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TANGAZA COLLEGE

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Catholic University
of Eastern Africa

***Alcohol Related Problems in Slum
Areas:***

A Case Study of Nairobi



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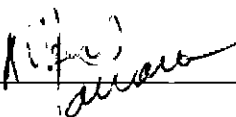
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Student's Declaration

I hereby declare that the material used herein has not been submitted for academic credit to any other institutions.

All the information obtained from oral or written sources have been duly acknowledged.

Signature  Date: _____

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.

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General Introduction

Alcohol has been present in Africa for long time, being part and parcel of its social organisation at all levels. It indeed played an important socio-religious role in aspects as significant as recreation and celebrations. Alcohol abuse also existed but it was submitted to strong social control and therefore it was not an explicit problem as such. Colonization brought about remarkable changes, for instance, urbanisation and the introduction of the wage system. As a result, drinking patterns were absolutely distorted after the breaking down of the tight social structure characteristic of the African society. Strong beverages were also introduced and their consumption became a symbol of emancipation from the cultural ties and a step into the 'new society'. The production of alcohol beverages became thus a prominent economic activity, both in the formal sector but especially in the informal one.

Rural-urban migration during the last three decades has overwhelmed the infrastructure of urban centres, contributing to the mushrooming of shanty towns around the cities. Survival in slums is a question of personal initiative and engagement in any type of economic activity, mostly informal but also criminal ones. There has been an increase in illicit production of alcoholic beverages as a means of livelihood for many and in particular for women. In addition, this has been a contributing factor to the achievement of a relative independence of women from the economic point of view. Related to this is the adulteration of alcoholic beverages that are an immediate health hazard.

Unfortunately, alcohol abuse is on the rise, striking above all the poor at personal, family and social levels. It is a fact that there is a kind of culture of desperation in the slums. The intake of alcohol acts as a painkiller of the hopeless reality, indeed, the opiate of the poor, to use Karl Marx' slogan.

The following study analyses the issue of alcohol-related problems in slum areas of Nairobi. The research was carried out in Kawangware and Kianda (Kibera) slums. The

first chapter gives the background of the study and the framework of the dimensions of the issue at stake.

The second chapter presents the different social theories on alcohol abuse in Africa. It also emphasizes how alcohol manufacture and abuse is a factor of poverty and of the devaluation of an integrative worldview. It concludes with a section that focuses on the pastoral approach to the problem.

The following chapter gives the methodology that was used in the research, that is, which methods were used to collect the data and how it was analysed. Basically, two types of questionnaires were used: one for those who abuse alcohol and the other for those who manufacture or trade illegal brew.

The fourth chapter analyses the data according to the two types of questionnaires. It presents the findings of the research in a critical manner and integrates the facts with the literature review.

Recommendations and conclusions follow in Chapter Five. It also presents an analytic framework that endeavours to give a cohesive picture of the problem from where recommendations flow.

Finally, Chapter Six is a project proposal as a concrete implementation of the recommendations outlined in the previous chapter. The project consists of a centre for the promotion of recreational facilities, cultural values and employment in Kawangware slum.

Chapter One

Background of the Study

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Illicit brewing and trade of illicit alcoholic beverages in Nairobi became an issue of concern with the rise of urbanisation and the establishment of the wage system. In the 1970s, a strong flow of rural-urban migration brought about the creation of numberless shanty towns in the outskirts of Nairobi. Today, it is estimated that sixty per cent of the population of the city live in slum areas. Ironically, slums occupy an area below 5% of the total available land in the city.¹ The alarmingly fast growth of population in the slums - 10% per year - overstrains existing feeble infrastructures, paralysing efforts to provide for the essential living conditions of the people.

Consequently, the level of anxiety is high as people's uncertainty over their immediate future intensifies. This anxiety is essentially related to the economic dimension or, in other words, to their ability to satisfy life-sustenance needs. Confronted with uncertain and painful realities lures some towards options that appear to offer easy, and instant relief of whatever kind. Purposeful intake of alcohol to get drunk is such remedy perceived by many as a ready answer to their problems. Alcohol has narcotic properties that reduce physical strain, pain and anxiety. It is estimated that there are 2 million alcoholics in Kenya.² Besides this, people cannot afford the price of the commercialised alcohols, and therefore they go for home-brew. Often it is intoxicated with different chemicals in order to reduce the cost of its production.

More and more people find a way to alleviate their economic burdens by engaging in illicit trading and manufacture of alcoholic beverages. This type of activity, although

¹ James Karuga G., ed. *Action Towards a Better Nairobi: Report and Recommendations of the Nairobi City Convention* (Nairobi: GOK, 1993), p. 33.

² Daniel Kenney, S.J. *Archangel Raphael: Information & Rehabilitation Centre with Community Outreach for Alcoholics & other Drug Addicts*, Project Proposal (Nairobi: GOK, 1999), p. 5.

illegal, is viewed to provide a better income than other income generating activities. On the one hand, it requires very little initial capital. On the other hand, the risk of being illicit can be counteracted by colluding with the police who may be bribed on regular basis to avoid apprehension.

Both alcohol abuse and illicit brewing create a destructive cycle with negative effects at all levels of the socio-economic life of the community. Such effects relate to health, violence, financial problems, family life, HIV/AIDS and problems with the law.

What generates research interest here is that the majority of the consumers and manufacturers of illicit brew are aware of the associated individual and social risks. In spite of this knowledge, they continue to involve themselves in consuming and manufacturing the brew. This raises questions that constitute our research problem.

1.2 Research Questions

There are two sets of questions, one directed to those who are habitual drinkers and the other to those who manufacture alcoholic beverages.

The questionnaire for habitual drinkers covers the following areas:

- Type of beverage consumed
- Reasons for drinking
- Effects on the person, the family and the community
- Impact of drinking on the economy of the household
- Possibility of rehabilitation

The questionnaire for manufacturers of alcoholic beverages relates to the following fields:

- Type of beverage manufactured
- Economic impact of the home-brew or trading on the household
- Level of awareness of the danger of the drinking of the brew

- Who the customers are
- Hindrances due to the illegality of the enterprise
- Possible alternatives to this activity

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- To determine the causes for alcohol abuse among the poor.
- To evaluate the place of illicit brewing as an economic activity.
- To demonstrate how the presence of alcohol in a given community fosters its uncontrolled consumption and vice versa.
- To assess the impact of excessive alcohol intake on the family and the youth.
- To put up a project that aims at minimizing the negative effects of alcohol abuse and to find feasible alternative income-generating activities for the illicit brewers.

1.4 Basic Assumptions of the Study

The research is based on the assumption that alcohol abuse is an obstacle to the development of the community. Consequently, it compounds and cripples an already impoverished society in its efforts to satisfy the needs of the population. The uncontrolled consumption of alcoholic beverages is not just a health hazard for the individual and the society. It also is, for the manufactures of those beverages, a lucrative economic activity which many people thrive on. Thus, increased production hence availability of alcohol readily leads also to an increase in its consumption. There emerges a well established link having a double implication. First, alcohol abuse fosters the demand of alcohol production. Second, in response to this demand, the illicit manufacture of the brew becomes a rampant economic activity that avails more alcohol.

Alcohol intake has a crucial social function that warrants examination. The poor go for alcohol in search of cheap and temporal bliss as an escape from their misery. But it is possible to create alternatives that meaningfully and realistically answer to the needs of the poor and are not as harmful as alcohol intake.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The aim of the study is to analyse the link between poverty and alcohol abuse in order to create awareness on how this compromises the development of the local community. People often take for granted the reality that surround them and accept with resignation. Alcohol-related problems are being understood as part of the life in the slum, but it is possible to make a change from the bottom of the social ladder. Alcohol abuse is dangerous and people have to be told that. But knowledge alone is inadequate. Accordingly, illicit brewing – an economic activity that sustains many – has to be analysed and its roots understood. The enforcement of the current policies has proved ineffective and a source of frustration for both law / policy enforcers and those engaged in the brewing. The study looks for alternative income generating activities for those who survive on the brewing.

