however, flows from their interpretation of statutes (written law passed by a legislative body) and administrative rules and regulations, and their review of administrative decisions in cases brought before them. Courts can facilitate, hinder or largely nullify implementation of a policy through their decision. Agencies may be strongly influenced by the judiciary's use of its powers of judicial and statutory interpretation (Anderson, 1997:230). In South Africa the Courts of law contribution to policy-making and agenda setting goes beyond the narrow interpretation of policy mandates. In their evaluation of public policies, they come into direct contact with inherent policy weakness. In their judgements, judicial officials draw the attention of both the legislature and executive to issues for the public agenda (Cloete & Wissink, 2000:103).

*Pressure Groups* – given the discretion that many agencies have when making decisions, a group that can successfully influence agency action may have a substantial effect on the course and impact of public policies (Anderson, 1997:221). Some groups simply provide needed advice to agencies and their officials; others become more directly involved in program administration. Furthermore, when advisory groups have a role in agency decision-making, they add legitimacy to the policies that they have helped to develop (p222). Cloete & Wissink (2000:103) states that in South Africa, interest groups are playing an increasingly larger role in shaping the public agenda. For example, the Organisation Against Women and Children Abuse, have campaigned vigorously on issues

of violence against women and children. Furthermore interest groups also engage in the public hearing process in parliament and in so doing, stay in the frontline of agenda setting.

Cloete & Wissink (2000:90) further states that significant differences exist between the policy processes in industrial democracies and in developing countries. Developing states do not normally have sophisticated and well-organised interest groups. Huge gaps exist between the needs and demands for change on one hand and the capacity of the state to fulfill those needs and demands on the other. This frequently results in the formulation of dramatic but inappropriate policy changes which in the end cannot be implemented for various reasons.

*Community Organisations* – according to Anderson, community and other organisations occasionally have been used in the administration of national policies. Anderson (1997:221) sees both the pressure groups and community organizations as some of the influential players in the implementation process. These groups are very important in that they make sure that the needs of the communities are being taken care of when implementing policies. Community organisations which represent different interests of that community, for example, cultural, religious, agricultural, women, youth and other organisations can also help in encouraging public participation.

Recent political developments, however, indicate a growing trend towards the “normalisation” of the policy process in the country. Top-down change is gradually being replaced with bottom-up change. Political elites that are more representative of the majority of the population and society at large are slowly being drawn into the policy process in various ways. For these reasons, the policy process seems to be becoming more legitimate at mass level, which also enhances the potential for successful implementation of new policies. On the other hand, recent exposures of large-scale corruption in the public sector, chronic resource shortages, organisational chaos in state departments and even in parliament, and other woes which seem to have befallen the public policy process in the country, could have extremely serious consequences (Cloete & Wissink, 2000:91).



### **3.2.4. 1. Street-level bureaucrats**

Since street-level bureaucrats are one instrument of policy implementation, a short description is appropriate to understand the role they play in the implementation process. The term “*street-level bureaucrats*” (SLBs’) is used by Michael Lipsky, to describe “public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work (1980:3). They are the lower-level workers in the government who interact directly with the public. SLBs’ are providers of social public services and keepers of public order. They are also “constantly under pressure to satisfy the demands of service recipients to improve effectiveness and responsiveness and the demands of citizen groups to improve the efficacy and efficiency of government services” (Lipsky, 1980:4). The functions of the street-level bureaucrats are to interpret and carry out the public policies that they implement.

According to Lipsky (1980:3), “typical SLBs’ are teachers, police officers, social workers, judges, public lawyers and other court officers, health workers and many other public employees who grant access to government programmes and provide services within them”. SLBs’ have to use their discretion in decisions about citizens with whom they interact. They are relatively free from supervision by superiors or by clients. However they are not entirely free agents. They also have to act in a particular way based on their professional norms and obligations, by the resources available to them, and by legal sanctions that can be applied for non-compliance. For example, “police officers who use ‘too much’ discretion and thereby ignore procedural rules for handling suspects or evidence can lose their jobs or face criminal charges” (Birkland, 2001:183).

Lipsky (1980) states that SLBs’ have considerable impact on peoples’ lives. They socialize citizens to expectations of government services and a place in the political community. SLBs’ implicitly mediate aspects of the constitutional relationship of citizens to the state (p4). He further states that the policy-making roles of street-level bureaucrats are built upon two interrelated facets of their positions: relatively high degrees of discretion and relative autonomy from organisational authority (Lipsky, 1980:13).

The relevance of street-level bureaucrats for this study is that they play a mediatory role between the students and the university management. They make sure that policies are

implemented and that the needs of the students are being taken care of. In case of universities the SLBs' could be seen to be RAG and SRC members who are implementers of drinking and driving policies. They have considerable discretion in determining how those policies should be implemented. For example, the "Buddy Bus" campaign is implemented by RAG members and they have discretion on how they run the campaign. Although they are still guided by policies and regulations of the university, they are relatively free from direct supervision as they are expected to make the right judgements. SLBs' such as the SRC also play a critical role in universities in cases of non-compliance from the students. Lipsky (1980:16) defines non-compliance as when workers do not share the objectives of their superiors, if lower-level workers interests differ from the interests of those at higher levels. The SRC play a mediatory role between the university management and the students in cases when students disagree with university policies. The SRC will negotiate with both students and the Management and come up with an alternative that will satisfy both parties.

## **CHAPTER 4: Methodology**

### **4.1. Methodological approach**

The qualitative research method was used in this study. This method was chosen for the study because it was felt that the qualitative method could provide rich in-depth information regarding the approaches adopted by different South African universities in implementing the drinking and driving policies. According to Bryman (1988:61), the qualitative research method is used by the researcher to study social reality. Its characteristics include “seeing through the eyes of people being studied”, that is, viewing events, actions, values, etc. from the perspective of the people who are being studied. Furthermore, “it seeks to understand events as they occur in their natural context” (Ibid). This method allowed the researcher to get detailed information with “thick” descriptions, in a short space of time.

As Babbie & Mouton (2001:270) state, the primary aim in qualitative studies is in-depth “thick descriptions” and understanding of actions and events. The main concern is to understand social action in terms of its specific context rather than attempting to generalize to some theoretical population. A “thick description” is defined as a lengthy description that captures the sense of actions as they occur. It places events in contexts that are understandable to the actors themselves. The qualitative researcher aims at describing and understanding events within the concrete natural context in which they occur (Babbie et. al., 2001:272).

Given that the main challenge of the qualitative researcher is to get close to the ‘research subject’ in order to generate legitimate and truthful “insider” descriptions, objectivity consists less of controlling for extraneous variables and more of gaining trust, establishing rapport (Babbie et.al.,2001:273). All the above were crucial in this study in order to produce the relevant information. Travel to certain universities chosen for this study to conduct interviews, allowed for the development of a feeling for the context.

## **4.2. Data collection**

### **4.2.1. In-depth interviews**

In-depth face to face interviews were used in the study. This method was chosen because it is conversational, flexible and it allows the interviewer to get more depth and insights and also rich and descriptive data. All the key respondents except the students was contacted through telephonic interviews to secure appointment dates and times for the interviews in all the universities that were part of the study. Interviews were conducted in the respondents' natural setting. This was thought to be important because it makes the respondents feel more relaxed and in that way they can have a conversational interview with the researcher. The in- depth face to face interviews, according to Bernard (2000:82-83), allow the interviewer to obtain valid and reliable information. It is also a useful way to get large amounts of data quickly, and it allows for immediate follow up questions and clarification. Furthermore, this approach to data collection allowed the interviewer to observe non-verbal cues, such as facial expressions and attitude change to the questions. Non-verbal communication is important for the interviewer because people sometimes express social information, feelings, and attitudes through gestures and facial expressions. This may help the interviewer to assign meaning to the non-verbal communication and have a full understanding of the events.

However, this method has its disadvantages, that of subjective bias- it allows for fewer interviews possible and it is difficult to generalise (Neuman, 2000:94). For this particular study, a tape recorder was used during the interview process to capture responses word for word. Notes were taken during the interviews and an audio tape was used during all the interviews to capture responses word for word. Using the tape recorder as an instrument to collect data assisted in generating legitimate and truthful "insider" descriptions. The advantage of using a tape recorder is that "they do not 'tune out' conversations, change what has been said because of interpretation, or record words more slowly than they are spoken" (Patton, 1990:348). In addition to increasing the accuracy of data collection, the use of a tape recorder permits the interviewer to be more attentive to the interviewee (Ibid). However, tape recorders do break down and malfunction. Furthermore, the use of the tape recorder does not eliminate the need for taking notes and it also does not mean the interviewer can become less attentive to the respondent. Patton (1990:349) states that taking notes during the interview is very important as it can "help the interviewer to

formulate new questions as the interview progresses, particularly where it may be appropriate to check out something that was said earlier". Note taking becomes a kind of nonverbal feedback to the interviewee about when something is sufficiently important to be written down; conversely, the failure to take notes will often indicate to the respondent that nothing of particular importance is being said.

The interview format for this study comprised open-ended questions. Open-ended (unstructured, free-response) questions according to Sarantakos (1993:231) are useful because:

- (1) they allow freedom to express feelings and thoughts, especially when complex issues are being studied,*
- (2) They offer more details; that is, respondents can answer in detail and can clarify responses.*
- (3) They allow the respondents to show creativity, self-expression and initiative.*

In-depth interviews were used with all the relevant informants in all the universities. The interviews lasted for about half an hour with each interviewee. The advantage of using interviews for this study was that it produced detailed data in a short time. The disadvantages of using interviews in this study were that some students were not keen to be interviewed especially during their break time. They were also very sceptical of the audio tape and wanted to remain anonymous. These disadvantages were overcome by explaining to the respondents about the research and that their input was important and appreciated. Fortunately for the researcher most of the respondents did not have a problem with being interviewed.

#### **4.2.2. Literature review**

Literature on drinking and driving initiatives in universities was reviewed using books, journals and the internet. This helped contextualise the drinking and driving initiatives that have been implemented by other universities locally and internationally. Literature on public policymaking was also reviewed, focusing specifically on policy implementation. This literature helped to provide definitions on public policies and the implementation approaches adopted when implementing policies. Other literature pertained to sociological perspectives on drinking and driving. These theories included;

- Social Learning Theory
- Anomie Theory
- Social Bond Theory
- Availability theory

These theories were the basis for the analysis of the findings of this study. Furthermore, information was reviewed on social science research methods. Some of the information reviewed was drawn from different university websites to investigate the presence of the drinking and driving policies. A literature review was relevant for this study because it provided the study with background information on the past research on drinking and driving approaches and their implementation. Also this provided an analytical tool for this study. The sociological theories were used to analyse the implementing approaches in South African universities, to see whether some of the preventative measures suggested in these theories were projected in the findings of the study.

### **4.3. Sampling**

Sampling involves decisions about which people, settings, events, behaviour and/ or social processes to observe. The size of the sample depends on the type of study conducted (Durrheim, 1999:44). Both purposive (or judgmental) sampling and quota sampling was used to select the sample for this study. Purposive sampling uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases, with a specific purpose in mind and is used largely in exploratory research or in field research (Neuman, 2004:198). Purposive sampling was appropriate for this study because the sample had to include respondents that were in high positions of authority, such as Dean of Students, within the various institutions and could thus provide me with the necessary information. Thus, purposive sampling was more appropriate in this situation as unique respondents needed to be identified. These respondents included Receive and Give (RAG) Association members, the Students Representative Council (SRC) members and the Dean of Students. This was done in all the universities that were chosen for the study. Purposive sampling in contrast to random sampling that is used in quantitative studies, seeks to maximize the range of specific information that can be obtained from and about that context by purposely selecting locations and informants that differ from one another (Babbie et. al., 2001:277). Quota sampling was used to select the students to be interviewed because it is easier, cheaper, and quicker and allows for some population differences (Ibid). In quota sampling, a researcher first identifies relevant

categories of people (e.g., male and female), then decides how many to get in each category. With quota sampling the researcher can ensure that there are differences in terms of race, sex and age in the sample (Neuman, 1994:197). It was appropriate in that it allowed the researcher to decide on whom to include in the sample in order to ensure that some gender and population differences existed in the sample. The benefit of this is the variety of responses likely to be gathered from a varied sample. In addition it provides the researcher with the freedom to identify “friendly” individuals who are willing to be interviewed.

The sample of respondents consisted of 10 institutions around South Africa, which were provincially divided into three clusters (with 3 institutions in each cluster). This provincial clustering occurred in order to address time constraints and travel expenses. Three universities were chosen from each province because the budget was limited and only a few universities could be chosen for the study.

The first cluster included; the University of Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University and the University of Pretoria (Gauteng province), the second cluster included; the University of KwaZulu-Natal campuses (Howard College, Westville campus and Pietermaritzburg campus), and the University of Zululand (KwaZulu-Natal province), and the third cluster included; the University of Cape Town, Stellenbosch University and the University of Western Cape (Western Cape province). These institutions were chosen because they have high enrolment. For example, the University of Cape Town has a population of over 18 000 students with 2 500 international students from 70 countries (<<http://www.uct.ac.za>>). The University of Pretoria has more than 55 000 contact and distance education students (<<http://www.up.ac.za>>). With these numbers of students (some of whom are engaging in drinking and driving); it is even more relevant for these universities to have drinking and driving policies with effective implementation approaches.

Within these clusters, interviews were conducted with:

- The Dean of Student Services to get their views on the topic as the representatives of the universities as part of the university management who have a role in formulating and implementing university policy.
- The Student Representative Council (SRC) members, Remember and Give (RAG) members to find out the role they play regarding decision-making in implementing drinking and driving policies.

- General student population who are not part of SRC and RAG organisation were also included in the sample to determine their level of involvement and participation as student organisation in implementing the drinking and driving programmes. They were chosen randomly around the campus. Their inclusion would also provide information to help determine the kinds of programmes that they, as students use to deal with student drinking and driving.

The sample size was relatively small for the study due to time constraints. Indeed, the distance that had to be travelled to collect data from different universities was significant and thus only a few interviews could be conducted in a day. Because of these time constraints the interviewer had to purposefully select a few information rich cases to get the relevant data.

When combining all the interviews that were conducted in the selected universities, there were a total of one hundred and twenty eight (128). Out of the ten universities selected, that is, three from the Western Cape, three from the Gauteng Province and four from KwaZulu-Natal Province, thirteen interviews were conducted in each institution (i.e., 10 general students and 3 members from the management, i.e. 1 Dean of Students, 1 SRC member and 1 RAG member) with the exception of the University of Zululand and the Westville campus of UKZN where only twelve interviews were conducted as they did not have a RAG association.

#### **4.4. Ethical considerations**

In terms of ethics of the research, the respondents were advised about their rights to participation in the study and that participation was voluntary. They were also advised on their right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. As Babbie and Mouton (2001) states, ethical issues are important because the researcher is essentially intruding into people's lives and privacy. It is thus crucial to be aware of ethical considerations when conducting research. The researcher also has to establish a trusting relationship with the respondents to enable them to be comfortable during the interview. Establishing a trusting relationship is very important because if the respondents are not comfortable then they would not cooperate. This was achieved in the interviews because the respondents were given details about the study and their rights explained regarding anonymity, putting them at ease and



enabling them to respond freely. Most of the respondents (mainly the students) were wary about giving out their names. The SRC and RAG members, however, did not have a problem revealing their names.

#### **4.5. Data analysis**

The analysis of data according to Sarantakos (1993:341), “allows the researcher to manipulate the information collected during the study in order to assess and evaluate the findings and arrive at some valid, reasonable and relevant conclusions”. Firstly, content analysis was used to review literature on the university websites and their publicity departments in order to establish the presence of the drinking and driving policies or programmes in different institutions. Palmquist (1993) defines content analysis as “a research method which examines words or phrases within a wide range of texts, including books, book chapters, essays, interviews and speeches as well as informal conversation”. By examining the presence of certain words and phrases in these text, a researcher is able to “make inferences about the philosophical assumptions of a writer, the audience for which a piece is written, and even the culture and time in which the text is embedded” (cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2003:491). The content analysis allowed the researcher to select the information relevant to the study concerned and to look for meaningful relationships between concepts. The advantages of content analysis according to Leedy & Ormrod (2005:392-393), are that “it is safe, it requires no special equipment and it permits you to study processes occurring over long period of time” (2005:392-393). However, it is not without disadvantage, that is, “it is limited to the examination of recorded communications (oral, written or graphic communications” (Ibid).

Content analysis was an appropriate analytical approach for the study because it allowed the researcher to examine the information gathered during the study to identify patterns, themes within the material, through examining the transcripts of conversations that were recorded during the in-depth interviews in order to examine the relationship between concepts in a text. Data was analysed by organising it into categories and creating themes or concepts, which were then used to analyse data. Once the patterns were recognized in the data, they were then interpreted in terms of the theoretical framework.