Finally, the brewing of or trading in illicit beverages has already taken many lives because of its adulteration. The community has to be empowered to take a stand on the issue in a holistic way.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Social Theories on Alcohol

2.1.1 Brief history of alcoholism

Most probably, alcoholic beverages were discovered accidentally in pre-agricultural societies through fermentation processes involving diverse mixtures containing sugar if exposed to warmth. People must have then liked its effects. As a result, with the agricultural revolution, and probably following series of simple experimentations, the purposeful cultivation of vines might have been done to produce alcoholic beverages. Due to the effects of alcohol on the nervous system, people attributed them to supernatural powers. Thus, soon alcoholic beverages took a paramount role in social and religious functions. There are also early records of drunkenness.³ Art and literature of Ancient Greece is a clear example of how wine had a central role in the culture. The Bible offers a well detailed source of information in the understanding of how alcohol was well integrated in the socio-religious celebrations. At the same time, drunkenness was strongly discouraged and socially disapproved.⁴

The concept of addiction to alcohol was probably first pointed out in the first century by a Roman philosopher, Seneca. Drunkenness is morally wrong while addiction is a form of disease.⁵ By this same period, distillations from grape wine may have started, increasing the alcoholic content of the beverages. As a result, some societies possibly

³ M. Ke, "Alcohol and Drug Consumption" in Robert McHenry, et al. eds. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1993), p. 199.

⁴ M. Ke. op. cit. p. 200.

⁵ Union of International Associations, *Encyclopaedia of World Problems and Human Potential*, Vol. 1, 4th ed. (München: Union of Inter. Ass., 1994), p. 106.

answered to alcohol abuse and its embedded problematic by banning such beverages on religious grounds.⁶

In the 17th century, the American Benjamin Rush introduced the concept of alcoholism as a disease. In 1849 Magnus Hues - a Swedish physician - developed the idea of addiction to a substance and applied this concept to alcoholism. Therefore, the term alcoholism became a medical term meaning habitual alcoholic intoxication.⁷

During the 20th century, there have been antagonistic interpretations of the concept of alcoholism as a disease from both moralistic and medical perspectives. In 1935 Dr. Jellinek conducted a thorough research on alcoholism. This was a turning point in the fight against alcoholism. His main theses are still valid today.⁸

Alcoholic Anonymous⁹ (AA) was founded in 1935. Its main philosophy is to arrest the disease through behaviour change. In 1948, the first World Health Assembly took place and a committee was set up with the aim of researching the nature and extent of alcoholism. The approach of the World Health Organisation (WHO) was strictly medical, defining alcoholism in terms of the health of the alcoholic.¹⁰ In 1979, WHO research showed that alcoholism and other problems related to alcohol abuses ranked very high among the world's public health concerns. These problems are particularly acute in less developed countries where alcohol-related problems overwhelmed the

⁶ The Koran condemns the consumption of wine. Later, with the Reformation, some Christian churches adopted this prohibition on alcohol. Cf. M. Ke, op. cit, p. 200.

⁷ Kenney, op. cit, p. 3.

⁸ Jellinek's main theses are: The main aspect of alcoholism is the impaired ability of the persons to control their drinking. There is a pattern of personality disintegration which can be described. Alcoholism is related to physical, mental, emotional and spiritual factors. The influence of genetic factors is unknown. And finally, the disease is transferred through behaviour patterns so that the "cure" involves behaviour change. Cf. Ibid.

⁹ *Alcoholic Anonymous (AA)*: is a patient-centred self-help fellowship of men and women who share their experiences, strengths and hope with each other. Its aim is to help the members to recover from alcoholism and to stay sober. It is organised in local groups of indeterminate size. AA seems to meet deep needs in alcoholics. It enables them to find other people who are suffering like them. They accept that alcoholism is a disease, their disease, and they admit that they are powerless over alcohol, so that they need help. Finally, they recognise the need to involve themselves in activities of the group to help other alcoholics. The guidelines of AA are the 12 steps, a spiritual program whose central point is the reliance on God, or superior power, in order to overcome alcoholism.

¹⁰ Tibamanya mwene Mushanga, *Crime and Deviance: an Introduction to Criminology* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1976), p. 140.

already insufficient health resources hence compounding socio-economic development.¹¹

2.1.2 Anthropological functions of Alcohol

The drinking of alcohol in early societies was related to several aspects of the life of a community: it was appreciated by its relative nutritional value in the form of calories. It also had some properties of pain killing. Its central role was in religious functions. And from the sociological viewpoint, alcohol promoted an atmosphere of communion and interaction among the members of the community.¹²

In Africa, alcohol has had a very wide gamut of functions in different aspects of life.¹³ Yet, there are a number of characteristics that clearly distinguish the way alcohol was used traditionally and in the modern society. Drinking is primarily a social activity rather than an individual preoccupation. Women and youth generally have a limited access to alcohol in social gatherings. It is also worthy mentioning that alcohol was not an economic activity. Indeed, alcohol was rarely bought or sold, except for occasions such as in bridewealth where it had a socio-economic value.

2.1.3 Theories that explain the use of alcohol in Africa

In the 1930s, the functionalist current in Anthropology intimated that the consumption of alcoholic beverages had to fulfil some function in traditional societies.¹⁴ One of the first studies on the functions of alcohol in African societies was carried out by Donald Horton.¹⁵ He argued that the degree of drunkenness in a society was closely related to the level of anxiety or fear among its members. He noted that people drunk more

¹¹ Venna Beckman, *Alcohol: Another Trap for Africa* (Stockholm: Bokforlaget Libris-Orebro, 1988), p. 149.

¹² M. Ke, op. cit, p. 200.

¹³ Mushanga quotes a number of uses: when elders meet to settle disputes, marriage, divorce, payment of cattle and bride wealth, return from hunting, birth of a son, the coming of a visitor, new harvest, entering a new house, winning or losing. Cf. Mushanga, op. cit, p. 136-7.

¹⁴ Emmanuel Akyeampong, *Drink, Power And Cultural Change: A Social History of Alcohol in Ghana, c. 1800 to Recent Times* (Oxford : Heinemann, 1996), p. 2.

¹⁵ Donald Horton, *The Functions of Alcohol in Primitive Societies: A Cross-Cultural Study*, 1943. (No other information provided) Cf. Peter B. Field, "A New Cross-Cultural Study of Drunkenness" in David J. Pittman and Charles R. Snyder (eds), *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns* (London: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962), p. 49.

heavily when they were more worried about getting enough food to eat. This tendency was aggravated when people were in contact with a civilization perceived as more powerful and which was seen to have brought great changes in their lifestyle hence deepened their anxieties.¹⁶ Anxiety can either inhibit or exhibit drunkenness. Thus, the level of drunkenness in the society is pegged on a complex interaction of anxiety reduction and anxiety induction. Alcohol is taken to reduce anxiety. Often the drinking of alcohol goes along with the release of sexual and aggressive impulses. However, this type of behaviour is usually punished by the society. Therefore, the varying degree of the punishment will affect the drinking pattern inversely, that is, people will drink less if the post-drinking experience – punishment – is negative. In short, a society that is permissive with drunken behaviour will further enhance such conduct.¹⁷

The main weak point of this theory is that it does not explain why other ways of reducing anxiety such as magic, rites, ceremonies are used. Horton ignores the cultural uses of drinking in an integrative manner. It is true that there is a link between drinking and the level of fear or anxiety in the society but it cannot be concluded that they are connected in direct proportion. Alcohol is not the only way to reduce stress.¹⁸ Boris Serebro developed Horton's theory and gave valuable contributions to the understanding of drinking patterns in urban Africa by establishing the link between alcohol consumption and the level of anxiety in response to economic insecurity.¹⁹

Horton's thesis was challenged by Peter Field, who made a comparative analysis of different cultures and drinking patterns. He arrived at the conclusion that the level of drunkenness in society is related to the rigidity of its social organisation. In this way, rigid, hierarchical and formal societies drink less than loose, informal societies. In societies that still retain a strong patriarchal tradition, where the father exercises strict control over his sons and daughters, alcoholism is unlikely to be a problem; so is the case in societies where alcohol plays an important role in the social life of the community.²⁰ Yet, Field's regard of society is static and does not consider that drinking

¹⁶ Various Authors, *Anthropology Today* (New York: CRM Books, 1971), p. 365.

¹⁷ Field, art. cit, p. 49.

¹⁸ Akyeampong, op. cit, p. 2.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Various Authors, op. cit, p. 366.

patterns are associated with social changes that every society experiences.²¹ Mandelbaum corrects Field by stating that culture is the prime mover of drinking patterns. As culture changes, so does the drinking pattern of the people. He also points out that drinking patterns are not homogeneous; different drinking habits are possible within the same society. Culture influences the psychological effects that are related to alcoholism. Therefore, the cultural perception of alcohol abuse is also an important element that determines the abuse of alcoholic substances.²²

Other theories focus on the behaviour of the individual in association with the rest of the society. McAndrew and Edgerton define drunken behaviour as a learned process that is culturally defined. Then there are some forms of behaviour that are acceptable when drunk. But there are also rigid cultural limits to drunken behaviour. Accordingly, drinking is used to release internal social tensions.²³

Lederman, a French mathematician, developed a theory in the European context after the World War II. He was trying to respond to the question of the relationship between the amount of alcohol consumed in a particular society and the incidence of alcoholism in it. He argued that life expectancy was less for men than for women due to cirrhosis of the liver, disease that is closely related to alcoholism. However, during the first and second world wars, the number of deaths due to cirrhosis dropped enormously. This was because at the time of the two wars, alcohol beverages were not available. He concluded that the total consumption of alcohol *per capita* determined the number of heavy, medium and small consumers. This theory is based on the assumption that drinking is first and foremost a social activity. Most people drink with their peers or friends. In so doing, if a person in the group increases the intake of alcohol, the rest of the group are prone to do the same. Lederman further observes that high availability of alcohol best explains increased alcohol consumption.²⁴ Consequently, prevention programmes for the reduction of alcohol-related problems are primarily concerned with the reduction of total consumption of alcohol in society.

²¹ Akyeampong, op. cit, p. 3.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Beckman, op. cit, p. 131.

Ledermann carried out his research in the European context. When his theory is applied in the African context, there are a number of characteristics that should be considered. Firstly, Africa has a large number of abstainers – people who do not drink at all – in comparison with the European society. As a result, figures of consumption per capita do not represent fully the consumption pattern of the African society.²⁵ Secondly, the amount of home-brew, although unknown, seems to be very high in Africa. Some researches indicate that in Kenya, more than 80% of the alcohol is home-brew. Finally, drinking patterns in Africa are heterogeneous due to cultural differences as well as disparities in urban and rural life styles.²⁶ Consequently, total consumption of alcohol in a given society does not really determine the extent of alcohol abuse.²⁷

Neil Kessel opts for a social and cultural theory of causation. According to him, the amount of alcohol present in society is the result of the interaction of two variables: cultural forces and the level of social organization. He states that although these two social characteristics operate on all people in a given society, not all become alcohol abusers. These are factors but not determinants of alcoholic behaviour. Kessel's opinion is that there are three push factors that act on the previous forces which can lead to alcohol abuse. These are *incitement*, *opportunity* and *example*. Incitement acts on people with both available cash and leisure. In short, people who are idle and have purchasing power are more prone to abuse alcohol. Opportunity is related to the availability of alcoholic beverages in a given context. Example is perhaps the strongest of the three.²⁸ A person who does not drink is somehow cut off from the social network of relationships. Again, this should be applied to the African context carefully, since the number of abstainers is rather high. Yet it applies in certain environments.

Some anthropological theories have been very widespread to explain why people resort to drinking or want to become drunk. The basic assumption is that behaviour depends on the culture which the person belongs to. Accordingly, people would become drunk to gain licence or excuse for trespassing the ordinary limits of behaviour in a given

²⁵ Ibid, p. 134.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Maurice Gelinus, *Alcoholism and You* (Nairobi: St. Paul Publications, 1990), p. 42.

²⁸ Neil Kessel and Henry Walton, *Alcoholism* (London: Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 71-74.

culture, but within certain limits. That means that even drunken behaviour is within a frame of conduct stipulated by the culture.²⁹

Along similar lines, Andrew and Edgerton published a thesis in 1969 on a cross-cultural study of behaviour while drunk. They conclude that drunken behaviour is not unpredictable but learnt. For instance, children see how their parents act while drunk. In this way, they know what is permitted and what is not. For that reason, the drunkard is rarely completely out of control but usually keeps his/her behaviour within certain limits of what the culture considers acceptable for a drunken person. This is why drunk people find an excuse for trespassing the ordinary limits of behaviour but never the ultimate.³⁰

2.1.4 Alcohol abuse and social change in Africa

Nigerian Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* describes the life of a man of Ibo culture. The novel demonstrates the centrality of alcohol in the life of the people, in both its manufacture and consumption. One of the main activities of the novel's main character, Okonkwo, is to prepare palm wine: "I must go home to tap my palm trees for the afternoon".³¹ The consumption of alcoholic beverages does not seem to be a problem for the life of the community. But this is not true of Achebe's *No longer at Ease*. The latter novel narrates the life of Okonkwo's grandson, who finds himself in the complicated net of changes of the modern society.³² One of the problems of this new society is alcohol abuse.

Mac Marshall made a study on the functions and characteristics of social drinking. His conclusions collate some of the findings of the theories mentioned above. He affirms that addiction to alcohol does not occur in pre-industrial or small-scale societies. Alcohol abuse was not a problem to pre-colonial Africa. Drunkenness is a shared behaviour that often occurs within the group in a particular setting. Among the Lovedu, a Bantu ethnic group, men and women gather around a large pot of beer and each one

²⁹ Beckman, op. cit, p. 21.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 22.

³¹ Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1978), p. 48.

³² Chinua Achebe, *No longer at Ease* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1982)

drinks at their leisure while conversation flows freely. All of them know the limits of their drinking and are able to maintain a proper behaviour.³³ When members of a society have had sufficient time to develop a widely shared set of beliefs and values related to drinking, the consequences of alcohol consumption are not destructive.³⁴

Traditionally, the manufacture of alcohol was done through fermentation. In this sense, alcohol content was seldom above 4 – 5 %. Distilled drinks were unknown in sub-Saharan Africa before the 15th Century when the Atlantic Trade was developed. But it was in the 20th Century when distilleries were established in Africa and the beverages were commercialised. At the same time, informal distillation became a rampant economic activity due to a number of factors.³⁵

The entrance of distilled beverages in African cultures provoked a shift in the traditional use of alcohol with destructive effects.³⁶ The pattern of production and consumption in the traditional society had several characteristics which made it incompatible with distilled beverages. For instance, families produced their own wine. Some of it was used for small-scale local trade. These beverages were highly perishable, that is, none of these drinks could be stored for a long time or transported for long distances. The fact that alcoholic drinks could not be stored enhanced a particular style of drinking typical of rural agricultural societies: neighbours and friends would gather to consume the whole production of alcohol. Colonialism changed this pattern sharply: the introduction of wages gave young men the opportunity of purchasing drinks and beer production and commercialisation made it easily available at any time.