## CHAPTER 5: Findings

None of the institutions researched had a formal codified drinking and driving policy, that is, a formal policy implemented by the university management and recorded in the university rulebook. However all of them had “awareness programmes” implemented by the students and university departments such as Student Protective Services from the University of Zululand. A large number of students interviewed from all the universities were not aware of any of these programmes and thus had no idea how they were implemented. Nevertheless ninety eight percent of the general students’ interviewed thought it was very important to have such programmes at the university. Some of the reasons included: “to make people aware of the danger of drinking and driving”, “‘cause se on campus there’s a lot of drinking” (Students of UCT: 16 May 2005), “to protect the students” (Student of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005), “‘cause students tend to get irresponsible and misuse alcohol” (Student of Stellenbosch University: Interview conducted on 17 May 2005). Ninety eight percent of the general students at WITS University felt they should be involved in the implementation process. Their reasons were “they themselves will become aware and be able to help others”, “its better coming from peers than lectures”, “students know what will work for them” (Students of WITS: Interview conducted on 20 May 2005). Many of the general students across all universities investigated stated that most of the programmes were unknown to them due to the fact that they are not marketed properly and many offered suggestions of techniques and approaches that could be used to promote and implement these programmes in order for students to gain knowledge of them and to have an understanding of the dangers of drinking and driving. The suggestions included using billboards at student’s centres, sending e-mails to students, having visual aids (adverts, demonstration of smashed up cars) on campus where students can recognise them, have a course for first year students at the beginning of the semester, having music concerts with young and popular musicians who are role models to the young people to promote the message of responsible drinking and so forth. The findings of the study will be discussed below according to the themes identified during the examination of the data.

Research question is: What are the approaches used by South African universities to implement drinking and driving policies?

Therefore, the themes are:

- Existence of drinking and driving programmes;
- Implementation approaches for drinking and driving programmes;
- Implementers of the policies/programmes – street level bureaucrats;
- Perceived value of drinking and driving policy;
- Awareness programmes;
- Marketing strategies used for drinking and driving programmes and
- Suggestions for better implementation approaches.

## **5.1. Existence of Drinking and driving programmes**

### **Western Cape Province (Cluster 1)**

The University of Stellenbosch does not have a formal codified drinking and driving policy, but has a “Buddy Bus” campaign, (an alcohol awareness campaign), which promotes responsible alcohol use. It is spearheaded by the RAG (Remember and Give) Association, which is a student organisation managed by students who took the initiative to promote the message of responsible drinking. The “Buddy” campaign operates during RAG events utilising stage plays with the message to promote responsible drinking. Responsible drinking messages are promoted and some of the students are transported home (especially those who live off campus) and are too drunk to drive home.

According to the Student Representative Council (SRC), the University of the Western Cape (UWC) does not have a formal, codified policy on drinking and driving. However, the SRC in conjunction with RAG host awareness programmes like seminars on campus, where an outside speaker addresses students about alcohol and drug abuse. Short plays at student centres are also used to encourage responsible drinking behaviour (SRC of UWC: Interview conducted on 08 May 2005). The UWC campus has also just launched a “Buddy” campaign, at the beginning of March 2005. It is an SRC initiative in conjunction with the RAG association. During the “Buddy Bus” campaign promotions, students are given t-shirts, caps and pamphlets with the message ‘responsible drinking, responsible choices’ to get their attention (RAG of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005).

According to the Dean of Students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) they do not have a formal, codified drinking and driving policy but rather a range of policies on the consumption of alcohol on campus. For example, rules about acting in a drunken or disorderly fashion, rules about not allowing consumption of alcohol on campus and so forth (Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). They also have awareness programmes, which are hosted by the RAG Association. For example, the "Buddy Bus" initiative, responsible for encouraging safe and responsible drinking, is funded by outside organisations like the Industry Association for Responsible Alcohol Use (ARA), which believes that the "most effective way of preventing alcohol abuse is through education and building awareness campaigns on the effects of alcohol use, so that people can make their own choices based on informed opinion" (<http://www.ara.co.za>). It runs during Orientation week<sup>2</sup> and various RAG events. According to the RAG Association, they promote responsible drinking and encourage students to use the available buses as opposed to driving (RAG of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005).

### **Gauteng Province (Cluster 2)**

The University of the Witwatersrand (WITS), according to the Dean of Students does not currently have a codified drinking and driving policy for students but they are in the process of creating one. This policy will "advise students about alcohol and drug abuse" (Dean of Student of WITS: Interview conducted on 20 May 2005). WITS also has awareness programmes on campus about drug abuse but has not focussed specifically on drinking and driving.

According to the Dean of Students at University of Johannesburg (UJ), they also does not has a codified policy against drinking and driving but has general rules about alcohol on campus - like when it is acceptable to have alcohol on campus and penalties for students who get out of control while intoxicated. (Interview conducted on 23 May 2005). According to an SRC member of University of Johannesburg, they do have awareness programmes, which promote responsible drinking and driving usually in conjunction with YFM (a local radio station in Johannesburg), to raise awareness on campus. They also have

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<sup>2</sup> Orientation Week is conducted at the beginning of the year for first year students. Students are given a tour of the university, shown where to find different venues for lectures, registration, security etc. They are provided with information about different faculties in the universities and also where to find information.

the “Buddy Bus” project, which raises awareness about responsible drinking during RAG week together with the National Road Safety Council.

The University of Pretoria (UP) also has no codified policy on drinking and driving but have a policy pertaining to the use and selling of liquor on campus (Dean of UP: Interview conducted on 24 May 2005). Nonetheless they do have campaigns and anti-drug concerts on campus. The SRC has a programme that concentrates on limiting risks by addressing drug abuse and alcohol abuse. The name of the programme is “Graduate Alive”. They also have music concerts where different musicians deliver messages to students about responsible drinking (SRC of UP: Interview conducted on 24 May 2005). The RAG organisation has the “Buddy Bus” campaign during RAG events, which also promotes responsible drinking and driving by providing buses to transport students after they have been drinking (RAG of UP: Interview conducted on 24 May 2005).

### **KwaZulu-Natal Province (Cluster 3)**

According to the Dean of Students of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College) campus, the institution does not have an institutional policy dedicated to students drinking and driving. However, they have the “Buddy Bus” campaign, which is a student run campaign. The RAG Association is in charge of the programme. The “buddy” campaign raises awareness on campus by having events and games that promote the messages of “responsible drinking”, “responsible choices”, and “take a buddy home” (RAG of Howard College: Interview conducted on 31 May 2005).

The University of Zululand (UZ) does not have a formal, codified drinking and driving policy but has alcohol and drug awareness programmes during Orientation Week. These awareness programmes are directed at first year students and they only run during this week. (Dean of UZ: Interview conducted on 2 June 2005).

The Westville campus of UKZN has “no specific rules and policies for drinking and driving”, and according to the Dean of Students for the Westville campus, the management made the mistake of assuming that the Department of Transport will be responsible for raising awareness as it an offence and “it’s against the law”. The Dean of Students for the Westville campus further stated that according to his knowledge the campus has a very low

level of car ownership and he knows of “no drinking and driving accidents that involve students” (Interview conducted on 1 June 2005). However, there are awareness campaigns about alcohol and drug abuse that are run by the Student Counselling Centre during Orientation Week. The Department of Transport also has campaigns on campus periodically about road safety (SRC of Westville campus: Interview conducted on 1 June 2005).

The Pietermaritzburg Campus of UKZN does not have a specific codified drinking and driving policy for students but “the Student Counselling Centre run campaigns against substance abuse, including drinking and driving”. During these awareness programmes during Orientation Week, students are cautioned against excessive drinking and drinking while driving (Dean of Student of UKZN-PMB: Interview conducted on 30 May 2005). The Department of Transport also runs programmes once or twice a year on campus in conjunction with the SRC on road safety and the dangers of drinking and driving (SRC of UKZN: Interview conducted on 30 May 2005). The Pietermaritzburg campus also has the “Buddy Bus” campaign, which is run by the RAG association. It promotes responsible drinking by “encouraging students to use the “Buddy Bus” or to take a sober friend when going to night clubs, who will be responsible for driving ‘(RAG of UKZN: Interview conducted on 30 May 2003). Most of the anti-drinking and driving programmes used across the universities are similar, for example, the “Buddy Bus” campaign, music concerts. They also differ with the strategies they use for awareness, e.g. UCT university used a smashed-up car as display on campus to warn students about the dangers of drinking and driving.

## **5.2. Implementation approaches for drinking and driving programmes**

### **Western Cape Province (Cluster 1)**

According to the Student Representative Council (SRC) of University of the Western Cape, the “bottom- up” approach is adopted throughout the “Buddy Bus” programme. This means that all students on campus (representatives in student organisation and general mass of students) are involved in the decision making and implementation of the programmes. (Interview conducted on 18 May 2005). According to the Dean of Students of UCT , the “bottom-up” approach is used to implement the drinking and driving awareness programmes on campus because “successful programmes are those where students are in control of everything as they are better skilled to come up with solutions that will work for

them” (Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). This is true of University of Stellenbosch, too, the “bottom up” approach is adopted when implementing their awareness programmes because “ students have a better understanding of the environment surrounding them than the university management” (RAG of Stellenbosch: Interview conducted on 07 May 2005).

### **Gauteng Province (Cluster 2)**

The University of Johannesburg also adopts a “bottom-up” approach, as programmes are implemented by the student organisation in consultation with the Dean of Students and students themselves. (Dean of Students and SRC of UJ: Interview conducted on 23 May 2005). The RAG and SRC consult with the Dean of Students about programmes that are implemented on campus but the decisions on how to run the programmes lie with the student organisations (SRC of WITS: Interview conducted on 20 May 2005). The Dean of Students at WITS further states that there is input from the whole campus (all stakeholders on the University board, staff, students, campus security) before any policy is implemented. The University of Pretoria (UP) adopts both a “top-down” and a “bottom-up” approach to implement the programmes. The SRC run the anti-drug concerts on campus and the RAG runs the “Buddy Bus” campaign, thus utilising a “bottom-up” approach. However, the university management has to approve all the programmes before they are implemented and this illustrates a “top-down” approach. According to the SRC, a “top-down” approach is used most of the time at the University of Pretoria to implement the programmes. However, the SRC is encouraging for the adoption of the “bottom-up” approach to implement drinking and driving policies (SRC of UP: Interview conducted on 24 May 2005).

### **KwaZulu-Natal Province (Cluster 3)**

At the Howard College campus of UKZN a “bottom-up” approach is used to implement the drinking and driving awareness programmes. Student organisations make all the decisions regarding the running of the programmes. According to the RAG of Howard College, “the university management has no input on any of the RAG events except to give permission to use the premises for the events” (Interview conducted on 31 May 2005).

The Pietermaritzburg campus also adopts a “bottom-up” approach to implement the programmes according to the Dean of Students and students are very much involved when designing and implementing the awareness campaigns. The Dean of Students stated that

there is also consultation between the programmes directors, management and the students as this contributes to the success of the campaigns (Dean of Students and SRC of UKZN-PMB: Interview conducted on 30 May 2005). On the Westville campus of UKZN a “top-down” approach is used as awareness programmes are run by the student counselling centre and they make all the decisions on how to run the programmes (Dean of Students of Westville: Interview conducted on 1 June 2005). The University of Zululand also uses a “top-down” approach with awareness programmes being run by the Student Protective Services.

### **5.3. Implementers of the policies/programmes – Street-level bureaucrats**

#### **Western Cape Province (Cluster 1)**

At UCT the implementers of the programmes were RAG and SRC members hence they adopted the bottom-up approach to implement their programmes. As the Dean of Students at UCT states, “successful programmes are those where students are in control of everything” so are regarded as more suitable in implementing the awareness programmes for fellow students. (Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). The RAG students implement these programmes by doing the demonstrations during RAG weeks for the students to try and get the message across about the dangers of drinking and driving. At UWC, the RAG and SRC members are also the implementers of the programmes. They work together to initiate and promote the programmes and to involve students on campus. The same also applies for Stellenbosch University; RAG members together with the SRC members implement awareness programmes during RAG week.

#### **Gauteng Province (Cluster 2)**

At WITS the implementers of the programmes are the SRC members who work together with management when making decisions about which programmes to be implemented on campus. However, SRC members decide on how programmes are to be implemented and promoted (SRC of WITS: Interview conducted on 20 May 2005). The same is true for UP student associations the SRC and RAG work together with management to implement awareness programmes. At the University of Johannesburg, the SRC and RAG members are the implementers of drinking and driving programmes.



### **KwaZulu-Natal Province (Cluster 3)**

At Howard College RAG members are implementers as they decide on programmes to be implemented to create awareness on substance abuse and they implement these programmes during RAG week, which according to a RAG member “is attended by most of the students” (RAG of Howard College: Interview conducted on 31 May 2005). The implementers of drinking and driving programmes on the Pietermaritzburg campus include the RAG members, SRC members and the student counselling staff. They work together to implement these programmes. At the Westville Campus, the programmes are implemented and run by the student counselling staff. The University of Zululand programmes are also implemented by staff, specifically the Student Service Protective Services who decide on the programmes to be implemented on campus.

### **5.4. Perceived value of drinking and driving policy**

#### **Western Cape Province (Cluster 1)**

All the respondents (i.e. the Dean of Students, SRC members, RAG members and general students) interviewed at UCT campus thought that it was very important to have policies/strategies/programmes that address student drinking and driving. Some of the responses from students included, “Yes, because on campus there’s a lot of drinking and its important to inform the students that its not good to drink and drive”, “Yes, to make everyone aware of the dangers of drinking and driving” (Students of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). The RAG and the SRC also added, “It’s very crucial because a lot of young people die from alcohol related accidents. It’s important to educate tertiary institutions about this because it’s where it all happens”, “It is important and a good initiative because we must look at the safety of students (Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). Some of the responses from the University of the Western Cape on the same question included, “It important cos students tend to get irresponsible and misuses alcohol at bashes”, “Yes, its important for safety reasons and for those students who come to functions and who don’t have transport to go home”, “ (Students of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005).

## **Gauteng Province (Cluster 2)**

The responses in the Gauteng Province when asked about the importance of having the drinking and driving policy included, “yes, its important especially for students who have their own vehicles and there’s a lot of parties and drinking on campus”, “Many students have cars and they drink a lot and have to drive home and that’s when accidents happen” (Student of WITS: Interview conducted on 20 May 2005).

The SRC also agreed that it was important to have drinking and driving policies because “most of these young people come from strict families and when they come to the free environment, where they are not controlled, they tend to abuse substances and get into all kinds of trouble” (SRC of WITS: Interview conducted on 20 May 2005). The Dean of Students added that it is part of their responsibility to have such policies, but students should take responsibility as well - they know they “shouldn’t drink and drive” (Dean of Students of UJ: Interview conducted on 23 May 2005).

The SRC member from UJ also thought it was very important to have such policies because people tend to take things for granted, that is, they tend to do as they wish if there are not laws that guides or restrict their behaviour. The students and the SRC at UJ thought that it was important to have drinking and driving policies and the reasons they gave included, “even here at UJ they have bars where you can buy alcohol very cheap”, “they allow us to drink on campus”, “Yes, it’s important so that people are aware that if they need help, there are groups that will help them”, “It’s very important to have such programmes, especially for the first years”, (SRC and Students of UJ: Interview conducted on 23 May 2005). The SRC of UP also agrees that it is important to have drinking and driving policies because “students in one way or another have been involved in situations when they have been drinking. For example, one student got killed on his birthday for drinking and driving” (SRC of UP: Interview conducted on 24 May 2005). In other words this students was drinking with friends and celebrating his birthday and was driving home afterwards when he got involved in a car accident and died.

### **KwaZulu-Natal Province (Cluster 3)**

The KwaZulu-Natal Province universities' responses included, "Its important to have these campaigns because the university is only responsible for educating pupils to be academics but also to teach them to be responsible citizen and individuals"(SRC of Westville: Interview conducted on 1 June 2005). The Dean of Students of UKZN-PMB stated that it's important to have such policies to make students aware of the dangers of drinking and driving. He further stated that "we tend to take a holistic approach to excessive drinking and driving and of other substances that lead to endanger oneself and others" (Interview conducted on 30 May 2005). The students of UZ also thought it was important to have a drinking and driving policy "especially for the students who drink and have cars because they get into a lot of trouble when they are drunk" (Student of UZ: Interview conducted on 2 June 2005).

### **5.5. Awareness of programmes**

The percentage of awareness is only the perception of those interviewed. No actual impact studies have been carried out on the awareness of drinking and driving polices in South African universities.

### **Western Cape Province (Cluster 1)**

Eight out of ten general students interviewed at UCT were not aware of drinking and driving programmes and most of them were not using them as a result. The UWC also had most of the students (eight out of ten general students) unaware of the drinking and driving programmes on campus. However, according to the SRC and RAG, members', students are to "some extent" aware because "we launched the programmes at the student centre and have music concerts" (SRC & RAG of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005). At the University of Stellenbosch about thirty percent of students interviewed knew about the "Buddy" campaign.

### **Gauteng Province (Cluster 2)**

According to the Dean of Students, SRC and RAG at UJ, students are aware of the drinking and driving programmes because there are posters all over the campus, interestingly though nine out of ten students interviewed were not aware of the programmes. This was also the

case at UP and WITS where ninety percent of students interviewed at both institutions were not aware of the programmes.