In the second half of the 19th Century, the exportation of distilled drinks was common in Africa. Contrary to the fermented African drinks, spirits could be stored for long periods, fostering its trade and commercialisation. Furthermore, rapid urbanisation in

³³ A clear example that drunkenness can only happen within a particular context is the use of alcohol in religious celebrations. It is unthinkable that someone got drunk in a liturgical act because it is completely out of expected behaviour.

³⁴ Beckman, op. cit, p. 24.

³⁵ Charles Ambler, "Alcohol" in John Middleton, ed. *Encyclopedia of Africa: South of the Sahara* (New York: McMillan, 1997), pp. 27-29.

³⁶ The European colonizers were soon known for their ability to produce strong alcoholic beverages. This was not a virtue: "We have heard stories about White men who make the powerful guns and the strong drinks and took slaves away across the seas..." Cf. Chinua Achebe, 1978, op. cit, p. 72.

Africa, due to rural-urban migration brought disorganisation and social change. Social control in towns is far less than it is in villages. Excessive drinking is not controlled by a cultural system. African societies have not had enough time to develop a set of values concerning the changes brought about by the new alcoholic beverage, its trade and in general, a new lifestyle. A historical analysis on the introduction of European alcohol in the West African coast reads in part:

European liquor represented one of the goods that young male migrants in coastal towns could usurp easily to express their new autonomy. The proliferation of drinking clubs among young men in coastal towns and their excessive abuse of alcohol would encourage a new form of temperance.³⁷

Most people in the working class were men, thus the unequal sex ratio gave women new opportunities to make money quickly. As a result many engaged in activities such as retailing alcoholic drinks or prostitution.³⁸

Beer drinking patterns in Kenya's North Nyanza District during the colonial time were intimately connected to basic aspects of social organisation. In the 1950s population growth made many people flee to urban centres in search of job opportunities. This resulted in an over-dependence on the wage system. While the elders used to sit around the pot of beer which was the centre of their social life, young people of the working class gather to drink Western beverages or illegally distilled liquor. Both are sign of a false concept of development.³⁹ A bar culture was gradually introduced undermining the real essence of the traditional gathering around the pot of beer.⁴⁰

The following is an apt example of the shift from the traditional use of alcohol to the present one. The Baganda of Uganda used to prepare *mwenge*, banana beer. It served to enhance social cohesion and harmony. *Mwenge* was very well integrated. Certainly its production, distribution and consumption were not a problem. A few decades ago, distillation from *mwenge* started and was called *nguli*. It is drunk in the absence of the

³⁷ Akyeampong, op. cit, 47.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 48.

³⁹ Water H. Sangree, "The Social Functions of Beer Drinking in Bantu Tiriki" in Pittman, op. cit, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Beckman, op. cit, p. 98.

social protocol which accompanied *mwenge*. Its use seems to respond more to psychological problems than to foster social cohesion. The result is drunkenness and social disorder.⁴¹

According to Bacon, alcohol abuse is a by-product of the process of specialization in complex societies. In such societies, people mix according to common interests, creating status and becoming more ignorant about other social groups. In complex societies, the use of money and its possession is very important and a factor of social integration. This leads inevitably to some sort of individualism because of the very nature of its social structure.⁴² Social complexity produces tension and anxiety on people. Thus there is a demand for personal effort to attain integration. Alcohol acts as a depressant drug that lessens tensions. Therefore, alcohol allows relaxation and helps in this process.⁴³ Complex societies have less control on behaviour than more simple societies. As a result, the limits of drunken behaviour are expanded beyond limits. The uncontrolled use of alcohol brings in new forces and motivation for its production and distribution, further increasing the problem by boosting availability.

With the arrival of the Europeans, the patterns of production and consumption of alcohol were drastically changed. Spirits -- a generic term for alcoholic beverages of high alcohol content -- were also introduced. These two factors, among others, became a source of social disorganisation instead of being as before, a factor of social cohesion.⁴⁴

On one hand, alcohol industry constitutes enormous revenue to the government in form of taxes.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the cost produced by alcohol excesses is unbelievable. It is not possible to measure the cost of health, traffic accidents, violence, family breakdown and destroyed lives. Surely, this is much more than the government revenue earned from its production! Some governments argue that heavy taxation on alcohol

⁴¹ Ibid, op. cit, pp. 21-23.

⁴² Selden D. Bacon, "Alcohol and Complex Society" in Pittman, op. cit, p. 80.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 88.

⁴⁴ Beckman, op. cit, p. 72.

⁴⁵ In Kenya, the tax income for the Government from beer and spirits was 10% of the total budget for the years 1984-1985. Industry of alcohol is indeed an important economic factor: the beer production in Kenya in 1960 was 0.4 millions of hectolitres. In 1979 it was 2.1. Cf. Moras Grant, ed. *Alcohol Policies*, WHO Regional Publications, European Series No. 18 (London: WHO, 1985), p. 31.

beverages generates revenue that counteracts its negative effects in economic terms and that heavy taxation discourages alcohol abuse. Both arguments are false. Heavy taxation fosters illicit production and it is a heavy burden on alcoholics which often leads them to look for alternative illicit brews that are easily affordable.⁴⁶ Indeed, the burden is simply shifted to the family which suffer, for instance, negligence or denial of major needs.

So we can conclude that the consumption of alcohol has become a problem in Africa. And the problem is on the rise as more people engage in illicit distillery. Alcoholism is thus a recent problem in Africa whose origin can be traced to the social changes that colonialism brought about.⁴⁷

2.2 Poverty: Major Cause of Alcohol Abuse and Manufacture

2.2.1 Alcohol abuse among the poor

Although alcoholism strikes the rich and poor alike, alcohol and drug abuse in general, is more severe in environments of sociological hopelessness.⁴⁸ The slum is one of such environments where the span of human opportunities is so narrow that it is difficult to find a sound way of fulfilling personal needs. Alcohol makes the person feel good for a while · it is apparently an island of tranquillity in the ocean of desperation.

A study on the drinking patterns of different social classes in South Africa during the time of Apartheid shows that alcohol abuse occurs in an extremely high proportion among the Black population of the slums compared with the White population.⁴⁹ However, it is interesting to note that abstinence is very high among Blacks compared

⁴⁶ Beckman, op. cit, p. 155.

⁴⁷ Some historical reflections blame Europeans for today's alcoholism in Africa. There is no doubt that alcoholism came about with strong external influences linked to colonisation but alcoholism is not just a sociological phenomenon. With colonialism, Africa was more exposed to strong alcoholic beverages. But the decision to take them involves personal and cultural choices.

⁴⁸ M. Scott Peck, *Further Along the Road Less Travelled: The Unending Journey Towards Spiritual Growth* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1993), p. 136.

⁴⁹ Alcohol abusers are 3.5% of White males and 0.9% White females. On the contrary, 32.9% of Black males and 15.7% Black females. What shows that the oppressed and poor Black population drank more than the rich White people. Cf. Beckman, op. cit, p. 71.

with the White population.⁵⁰ That means that the drinking pattern of the Black population – the poor – is polarized in two extremes: either one drinks or does not drink at all. There is no moderate drinking.