### **KwaZulu-Natal Province (Cluster 3)**

According to the Dean of Students of UKZN campuses, students are aware of the drinking and driving awareness programmes, however it is difficult to evaluate the impact the campaigns have on them since at the moment they do not have any formal feedback mechanism to show the effectiveness of the campaigns. At Howard College about sixty percent of the students' interviewed had no knowledge of any drinking and driving policies or programmes. The remaining forty percent knew about the "Buddy" campaign but have never used it. At the PMB campus of UKZN, ninety percent of the general students interviewed were unaware of any drinking and driving programmes on campus. At the Westville Campus of UKZN and the University of Zululand none of the students interviewed were aware of any drinking and driving policies.

## **5.6. Marketing strategies used for drinking and driving programmes**

### **Western Cape Province (Cluster 1)**

According to the RAG at the University of Cape Town, posters and e-mails are used to market the drinking and driving programmes on campus. Students are given free caps, pens and t-shirts with the slogan "responsible drinking, responsible choices" (RAG of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). They also use visual aids to promote awareness on campus by displaying smashed-up cars during orientation week (Dean of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). The Stellenbosch University also uses the campus newsletter and posters to promote awareness. They also give free caps, t-shirts, car discs, rulers to students during RAG events with messages written on them: "Buddy-know your limit", "Buddy-responsible choices, responsible drinking" to encourage responsible behaviour. The UWC also uses posters, short plays, music concerts, and give out free t-shirts and caps with messages to students.

### **Gauteng Province (Cluster 2)**

The University of Johannesburg use posters, billboards, campus radio and newsletters to promote awareness. They also have music concerts on campus to promote responsible drinking. WITS also use billboards and posters to promote awareness about the dangers of

drinking and driving. The University of Pretoria do most of the awareness during RAG functions. The RAG association also has competitions on campus, where students are challenged to come up with marketing strategies that will be effective in passing on the message and prizes are given to the best strategy.

### **KwaZulu-Natal Province (Cluster 3)**

At Howard College they use posters, t-shirts with the slogans “responsible drinking, responsible choices”, “take a buddy home”, websites and e-mail. RAG also have games for students where they display the effects of alcohol on driving by having trolley races with students pushing each other around the block and drinking alcohol as they race around the field (RAG of Howard College: Interview conducted 31 May 2005). The PMB campus of UKZN also uses posters, RAG events, and presentations during Orientation Week. They also make use of the student newspaper (Dean of Students of UKZN-PMB: Interview conducted on 30 May 2005).

### **5.7. Suggestions for better implementation approaches**

Many of the general students across all the institutions thought that the programmes in the institutions are not advertised properly and most made suggestions of other approaches that can be used to promote the drinking and driving programmes.

### **Western Cape Province (Cluster 1)**

The University of Cape Town suggestions include; “providing an alternative for students, for example, having an easy number to call when you have been drinking and you don’t want to drive”, “have courses to educate first year students about drinking and driving” (students of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). The SRC member also added that students should be involved in designing the programmes in order for the programmes to be successful (SRC of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). The UWC suggestions for better implementation approaches include; “making strict rules for having alcohol on campus”, “acting out the messages instead of just putting up posters by having stage plays”, “using adverts and shock therapy (visuals)”, “promotions at student centres” (Students of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005). One suggestion from the University of Stellenbosch student was to have security available at all times to escort students to the residences after functions (Student of Stellenbosch: Interview conducted on 07 May 2005).

### **Gauteng Province (Cluster 2)**

Some of the suggestions at WITS for better implementation approaches included; “delivering messages at the parties before they begin and before everyone leaves”, “using billboards at student centres and campus radio”. They also included “having people coming to speak to students from their own experiences about drinking and driving”, “printing messages on the payslip when paying school fees”, “use the campus radio to pass messages, especially during lunchtime when most students are sitting down”. They also suggested displaying “smashed up cars” with messages about drinking and driving on campus where everyone can see them, and also “getting student volunteers who will present the messages, by speaking with students (Students of UJ: Interview conducted on 23 May 2005).

### **KwaZulu-Natal Province (Cluster 3)**

The PMB campus suggestions are “having concerts, movies, fliers with websites students can log into, sending e-mails to students”, “having music concerts by popular musicians promoting responsible drinking”, “giving out free stuff during awareness programmes to attract students” (Students of UKZN-PMB: Interview conducted on 30 May 2005).

Howard College suggestions involved “displaying anti-drinking and driving posters, t-shirts all year round not just during RAG events and orientation” (Student of UKZN-DBN: Interview conducted on 31 May 2005).

## **CHAPTER 6: Analysis**

This section will focus on analysing the findings presented in Chapter 4 by explaining how the theoretical framework that was presented earlier is reflected in the findings. This analysis will look at how the findings reflect particular understanding/explanations of drinking and driving behaviour. The validity and the applicability of the theory in a South African higher education context will also be explored.

### **6.1. Sociological frameworks**

#### **6.1.1. Social learning theory**

According to the social learning theory drinking is a socially acquired, learned behaviour which is the result of the interplay between social, environmental and personal factors. People only adopt behaviours that are rewarding by observing other people's behaviours and their consequences (Boyd et al., 1995:203). So in case of the student drinking and driving problem this theory posits that this behaviour is learned through observing other individual who engage in the same behaviour in universities and society at large. For example, society may encourage the behaviour by portraying people who drink alcohol as more fun than those who do not drink by using the media. This theory further suggests that for this deviant behaviour to be prevented, there should be more emphasis on negative social consequences of alcohol use, appropriate modelling by key role models as parents, employment of popular peer role models to discourage alcohol use and limiting presentation of drinking models in media to which youth are exposed (Boyd et.al. 1995:203).

This is reflected in the findings as some institutions apply the strategy of using popular peer role models to discourage alcohol use and drinking and driving. For example, the University of Pretoria use role models to relay the message of anti-drinking and driving by bringing in young, popular musicians to talk about dangers of drinking and driving and encourage responsible drinking (SRC of UP: Interview conducted on 24 May 2005). These popular role models also emphasize the negative social consequences of alcohol use. The University of Johannesburg also used the same strategy of using role models as stated, "the SRC organises musicians to come to campus and educate the students about being responsible and the consequences of drinking and driving" (SRC of UJ: Interview conducted on 23 May 2005). This strategy, according to the SRC and RAG organisations in

these two institutions, is very popular because students tend to listen to these musicians because they look up to them. However, whether they are effective or not is a different issue. The SRC and RAG members from most of the universities are confident about the positive effects these concerts have on students, as they seem to respond very well to them. In this instance, this theory is applied in policy to the real context of our universities that are fighting the problem of student drinking and driving. In this sense the social learning theory assumption of preventative measures, such as, emphasis on negative social consequences of alcohol use and employment of popular peer role models to discourage alcohol use, when adopted, appear to be effective in trying to deter drinking and driving behaviour amongst young people. Nevertheless, universities who make use of these suggested preventative strategies are still struggling with students who engage in drinking and driving. Thus the question remains: what other strategies can be used by these universities for students to stop this "deviant behaviour"? Perhaps another suggestion could be to have concerts with motivational speakers and role models on a regular basis in order for students to really grasp the message; universities could evaluate existing programmes by asking the students on how they feel about the drinking and driving programmes existing in their institutions and what suggestions they have to improve these existing programmes. Nonetheless the findings indicate that there is progress in terms of universities taking an initiative in implementing drinking and driving programmes to address drinking and driving among students as opposed to ignoring the problem.

Another recommendation from the social learning theory is that role models such as parents can assist in addressing students drinking and driving as they also have an influence on their children. They should also play a role in addressing this problem of drinking and driving by working together with the universities and the Department of Transport to develop solutions to address the problem. Indeed they should also lead by example by not drinking and driving themselves. The media can also play an effective role by limiting what is being advertised on the television, billboards and radios, especially when promoting alcohol. These kinds of promotions should also have messages in them about being responsible and not to drink and drive. Furthermore, the society can help address the problem of drinking and driving by not associating alcohol with entertainment. This behaviour then tends to be very appealing to young people as they also want to have the same experiences that people who drink have when drinking alcohol. Therefore, advertising, promotion, television programmes, parents, peers, and other dimensions of the social environment all can lead to



the expectation that alcohol makes one happy. As Wagenaar & Perry (1995) state “the presence and active marketing of alcohol throughout the social environment experienced by youth through family, friends, advertising, and media programming therefore help define socially shared meaning that alcohol consumption is an expected behaviour” (cited in Boyd & Zucker, 1995:204).

Another preventative measure in the findings which reflect the theory is the emphasis on the negative consequences of alcohol use. For example at the University of Cape Town, a member of the SRC reported that during RAG Week they had a “smashed up car on campus with the Arrive Alive banner next to it” (Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). This appears to be a good strategy because according to an SRC member it seems to shock students, these visual aids of a “smashed up” car showed them what drinking and driving can result in. One student from UCT also agreed that the “smashed up” car placed on campus had a shocking effect because “it’s very real, and in your face, the picture is stuck in your head” (Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). A number of respondents suggested use of this “shock” strategy to get through to students because, “visuals stick in the mind more than reading pamphlets”, “if they can see it then it hits home more quickly” (Students of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005).

These strategies appeared to have a positive effect because most of the general students when asked about other techniques or approaches which can be used to implement drinking and driving policies seem to agree that the visual aids were more effective because the image stayed with you longer. The universities can respond to this by having more programmes using visual aids to communicate the anti-drinking and driving messages to students. For example, the students’ organisations in universities can work with the Department of Transport in promoting road safety “edutainment” (that is combining educational programmes with entertainment) by having live performances for students on road safety and showing slides of car crashes during these campaigns.

### **6.1.2. Anomie theory**

This theory posits that drinking or alcohol abuse occurs as a result of a breakdown in the social structure, that is, social disorganisation and lack of normative consensus. Therefore people feel isolated and alienated from the society and become more prone to deviant

behaviour (drinking and driving /alcohol abuse). Alcohol abuse, according to the anomie theory, is highest among the poor and the lower class. The validity of the theory in explaining this deviant behaviour is arguable. Nonetheless, the theory does have some valid arguments on why people engage in deviant behaviour. The theory is criticised for the class bias of assuming that the poor and the lower class are more deviant than the other classes. Because society portrays the poor as more deviant than the rich, this perception persists.

According to anomie theory, drinking and driving can be prevented by encouraging the incorporation of young people as active participants and decision-makers in activities of the youth and those that concern the whole community at large (Boyd et.al, 1995:204). This is evident in the findings, as most universities tend to use the strategy allowing student organisation to be the implementers of the drinking and driving programmes to try and reduce drinking and driving incidents among the students. This way they become active participants and are in charge of all the decision-making regarding the programmes. Looking at the responses of the interviewees ninety percent of respondents from all the institutions thought that involving students in the decision making in the programmes in the universities was an effective way to reduce students' alcohol abuse and drinking and driving. For example, some of the responses included, "students know what's practical", "it will have more impact if a fellow student is telling me not to drink and drive" (Students of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005), "students have a lot of information regarding their own problems" (Student of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005). A student from UJ also stated that "students should get involved with the programmes because we will listen to our peers more than someone of authority" (Interview conducted on 23 May 2005). Seventy percent of the institutions use this strategy for the reasons stated above and because it is seen as an effective way to "get through to" the students. Nonetheless despite all these initiatives by the universities, students continue to drink and drive. This suggests that there is a need for additional strategies to be implemented by the universities as these sociological theories alone are inadequate to address the problem.

The theory also claims that people engage in deviant behaviour (drinking and driving) because of social disorganisation resulting in young people feeling isolated and alienated. This does not always appear to be the case because looking at young people especially those in universities, some of them engage in deviant behaviour because they are curious, they

want to be “one of the crowds” and they identify with different role models. This theory is reflected in the findings of this study as some of the universities seem to adopt its preventative measures to address student drinking and driving. This is evident according to a study by Peltzer & Phaswana (1999:4), on substance use among South African university students, when students were asked why they engage in deviant behaviour (abuse alcohol), their responses included; “for social reasons such as to be sociable, to celebrate an occasion, group identification and pleasure seeking, imitating role models, for distraction and coping, e.g. to forget worries, to get relief from anxiety, depression, to get courage”.

However, anomie theory carries less weight with its assumption that the poor and the lower class are more deviant, that is, abuse alcohol more and drink and drive as a result. According to Clinard & Meier (1985:72), anomie theory is criticized in that it is making this assumption because the lower class is where the gap between pressures to succeed and the reality of low achievement is the greatest. They further state that, studies of occupational, white-collar, and corporate crime have shown that crime also occurs in the highest social strata.

### **6.1.3. Social bond theory**

According to this theory, drinking and other related deviant behaviour occurs as a result of the weak social bond between the youth and society. The theory states that “youths who are less bonded to society are more likely to consume large amounts of alcohol” (Boyd et.al., 1995:205). Some of the preventative measures suggested in this theory are projected in the findings of this study as some of the universities adopt these measures, such as, “collaborating with young people and building opportunities for them to participate actively in university activities and implementing common sense policies to inhibit deviant behaviour such as keeping young people involved in conventional activities such as participating in sports, writing, and debating teams” (Boyd et.al, 1995:205).

The theory is applicable to a certain degree because it may be true that young people who are less bonded to their society and who are not involved in conventional activities in universities might be prone to engage in deviant behaviour. However, young people who are also involved in university activities can also engage in deviant behaviour. It does make

sense though that busy and committed people tend to have less extra time for deviant behaviour than those who are not committed to certain activities.

This is evident in the findings with universities who are using a “bottom-up” approach to implement the drinking and driving programmes. These universities are encouraging students to participate in student organisations such as RAG and the SRC and took it upon themselves to create programmes that focus on reducing or controlling alcohol use among students (such as having RAG events, inviting speakers and handing out t-shirts and fliers in these events). Nonetheless with all these strategies being implemented in these universities why are students still drinking and driving? Although the theory appears to be effective in universities where they encourage students’ participation in activities on campuses, it may not be effective enough to prevent students from drinking and driving. This theory is similar to the anomie theory because it also encourages the young people to be leaders of their lives and take charge by becoming responsible and becoming good examples to other young people who need motivation to do well in their lives. The universities should try and encourage students to get involved in activities that interest them around campuses in order to keep busy (such as writing for the university newsletter or playing for a university sports team) given that students who engage in these activities have to set aside a lot of time to do research and to go to training in order to be successful in these activities. As Boyd et.al. (1995:205), state that if one has commitments and spend one’s time involved in conventional activities, one does not have enough time available to engage in deviant behaviour.

#### **6.1.4. Availability theory**

According to this theory what contributes to the amount and pattern of alcohol use amongst young people is the degree to which alcoholic beverages are accessible to them. The availability of alcohol directly affects opportunities to drink and is also part of the environment that shapes normative expectations about appropriate alcohol consumption (Wagenaar & Perry, 1995:205). Furthermore, people drink because they have the money to spend on alcohol. This theory is valid and is applicable in our South African higher education context because it is true that if alcohol and vehicles is available to students they will continue to drink and drive.

This theory proposes reducing accessibility and availability of alcohol through “creating barriers to young people’s drinking and also through public policies, taxes and physical restraints” to prevent young people from abusing alcohol (Boyd et. al, 1995:205). This is projected in the findings where institutions have rules in place about having alcohol on campus. For example, at the University of Cape Town, according to the Dean of Students, there are rules about consumption of alcohol on campus and students have to permission before they can have a party on campus. There are disciplinary actions that are taken against student who do not conform to the rules (Interview conducted on 16 May 2005). Nevertheless, students on this campus still drink and drive. So why do students still drink on campus when there are rules which prohibit them from doing so? The universities need to be stricter with their rules and policies regarding alcohol on campus. For example, it is not sensible to have alcohol policies at the universities whilst on the other hand there are bars on campus where students can have access to alcohol. If universities want students to stop drinking and driving they should ensure that alcohol is not available on campus. The universities should ensure that these alcohol policies are strictly enforced on campuses. While the universities have little or no control over students’ drinking, they do have significant control over the campus environment where drinking occur. It may not be the universities responsibility to stop students from drinking and driving; even so beside the educational responsibility they also have the ethical and legal responsibility to act forcefully to have a campus environment that is free from alcohol and other drug problems. This could have a positive effect in reducing the number of students who abuse alcohol since these young people tend to spend a lot of their time on campus. The University of Johannesburg is one example of the university that needs to consider having stricter policies regarding alcohol on campus because whilst it promotes anti-drinking and driving campaigns on the other hand it has a bar that sells alcohol to students on campus. This leads to students “bunking” lectures. When asked, students at this institution thought it was important to have drinking and driving policies in their university they responded, “yes, because here at UJ they have bars, where you can buy alcohol cheap”, “students can buy alcohol during lectures and that is not right because some students end up skipping lectures” (Students of UJ: Interview conducted on 23 May 2005). In such cases it would be very hard to convince students not to drink and drive with such ready access to alcohol during the day. Thus the availability of alcohol impacts on students drinking patterns and their behaviour. If students have alcohol available to them, then it is difficult to promote anti-drinking and driving campaigns with alcohol readily available on campus.