Similar conclusions were found in a research on illicit brewing in Nairobi's Mathare Valley in the 1970s.⁵¹ According to the research, figures for those who habitually abuse alcohol and those who are abstainers are very high.⁵² In her findings, it is also pointed out that people in the slum develop their drinking habits fairly late in life. The more one is exposed to the slum environment, the more one develops a history of alcohol abuse.

Alcohol abuse among the poor has devastating effects on the personal and social life of the alcoholic.⁵³ Generally speaking, the economic condition of the individual does not determine the amount of alcohol he/she intakes but it determines the quality and the quantity. Thus, the poor would generally go for illicit brew, as it is much cheaper and much stronger in terms of alcohol content. In this way the poor can get the same alcoholic effects with less money.⁵⁴

2.2.2 *The problem of illicit brewing*

One of the main characteristics of squatter settlements is that they accommodate large number of informal activities, most of which are carried out by women:

Some illegal activities, such as extremely unhygienic production of stronger beverages, can be pursued more easily down these winding paths that in a government housing estate...⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Abstainers are 45.7% among the Black male population and 78.5% among the females. In contrast with only 4.9% of White males and 17.5% of white females. Cf. Ibid, p. 72.

⁵¹ Research by Mary Wanjiru. University of Nairobi. Cf. Ibid, p. 95.

⁵² Male drinkers are 47% and female drinkers are 24% in contrast with male abstainers, 26%, and female abstainers, 54%. Cf. Ibid, p. 95.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 101.

⁵⁴ The following example is significant: One bottle of beer (50 cl) costs Ksh 55. Taken that a person takes four of them to get drunk, he/she spends Ksh 220. A poor would probably go for *chang'aa* which costs Ksh 20 a glass (5 cl). If he/she takes to glasses he/she spends Ksh 40. Considering that the alcoholic effects of 4 bottles of beer are similar to those of 2 glasses of *chang'aa*, it is clear that one can get drunk for only Ksh 40.

⁵⁵ Anthony O'Connor, *The African City* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1983), p. 188.

After independence, some of the slums of Nairobi were well known for their illicit liquor industry. That was a very profitable business although it involved several risks.⁵⁶

One of the saddest faces of alcohol struggles in Kenya is the adulteration of alcohol beverages. The substances used for adulteration are raw alcohols, solvents, cleaning products or methanol. These substances add strength to the intoxicating fluid and accelerate the process time of manufacturing. The ingestion of such liquids produces severe damage in the internal organs or even death.⁵⁷

The main problem with illicit brew is that it never undergoes any quality control to ensure that all its components are fit for human consumption; the hygienic conditions in which they are manufactured are highly suspect. Adulteration of commercial alcohol is a problem related to alcoholism among the poor.⁵⁸ Often, brewers add industrial alcohols - such as those used to manufacture solvents, cleaning products or other raw alcohols - in order to increase the alcoholic content of the mash or because they were unable to acquire ethyl, the only type of alcohol that is fit for human consumption. The intake of these products can cause severe damages in internal organs and even death.

Between the 15th and 19th January 2001, 137 people died and more than 400 were admitted to hospital due to the consumption of an alcoholic beverage in Nairobi.⁵⁹ The brew, known as *kumi-kumi*, Kiswahili for ten-ten, implying the cheap cost of purchasing the brew Kshs. 10 per glass, was made of methanol and industrial alcohol totally unfit for human consumption. It is believed that the concoction was manufactured in a factory in Kariobangi that deals with chemicals and was distributed to several squatter areas in Nairobi.⁶⁰ This tragedy is not new in Kenya. In 1996, 24 people died as a result of drinking a brew; in August 1998 nearly 100 people died in Nakuru District

⁵⁶ Hake Andrew, *African Metropolis: Nairobi's Self-Help City* (Toronto: Sunsey University Press, 1977), p. 108.

⁵⁷ A striking headline on the front-page in the *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), September 21, 1999, reads: "11 Killed by Illicit Drink". The piece of news explains that the deceased drank a brew made of a concoction of methanol, sugar and water in a bar in Embu. The methanol used seemed to be a substance used as mortuary preservative. Some of the dead die immediately after taking the poisoning beverage. A similar piece of news is found in *Daily Nation*, March 24, 2000. Ten people died as a result of drinking an adulterated beverage.

⁵⁸ Union of International Associations, op. cit, p. 474.

⁵⁹ Nation Team, "Protest grow over brew toll", *Daily Nation*, November 20th 2000, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Nation Team, "43 dead after drinking brew", *Daily Nation*, November 16th 2000, p. 1.

after drinking some brew.⁶¹ It is a well-known fact that police collude with the brewers through a system of bribes. Police operate protection rings that ensure dealers in illicit brews are not arrested,⁶² although occasionally they end up in prison.

In Korogocho slums (North-East Nairobi) the two main illicit drinks that are manufactured are *chang'aa* and *JET 5*. *Chang'aa* is made from distillation of a mash which consists of maize flour, water and sugar. It can also be made with *wimbi*, millet. *Chang'aa* has a high alcohol content, above 50%, but it is often adulterated in order to further increase its strength. The adulterating substance is often highly poisonous.⁶³ The other drink commonly found in Korogocho is JET 5. Strictly speaking, it is not an alcoholic drink as such since it does not contain ethanol. It is a mixture of methanol – a type of alcohol that is not suitable for human consumption – and water in a proportion that varies with the manufacturer. Due to its chemical properties, JET 5 is highly poisonous. It has indeed killed many people. The intake of this fluid is becoming an issue of concern in Korogocho.

It cannot be denied that home-brew has made women gain economic independence, being in a more close relationship with the immediate needs of the household. Home-brew provides fast and regular income to the family. But on the contrary, this income generating activity has deprived man from his responsibility towards the household income. Thus, many men – being unemployed - have resorted to drinking the brew their own wives make.⁶⁴

2.2.3 Availability of alcohol

Whether or not the availability of alcohol fosters alcohol abuse remains an inexhaustible debate. Yet most researches on this field conclude that restriction of availability is effective in decreasing alcohol-related problems.⁶⁵ The WHO declares that:

⁶¹ Nation Team, "Brew tall at 75 as police act", *Daily Nation*, November 17th 2000, p. 1.

⁶² Nation Team, "43 die in slums after drinking bootleg liquor", *Daily Nation*, November 16th 2000, p. 5.

⁶³ It is believed that the brewers add the acid of old car's batteries: Sulphuric Acid (H₂SO₄)

⁶⁴ Beckman, op. cit, p. 39.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 98.

The pharmacological properties of alcohol do play a significant role in the cause of alcoholism, though other factors must be present.⁶⁶

Although a close link between alcohol and alcoholism cannot be established,⁶⁷ it is true that the chemical characteristics of alcohol make it a potential addictive substance.⁶⁸

In this regard, the media is playing an important role in the promotion of alcoholic beverages. Advertisements induce consumption patterns that lead to the desire of attaining development according to the Western standards. Nowadays, segment advertising campaigns have been targeted to pull in new consumer's groups such as females and adolescents.⁶⁹

2.2.4 Alcohol abuse and its social effects

The scope of negative social effects that spring from a disintegrated consumption of alcohol is broad. The presence of an alcoholic in the family affects negatively all members. Alcohol abuse is the first cause of domestic violence.⁷⁰ Alcohol also plays a big role in preventing family planning, which is supposed to be a common decision between husband and wife, involving a certain discipline and respect for each other. But the person, under the effects of alcohol may find difficult to control sexual drives.⁷¹ For this very reason, alcohol abuse is a key factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Alcohol clouds the mind, impairing judgement. Alcohol abusers do not respect their or other people's boundaries. They involve themselves in irresponsible sexual behaviour.⁷²

⁶⁶ H. Clinebell, "Alcohol Abuse, Addiction, and Therapy" in Rodney J. Hunter, et. al. eds. *Dictionary of Pastoral Care and Counseling* (Nashville: Abingdom Press, 1990), p. 18.

⁶⁷ Gelinis, op. cit, p. 42.

⁶⁸ Clinebell, art. cit, p. 18.

⁶⁹ Beckman, op. cit, p. 124.

⁷⁰ "Wife beating is often associated with drunkenness of husbands. The immediate justification used by men were usually the wife's failure to perform a domestic chore to his satisfaction, adultery accusations, associating with unapproved female friends or simple annoyance". Cf. Claire C. Robertson. *Trouble Showed the Way: Women, Men and Trade in the Nairobi Area, 1890-1990* (Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 1997), p. 222.

⁷¹ Beckman, op. cit, p. 91.

⁷² Kenney, op. cit, p. 1.

Alcohol strikes women in a different way compared to men. For a woman to go to a bar with a man is a taboo as she might be considered a prostitute.⁷³ Furthermore, the consequences for the home are devastating. Malnutrition among children and adolescents, sons and daughters of alcoholic mothers, is common. The poor condition of the children produces feelings of guilt and hopelessness in the mother. This may induce her to drink ever more alcohol to alleviate that pain. In general, we can argue that women drink much less than men. But things are changing and the traditional social control on women is decreasing.⁷⁴

Beyond the family boundaries, alcohol has a great impact on the development of a community. Alcoholics often became violent. As a result, crime increases. It is believed that alcohol has a great role in crime.⁷⁵ From the economic viewpoint, the individual becomes unproductive to the community. Abuse of alcohol leads to abuse of funds. Considering the poverty of the dwellers of the slums, alcohol only contributes to more misery. Finally, looking at the whole society, the cost of the disease of alcoholism in terms of health care, social service, security, poverty alleviation, crime prevention, business failures plus individual and family rehabilitation are beyond reckoning.⁷⁶

2.2.5 Alcohol and the law

Laws have often failed to control alcohol abuse. There are three main types of legal control: total prohibition, a licensing system and taxation. The first one has been proved absolutely inefficient. Usually most governments have adopted taxation with the intention of increasing their own revenue. It is clear that with strong economic interests, it is difficult to make appropriate laws which really seek citizens' welfare.⁷⁷ The most efficient control seems to be a proper licensing system that regulates types of alcohol, hours of selling and amount. The main assumption behind this policy is that reducing availability of alcohol will eventually reduce alcohol-related problems. The Kenyan

⁷³ Gelinis, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁷⁴ Beckman, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁷⁵ In more than 50% of homicides, alcohol is present either in the offender or in the victim. Cf. Mushanga, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁷⁶ Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁷⁷ M. Ke, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

law provides the frame for licensing system, although the government generates an enormous revenue through taxation.

The two main chapters on the Laws of Kenya concerned with alcohol trade and consumption are The Liquor Licensing Act (Chapter 121) made in 1972 and revised in 1986 and The Traditional Liquor Act (Chapter 122) made in 1991 and revised in 1998. The main characteristic of The Liquor Licensing Act is that liquor can only be sold in licensed premises. A licensing court considers and determines the applications and cancellation of licenses (Act no. 4.1). The cost of a licence in Nairobi that enables one to trade liquor is Ksh 6,000 per year.

On the other side, the purpose of The Traditional Liquor Act is to control the manufacture and sale of spirits of traditional types. Traditional liquor is understood as:

Any intoxicating liquor manufactured by traditional African methods, other than distillation, which is offered, or intended to be offered, for sale in a state of continuing fermentation without further processing (no. 2).

In summary, alcoholic drinks can only be sold in licensed premises whose quality have to be determined by a licensing court. The license has to ensure that there are no drunk people in the premises and that order is kept. In addition, those manufacturing alcoholic beverages need a license which specify the type and amount of drink to be produced.

The two mentioned acts also give the police certain powers. But as it was already mentioned above, they often misused their authority for their own interest. The media report frequent swoops on the city slums whose interests are doubtful.⁷⁸ Slum dwellers

⁷⁸ According to The Liquor Licensing Act: Police (not below the rank of Assistant Inspector) without written authority, can enter and inspect any licensed premises to assert whether the licensee is a drunkard or keeps the house in disorder (38.1-2). A police officer with a written authority by a magistrate can also enter anywhere in search of any unlicensed premises where liquor can be kept for sale. Police have the authority of removing the liquor. In case there is no time to get written authority, the police can enter anyway (40.1). Finally, a person who is drunk in a public place may be arrested without warrant. And police are liable to a fine not exceeding Ksh 500, imprisonment not exceeding 3 months or both (42.1-2) And according to the Traditional Liquor Act: Police can at any time enter and inspect the premises to assert whether the liquor is being sold outside the permitted hours or any other offence against this act (18.2). If police have reasonable grounds to believe that liquor is being manufactured, they can enter the premises and take into custody the occupier of the premises and take possession of anything concerned with the manufacture of traditional liquor (30.1-2)

often complain of being harassed by police under the suspicion of trading or manufacturing brew.

Most of these laws are in fact, inapplicable in the slums of Nairobi. This legislation has become a profit-making tool for chiefs and police. In conclusion, the Kenyan legislation on alcohol is so far from reality that it becomes irrelevant in its real purpose: the reduction of alcohol-related problems and the removal of harmful home-brew.

On December 1978, President Moi removed licenses of *busaa*-clubs in Kakamega. Many clubs were closed as a result of the enforcement of this restrictive alcohol policy. However the consequence was disastrous: *busaa* consumption dropped but *chang'aa* consumption increased alarmingly, creating a further problem once *chang'aa* brewing is illicit.⁷⁹

In Kenya, the question whether traditional liquors should be allowed or not has been there for long. Some people advocate for its legality so that its quality can be monitored in order to avoid tragedies such as those related to the *Kumi-Kumi*. Other people are of the view that allowing the brewing of traditional liquors will increase availability which is directly connected to increase of alcohol-related problems.⁸⁰

2.3 Pastoral Approach

2.3.1 The Bible

The world of the Bible makes abundant use of alcoholic beverages both in terms of production and consumption. Wine was the most common drink and a familiar aspect of everyday life. Most of the references to wine are positive. Wine accomplished

⁷⁹ Beckman, op. cit, p. 85.

⁸⁰ An opinion on a local newspaper reads the following: "...traditional brews were banned in the 1970s. Before then, there were few reports of death from drinking these brews. Allow brewing and consumption of traditional liquors like muratina and busaa and monitor the quality of its manufacture." Cf. Nation Team, "Move urgently on these killer brews", *Daily Nation*, November 16th 2000, p. 6.

several roles in the life of the Israelite society, such as:⁸¹ a source of pleasures (Ecclesiastes 10:19; Ecclesiasticus 31:27-28; 32:5-6), component of rituals (Leviticus 23:13), a sign of blessing (Deuteronomy 7:13), an image of the eschatology (Jeremiah 31:12; Joel 3:18; Amos 9:13-14). The New Testament adds a very important use. The new wine is the image of the Kingdom of God. Wine, both in the Old Testament and the New Testament also had practical uses as medicine and trade.⁸² Therefore, wine was a highly appreciated product which penetrated the religious, social, political and economic dimensions of the life of the Israelites. There are clear similarities with the use of alcohol in the traditional African society.

But the Bible points out too, harmful effects of alcohol abuse. The Scripture shows that excessive drinking was a common vice among the Hebrews as it was among other ancient people. There are references to drunkenness as a great social evil. However, there is no evidence of frequent drunkenness among the common people because wine was a luxury beyond the reach of the poor.⁸³ Wisdom literature acknowledges the role alcohol plays in helping those who are overburden.⁸⁴ And thus, it is an act of charity to give wine to the poor so that they forget their problems for a while.

The main problem of drunkenness is that it undermines one's personality, leading to immoral behaviour.⁸⁵ Though drunkenness was a vice in the broader society, it also affected the Christian community. Drunkenness generates confusion so that the intoxicated person is unable to read the signs of the times. Pauline literature compares drunkenness with other vices such as theft, exploitation and gossip. (1 Corinthians 5:11). Bishops are warned about the dangers of alcohol (1 Timothy 3:3). The reason

⁸¹ Bruce C. Metzger and Michael D. Googan, eds. *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 799-800.

⁸² As medicine, it was used to heal wounds (Luke 10:34) to help digestion (1 Timothy 5:23), as a pain killer (Mark 15:23), and to reanimate those who had fainted (2 Samuel 16:11). In the commercial sphere, it was used as payment for work (2 Chronicles 2:10, 15) and as tribute to the King (1 Chronicles 12:40).

⁸³ Geoffrey W. Bromiley, et. al. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), pp. 994-5.

⁸⁴ "...wine for him whose heart is heavy: let him drink and forget his misfortune, and remember his misery no more", (Proverbs 31:6-7).

⁸⁵ The first account of drunkenness is found in the book of Genesis. Noah, ignorant of the power of wine, became drunk and exposed himself to an awkward situation (Genesis 9:21-27). Knowing the power of alcohol, King David tries to make Uriah drunk (2 Samuel 11). Wisdom literature points at the dangerous relationship between alcohol abuse and abuse of money (Proverbs 23:20-21).

lies in the fact that they would be unable to lead the Church. Besides they would fail as role models.

Essentially, the Biblical position on alcohol abuse is rather limited and it can easily lead to certain misinterpretations especially if read literally. There are two main problems regarding our cultural context. First, wine or alcoholic beverages in general, are much cheaper today and certainly affordable by many. Second, the Bible ignores the compulsive aspect of alcohol drinking by reducing all drunkenness to vicious drinking. A holistic approach to the issue of alcohol abuse among the poor should go beyond the texts which literally talk about drunkenness and wine. Today's alcoholics in the slums resemble those marginalized in Jesus' times very much. Jesus' attitude towards the lepers, the disabled and the prostitute is based on compassion and not on moralistic judgements. The person, with his/her own problems and in his/her own context is the only standard used by Jesus.

2.3.2 Moral theology

The term "alcoholism" is well-known in the field of Christian Ethics or Pastoral Theology. For centuries, excessive alcohol consumption has been a religious, moral and legal problem, hence it has been seen as a sin, a vice or a crime. In 1784, Benjamin Rush wrote about the effects of alcohol on the body. His work constituted a turning point in the understanding of alcoholism by introducing a medical view of the problem. The beginning of the 1800s brought about a conflict with two different views: the medical aspect versus the American Temperance Movement. The former looked at alcoholism from a medical view in trying to find cure. The latter disagreed by saying that alcoholism was not a disease but a vice. In the 20th century, the emphasis was clearly on the medical view, relieving alcoholics from any moral burden.⁸⁶ Even though the clergy in USA continued preaching against the disease concept of alcoholism: "... to call alcoholism disease is to dignify a vice".⁸⁷ Today this view has been overcome, in the Catholic Social Teaching.

⁸⁶ John Macquarrie and James Childress, *A New Dictionary of Christian Ethics* (London: SMC Press Ltd., 1986), pp. 17-18.

⁸⁷ Kenney, op. cit. p. 3.

It is a fact that there is a tendency to medicalise social and moral problems. Moralists express the danger of this trend: medicalisation overextends the gamut of medical intervention and undermines individual responsibility. In this way, alcoholics see themselves trapped in a fate that made them sick. Despite this process of medicalisation, most of the treatments maintain a moral and religious character.⁸⁸

For the Catholic Church, alcoholism is a disease that involves the sin of abuse. The Catechism puts it this way: "the virtue of temperance disposes us to avoid every kind of excess... alcohol...".⁸⁹ But this vision is incomplete because alcoholism is not always the product of long-term drinking.

The Church strongly condemns the clandestine production and trafficking of drugs.⁹⁰ Although it seems that the term drug is reduced to psychotropic substances, it can be applied to strong alcoholic beverages. What makes this morally wrong is the fact that some people make their living out of the misery of others. Not only does the alcoholic person suffer but also the whole society experiences adverse consequences.

Finally, regardless of the causes and moral responsibilities of the alcoholic, it is normally within their power to do something about their drinking problem. This restores the moral responsibility of the person. The alcoholic is recognized as one who had little or no power at the beginning, but now, has the ability to put an end to it. To empower the alcoholic person to reach that stage is of paramount importance. This is the responsibility of the society at large. Any Christian community should also design a sound plan to care for alcoholics by making them aware of their situation. The social responsibility of the community lies here.

The teaching of the Church places alcohol abuse at a moral level whereby the person through their faculties should make use of the virtue of temperance. However, it does not consider that some environments can reduce the faculties of the person to make positive choices in life. When the alternatives that the society offers the person are so

⁸⁸ Macquarrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁹ *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1993), no. 2291, p. 532.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

narrow, it is ironic to ask for responsibility for a particular behaviour. But it would be too paternalistic to deprive those who abuse alcohol in the slums of any responsibility and this is related to their decisive participation in rehabilitation.

2.5 Overall Summary

Horton's study on the functions of alcohol on primitive societies led him to the articulation of the anxiety theory. Although his assumptions were overcome by more elaborated theories, he provided the framework for subsequent research.

The different theories that were mentioned failed to give a full understanding as to why alcohol abuse has become a social problem in Africa. Yet they give partial answers to the problem. Thus, the most feasible approach is to bring the different theories together under the assumption that alcohol abuse is a multifactor fact for which a simple theory does not provide enough light.

Alcohol abuse is therefore a factor of the level of anxiety in the society, the rigidity of its social organisation and the amount of alcohol present in society. Andrew and Edgerton are right when they argue that drunken behaviour is learnt, i.e. people who purposely drink do it in order to behave in a particular way.

The problem of alcohol abuse in Africa is clearly related to an abrupt social change brought about by the effects of colonisation such as urbanisation, wage system, industrial manufacture of alcoholic beverages, in other words, a new culture was born and with it social disorganisation.

In this set up, alcohol abuse does answer to the plight of the urban poor in the outskirts of the African cities. And together with it the problem of illicit brewing came to further deteriorate the conditions of life. Poverty is behind the increase in illicit brew.

Kenyans, unable to afford conventional drinks go for home-brew as the economic situations worsen.⁹¹

Finally, a pastoral approach to the problem has not always been found. Although the Church has accepted that alcoholism is a disease, there is no clear emphasis on the transformation of the culture or lifestyle that fosters alcohol abuse.

This study hopes to make a valuable contribution to the problem under consideration by making clear that alcohol abuse together with its production is an interlinked cultural and socio-economic factor. Therefore any endeavour to respond to the problem holistically should envisage a new culture where alcohol beverages are appreciated because of their taste and not because of depressant effects on the person. Our Christian world view can give a meaningful contribution to this new culture because the starting point of our principles is the human person in his/her world of pain, joy and hope.

⁹¹ Nation Team, "43 dead after drinking brew". *Daily Nation*, November 16th 2000, p. 1.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design and Methodology

In order to acquire the necessary primary data, research was carried out in two slum areas in Nairobi: Kawangware and Kianda. The former is close to Riruta Estate, in the eastern part of Nairobi town, while the latter is a village within Kibera residential estate in the South East of the city. Physical observation confirms that both have similar density of population and similar socio-economic status. In both, alcohol-related problems, illicit brewing and trading are prevalent.

Observation through field work, interviews and questionnaires were used as data collection methods. Observation was carried out in different stages and places. In June-July 1999 the researcher worked in Korogocho slum (North-West Nairobi) in a community based project, being exposed to alcohol-related problems and initiatives towards rehabilitation of alcoholism. The researcher has been visiting regularly Kianda slum as part of a fieldwork project of an outreach programme of Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish. in Adam's Arcade. Although the activity of the researcher was not directly connected to the issue of alcohol abuse or manufacture, it provided a vivid experience of the slum reality where alcohol-related issues play a paramount role in the daily life of its peoples. Finally, a two-week exposure to Kawangware allowed the researcher close contact with the topic under investigation.

Interviews to social workers of Kawangware and Kianda were done with the aim of estimating the extent of the problem under consideration. Questionnaires were distributed to residents in Kianda and Kawangware slums. Two different types of questionnaires were distributed: one for those who abuse alcohol and the other for those who either manufacture illicit brews or trade with them.

Finally, secondary data provided the background of the study. The researcher came across some scientific studies that analyse the problem of alcoholism and illicit trade in the slums. The analysis of secondary data gave a comparison between anthropological studies on the functions and roles of alcohol in the traditional society and the transformations brought about with social changes in Africa after independence.

3.2 Research Instruments

Two questionnaires were designed for those who abuse alcohol and those who trade in illicit brew (cf. Appendices 1 and 2). The first questionnaire – for those who abuse alcohol – analysed the main reasons for consumption of strong beverages as well as the financial implications for the household. The second questionnaire -- for those who manufacture or trade illicit brew –answered why they prefer this type of activity that is illicit and the economic implications in terms of the income they get from the business.

The questionnaires were distributed among people selected at random in strategic places where illicit brew is manufactured, consumed or trade with. Each questionnaire was filled in the presence of a social researcher who accompanied the researcher of the present study. The presence of a qualified social researcher was a necessary condition in order to carry out the study considering the need of penetrating social milieus whose level of degradation at all levels is evident. It was very risky to the researcher to go into those environments alone. On the other hand, the researcher needed also a translator as some of the interviewees gave their answers either in Kikuyu or Kiswahili.

Two interviews were carried out to social workers in the environment where the research was conducted. The interviewees shared their views on the topic starting from the viewpoint of their own experience of working in the slum.

3.3 Research Population

The study focused on peoples in Kawangware and Kianda who are in one way or another related to alcohol manufacture or consumption. The sample is representative

enough to draw conclusions applicable to other slums in the city or even to other cities in Africa. Comparisons made were derived from conditions observed in Korogocho. It is evident from findings that there is very little difference in the studied slums. Secondary data also supports the validity of the data.

Questionnaires for those who abuse alcohol in Kawangware were distributed at random to people who go to bars or other drinking places in the slum after a brief explanation on the aim of the research. The number of questionnaires distributed was 40. But those collected back were 31. Some of the questionnaires were filled in on the spot while others were collected later on. Most people were very cooperative, although some of them were suspicious of the intention of the research.

The questionnaires for those who manufacture or trade in illegal brew were distributed during sudden visits to particular homes where these traders operate. These questionnaires were filled in with the assistance of the assistant field researcher and the main researcher who put down the answers. This was carried out by carefully explaining the aim of the research, which allowed the interviewee provide a good amount of valuable information. Ten questionnaires were filled in Kawangware while five were filled in Kianda.

3.4 Analysis of the Data

The data collected was tabulated according to different variables to answer the purpose of the research. The variables under consideration are as follows:

Questionnaire A:

- Background of the person in terms of his/her age, area of origin, occupation, marital status, number of dependants and religion.
- The causes that lead to alcohol abuse: this includes the socio-economic status of the individual in relation to the type of alcohol consumed.

- The impact of alcohol abuse at the personal, family and community levels.
- Possible solutions to the problem.

Questionnaire B:

- Background of the person in terms of his/her age, area of origin, occupation, marital status, number of dependants and religion.
- The type of brew manufactured or traded in.
- Impact of the activity in terms of income vis-à-vis the financial needs of the household.
- Reasons for engaging in this type of activity.
- Categorization of the customers according to their age, sex and financial status.
- The negative effects of this type of activity: legal, family and community problems.
- Possible alternatives to illicit brew or trade.

The data was analysed by using simple computing of frequency to get percentages that was displayed in table and graphs. Thereafter, the data was analysed critically comparing the results with secondary data and other sources of information such as observation. The information was thus collected, collated, analysed and is presented in a discussion form.

3.5 Limitations of the Research

The first difficulty was in relation to the very nature of the issue under study. Researching on alcohol abuse bears an enormous complexity due to the fact that the

problem is linked to root causes of poverty in the slums and even to the very existence of slums. The issue is sensitive, touching on personal and security aspects of people. Because of this the researcher found difficulty in accurately identifying the relevant dimensions of the problem.

The research was carried out through insertion in unsafe environments where violence and police harassment are the order of the day. As a result, some people were suspicious of the presence of the researcher in such places.

Some of the questions of the questionnaires were not properly answered by the interviewees probably because of either fear, lack of interest or perhaps because the questions may not have been properly understood.

Chapter Four

Analysis of the Data

The following chapter presents and analyses critically the findings of the research by using tables and explanations. The first two sections relate to the two different questionnaires:

4.1 Questionnaire for Those Who Abuse Alcohol

4.1.1 Basic information of the alcohol abuser

Out of the 31 questionnaires distributed to drinkers in the slum at random, it was found out that 70% were filled by youth, 20% by adults and the other 10% by teenagers.⁹² Among all the interviewees, 80% have originally come from the various slums of Nairobi such as Kibera, Kawangware, Kamiti and Mukuru kwa Njenga. The other 20% have originated from outside Nairobi. As much as 48% of those who drink alcohol were casual labourers, without proper employment status. The other 41% were jobless people who remained idle most of the day. Only 9% were students. Regarding marital status, 61% were married and stayed with their families, 29% were married and have either separated or divorced from their families. The other 10% were not married because they were still young. Among the married, were those who had an average of four dependants, mostly their own children, but also other dependants who are part of the extended family. On the question of the religious affiliation, all interviewees were or claimed to be Christians. But some of them openly declared that they hardly went to Church regularly. Ninety per cent were Catholics and the rest belonged to independent churches.

⁹² Teenagers are considered to be those under 18 years of age.

Table 1: Origin of the Interviewees

	Frequency	Percentage
Nairobi	25	80.65%
Up country	6	19.35%
Total	31	100.00%

Table 2: Occupation of Interviewees

	Frequency	Percentage
Casual workers	15	48.38%
Jobless	13	41.94%
Students	3	9.68%
Total	31	100.00%

Table 3: Marital Status of Interviewees

	Frequency	Percentage
Married	19	61.29%
Separated	9	29.03%
Single	3	9.68%
Total	31	100.00%

From the above findings, it follows that the youth are the most affected by uncontrollable drinking. The reason for this could be found in the high rate of unemployment. With no proper source of livelihood most youths are left with no option other than engaging themselves in odd activities such as theft, drug abuse, alcohol or prostitution. This phenomenon is propelled by idleness -- a side effect of unemployment. Those who are lucky enough to have some casual form of employment often find themselves