Another factor which might contribute to students using alcohol is the fact that they usually get discounts when buying alcohol from campus functions. This is one of the reasons students tend to drink gratuitously. For example, one student at UJ complained about the amount of alcohol students' drink during RAG functions stating "students buy alcohol at a cheaper price than the regular prices and student get very drunk in these events. It's more about getting drunk than discouraging it" (Student of UJ: Interview conducted 23 May2005). This is compounded by the fact that alcohol is easily available to students. This is an example of how easy access to alcohol could impact negatively on the students. The universities should make alcohol less available to students by not selling alcohol on campuses and having "alcohol free" functions on campus.

Most RAG events, (for example in UKZN PMB campus and UJ campus) alcohol is sold to students on their RAG events. SAB Breweries is one of the sponsors for RAG; during these functions it sells alcohol to students at a cheaper price. This is bad for students because alcohol is made available to them and will have the tendency to encourage students to abuse alcohol. Although they might defend themselves by saying they encourage students to drink responsibly by displaying posters with anti-drinking and driving slogans and encouraging students to have a designated driver who will drive everyone home or to use the "Buddy Bus", which is available for students who have drunk too much to drive. The point is alcohol should not be available on campus for students because it is inappropriate. Also the availability of alcohol affects the opportunities to drink. However, although having alcohol available on campus could be argued to be good for those students who live in residences because they would not have to drive to get alcohol. However, there is no guarantee that students will not go outside campus to drink if alcohol is available on campuses. It is important for universities to encourage positive behaviour from students by implementing policies to manage students' deviant behaviour.

The Availability Theory is the most important for this study in explaining the behaviour of drinking and driving. It also proposes the crucial factor in preventing young people from abusing alcohol, that is, by making alcohol less available to students. This can be made possible by creating tougher policies to restrict students from abusing alcohol on campus. The Department of Transport already have policies on age restriction of people who can drink alcohol. However, maybe the age restriction could be raised from 18 years to 21 years. Since drinking and driving is illegal according to South African law, there should be

more interventions by DoT working together with universities to develop and implement more stricter policies in addressing the problem of drinking and driving. The Department of Transport could also strengthen laws concerning hours of sale for liquor store and should investigate legislation that will restrict liquor stores from being situated in walking distance from any educational institution.

The government is playing an effective role in trying to prevent the youth from abusing alcohol by enforcing laws that limit the youth, such as, increasing the price of alcohol, having age restrictions (must be 18 or over to purchase alcohol). Nevertheless, whether these laws are effective in preventing young people from abusing alcohol is not known for certain. The fact of the matter though is that students still abuse alcoholic beverages irrespective of these laws that restrict them. So this calls for more interventions by universities in South Africa, the liquor stores and the Department of Transport that will prevent students from abusing alcohol and engaging in irresponsible behaviour.

## **6.2. Policy framework**

Anderson (1997:9) defines policy as “a purposive course of action of a person, group, or government, within a given environment, to address a particular problem or issue”. Andersons’ (1997) definition of policy appears to be the one subscribed to by the institutions researched in this particular study. The “course of action” (i.e. the choice or path of act to be taken) appears to be within the power of both the university management as well as various student organisations. The strategies or programmes that are implemented by the institutions to address students drinking (for example, the “Buddy Bus” campaigns, awareness campaigns like music concerts and seminars presented on campus), all constitute policies in Andersons’ definition because they are all “actions” by the individuals and groups in the institutions to address this particular issue amongst students.

The drinking and driving policies implemented in these institutions are regulatory policies, because, as Anderson (1997:16) states, they are imposing restrictions or limitations on the behaviour of the students. The aim of the “Buddy Bus” campaigns is to try and control the behaviour of students by providing solutions that will not only benefit them as individuals but also benefit the community at large. Awareness campaigns are trying to change the

behaviour of students regarding alcohol use and drinking and driving by providing them with information about the consequences of alcohol abuse.

All the policies identified in universities that were part of this study appeared to be in the implementation stage of the policy cycle as all these institutions are taking a "course of action" to address the problem of students drinking and driving by implementing the anti-drinking and driving programmes such as the "Buddy Bus" campaigns, music concerts and so forth. Universities should evaluate their policies and programmes by asking students on how they feel about these interventions in order to determine their effectiveness in addressing student drinking and driving. In doing so attempts can be made to improve or devise other effective strategies for students.

### **6.3. Implementation approaches**

Both the "top-down" and the "bottom-up" approaches to policy implementation were identified in the institutions investigated. Out of the ten institutions investigated, seven adopted a bottom-up approach to implement the drinking and driving programmes. These include the University of Cape Town, University of the Western Cape, Stellenbosch university, University of Johannesburg, WITS University, University of Pretoria, Howard College (UKZN) and Pietermaritzburg Campus (PMB). These institutions emphasized the involvement of students in the decision making aspects of the policy implementation. Reasons for adopting this approach varied from "it's very important in all the activities to involve the students in order for them to be a success" (Dean of UKZN-PMB: Interview conducted on 30 May 2005), "it's important to involve students because they have a lot of information on how to prevent their peers from drinking and driving" (SRC of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005). The Dean of Students also stated that "student involvement is important because the most successful programmes are those where students are in control of everything" (Dean of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005), "Students listen more to their peers than to an authoritative figure" (Dean of UJ: Interview conducted on 23 May 2005).

Three universities adopted a "top-down" approach in implementing their drinking and driving policies. They include the University of Pretoria, the Westville campus (UKZN), and the University of Zululand. The university management were responsible for the



decision making aspects of the policy implementation. For example, at the University of Pretoria, according to an SRC member, students may present policy proposals, but the management ultimately decides which programme will be implemented and ensures it aligns with the university rules.

Given the findings from different universities that were part of the study, it was evident that the “bottom-up” approach appeared to be more popular than the “top-down” approach. Out of ten universities studied, seven adopted the bottom-up approach in implementing their drinking and driving policies and programmes. These universities believed that in fighting the problem of student alcohol use, they have to work together with the students in order to come up with the solution. Working with students and including them in the decision-making processes for implementing programmes appeared to be more effective according to some of the responses from the interviews because the students were able to come up with solutions to their problem rather than having the university management imposing their policies on them. According to some responses from the interviews students tend to respond well to the anti-drinking and driving programmes if they are managed by their peers. As the Anomie Theory posits that including young people to participate in the planning, decision making and the implementation of these programmes will help in reducing youth drinking as this will make them feel more useful.

The findings also showed most of students interviewed across all ten universities were not aware of any drinking and driving policies or programmes being implemented in their respective universities. Thus why there are still a large percentage of students who are not aware of the drinking and driving programmes given that they are designed and implemented by fellow students? Potential answers to this question may include: universities using inadequate marketing strategies to implement their drinking and driving programmes. Posters and billboards around campuses to advertise these campaigns and visits to students in lecture rooms and canteens to advertise available programmes are potential solutions. Furthermore, the “bottom up” approach seemed to gain more popularity with most of the universities.

#### **6.4. The street-level bureaucrats**

Lipsky (1980:3) states that street-level bureaucrats (SLBs') are crucial in policy implementation. It is their input into the implementation of the policy/programmes that creates the foundation of the policy. Howlett & Ramesh (1995:157) further state that "studies conducted on bottom-up approaches have shown the success or failure of many programmes often depends on the involvement, commitment and skills of the actors at the bottom or street-level bureaucrats who are directly involved in implementing programmes". Thus SLBs' have an important role to play because they are the decision-makers regarding the how policies should be implemented and also on what resources are needed for implementation process.

In this particular study street-level bureaucrats comprise students running organisations like the SRC and RAG and the general student population. They are responsible for implementing the programmes and the policies by carrying out the decisions that were made by the university management.

With the "bottom-up" approach to implementation, the street-level bureaucracies are the SRC and the RAG student organisations. These SLBs' play a mediatory role between the university management and students when implementing policies. As the SLBs', these organisations use their discretion in making the decisions about the policies and the programmes being implemented. They are free to exercise their discretion on many issues because they are not under constant supervision on how they carry out decisions. Furthermore the SLBs' in this study make sure that policies are implemented whilst also making sure that both the needs of the students and the management are being acknowledged. The SLBs' are very crucial for this study because they were the drivers of these programmes hence seven out of ten universities studied used them to implement their drinking and driving programmes. They were the ones who chose the course of action for drinking and driving programmes. The SLBs' had more influence on the students because they understood them more and could predict implementing approaches that might influence them to stop their deviant behaviour.

## CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

Studies on drinking and driving behaviour still show an increase in the proportion of young people who engage in drinking and driving, despite the diversified initiatives that have been implemented in schools, hospitals and communities by various government bodies, corporate consultants and traffic safety specialists to counteract it. The concern regarding the rising number of young people who engage in drinking and driving has led to the development, implementation and evaluation of a number of programmes by the Department of Transport and educational institutions to discourage young people from drinking and driving.

The aim of this study was to identify and present the implementation approaches of the drinking and driving policies in certain South African universities, that is, the techniques or instruments used to implement such policies; the marketing strategies used to promote these drinking and driving policies and to offer suggestions for creating more effective implementation approaches for drinking and driving. All the institutions that were investigated had certain programmes and campaigns that were implemented to address the problem of students drinking and driving. However, they did not have formal, codified drinking and driving policies. This does not change the fact that students drink and drive although they know that this kind of behaviour is illegal. Not only do they endanger their lives but they also endanger the lives of those around them. The findings indicate that even with all the policies that are implemented by both the universities around South Africa and the Department of Transport, student drinking and driving is still prevalent among young people. The prevalence of this deviant behaviour among the students indicates that transport policy in South Africa still needs constant re-evaluation. There is obviously a need for more policies which will impose harsh penalties on those who deliberately disregard them. The same holds true for the university system.

The “bottom-up” approach was the most popular approach used by most of the institutions with seventy percent of the institutions using this approach and only thirty percent used a “top-down” approach. The “bottom-up” approach seen as the suitable implementation approach by these institutions because it allowed policies to be implemented by the lower-level people and it is also flexible and allows for negotiation and consensus building. The

one reason that was given by these institutions for using the “bottom-up” approach was that it allowed for the involvement of students in the planning and the decision-making process of the drinking and driving programmes. The involvement of students according to these institutions contributes to the success of these programmes because the students are better equipped to come up with solutions that will be effective in reducing the drinking and driving problem of young people. The implementers of the drinking and driving programmes for the institutions that used a ‘bottom-up’ approach was the SRC and RAG members who were the SLBs’. The involvement and the input of these SLBs’ was very crucial for these programmes to be implemented in these institutions because they were the decision-makers on how these programmes will be implemented. As Howlett & Ramesh (1995:157) states the studies on “bottom-up” approaches have shown the success or failure of many programmes often depends on the involvement, commitment and skills of the actors at the bottom or street-level bureaucrats who are directly involved in implementing programmes. The “bottom-up” approach is also perceived by some of the sociological theories used in this study as the proper approach in addressing student’ drinking and driving. For example, the anomie theory is one of the theories which share the notion of encouraging the incorporation of the young people in the decision-making process when implementing the drinking and driving programmes for students. Whether the “bottom-up” approach is effective or not is another research topic on the evaluation of these implementation approaches the point of this study is to just identify the implementation approaches used by these universities. Furthermore, the findings showed that the students were very happy about these drinking and driving programmes and perceive these policies as important in addressing student drinking and driving.

It was evident from the findings of the study that there was very low awareness of the drinking and driving programmes. Ninety percent of general students across all the universities studied were not aware of these programmes. This raised a lot of questions regarding the marketing strategies that were used by these universities in implementing these programmes. All the universities had drinking and driving programmes being implemented and they all used different marketing strategies to promote these strategies. Nonetheless, despite all these initiatives by the universities students are still drinking and driving. This all points to a need for more ways to increase awareness on campuses and also to create other marketing strategies that will increase awareness whilst also promoting the drinking and driving programmes.

The point of this study was to identify and present the strategies and the implementation approaches used to implement them. As mentioned before, students are still drinking and driving despite all these efforts by the universities. Although drinking and driving is a widespread and problematic behaviour, there is a noticeable lack of theory-driven research on this deviant behaviour. Studies that use any of the sociological theories of deviant behaviour to understand students drinking and driving are absent. Thus it is crucial for more theory-driven research to be conducted on this behaviour, with the sociological theories assisting in trying to explain the factors that contribute to drinking and driving. Potentially, too, these theories have suggestions on what preventative measures can be used to address drinking and driving.

Some suggestions for better implementation approaches were made by some of the students during the interviews. They included; "having courses to educate first year students about drinking and driving" (Student of UCT: Interview conducted on 16 May 2005), "making strict rules for having alcohol on campus", "using shock therapy (visuals)" (students of UWC: Interview conducted on 18 May 2005). Given the fact that drinking and driving is illegal in South Africa there should be more severe penalties for people who break the law. The universities and the DoT need to work together in the development and implementation of drinking and driving strategies/ programmes. For example the Department of Transport can run programmes which display the consequences of using alcohol and drugs, by showing footage of road accidents that are the result of substance abuse and through these programmes try and encourage the young people to be responsible. These can be done in universities where officials from the Department of Transport can run campaigns on campuses in conjunction with student organisations to warn against the dangers of drinking and driving. For example, student organisations will drive the campaigns while in consultation with the Department of Transport officials as they might be able to persuade their peers to be responsible by being role models to them. There should be more programmes targeting schools, communities and universities where most of these young people are found.

Furthermore, use of alcoholic beverages should not be promoted in any way among young people. The DoT together with the universities can try and regulate the availability of alcohol to students by implementing a coherent and enforceable policy regarding liquor outlets, with: effective restrictions or controls on access (restriction on sale of alcohol to

minors, restrictions on outlet locations, especially at/near educational institutions). DoT should also employ appropriate policies such as restrictions on the content and placement of alcohol advertising and marketing materials. Universities should also play an active role in creating a safer environment for students and also by reducing availability of alcohol on campuses. Although universities are not expected to control student conduct, they must take reasonable measures to protect students while in the university environment. In sum, although many universities have made stricter policies in recent years, many students are still drinking a great deal. The findings of this study argue for universities and the DoT to develop intensive and sustained strategies aimed at preventing drinking and driving among students. The universities should evaluate these strategies by conducting research on campuses on what can be done by the universities to improve these strategies. For example, they can create more programmes (such as leadership campaigns) which are facilitated and managed by students and have campaigns on campus where students are encouraged to participate, putting an emphasis on the benefits they can get by getting involved in youth activities. On the other hand maybe this strategy of incorporating youth in decision making of youth activities and those of the community has limited success because students sometimes have a tendency to not take their peers seriously. Maybe the universities should combine both young and older leaders who may have influence on the students to create programmes for the students which will empower them to take a stand against deviant behaviour and choose to live a safer life.

Promotion of alcoholic beverages to young people is inappropriate and dangerous to health. The Department of Health should be encouraged to visit schools and universities to have talks about the dangers the substances cause to the bodies of young people. It is also important to have these programmes not only in educational facilities but in the community as well, which is why it is important to have proper facilities and resources for the youth where they can come together outside of an educational environment.

Although a great deal is known about the prevalence and consequences of students drinking and driving, relatively little is known about the factors that contribute to this behaviour. Future investigation should focus on evaluation of the drinking and driving strategies and the approaches used to implement them so that new, improved and appropriate strategies can be implemented and furthermore theory driven research on this deviant behaviour and the factors contributing to it should be considered for future investigations. The way

forward is potentially to devise more intensive and sustained strategies, supported by sociological theories. Student drinking and driving is a national issue which ultimately requires the parents, communities and provincial and national government departments to work together to develop solutions.

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## **Appendix 1**

### **Interview Questionnaire**

#### **Section A**

##### **Dean of students (or relevant member of university executive), RAG & SRC members questions**

1. Do you have any drinking and driving policies, strategies, approaches or programmes on your campus?
2. If yes, what are they?
3. If no, why not?
4. Do you think it is important for universities to have such a policy?
5. If yes, why?
6. If no, why not?
7. Describe how these policies are implemented/ How did you implement such policies?
8. What kind of techniques or approaches did you use to implement such a policy (ies)? Did you use a top down approach or a bottom up approach?
9. Do you feel your drinking and driving policy is successful?

10. Do you think students are aware of the policy and related strategies?
11. What marketing strategies did you use for these policies?
12. How involved are students in the implementation of such policies and their related strategies/ programmes?
13. Do you think their involvement contributes to the success/ failure of the strategy and if so why?

## **Section B**

### **Students Questions**

1. Do you know of any drinking and driving policies, programmes or strategies on your campus?
2. How did you find out about it?
3. Do you think it is important to have such programmes in universities?  
Why?
4. Do you think students should be involved in implementing such programmes?
5. If yes, why? If no, why not?
6. Do you make use of these programmes?
7. If yes, why? If no, why not?
8. How do these programmes/strategies work? Describe them?
9. What other techniques or approaches can be used to implement such policies in order for students to use them?

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME**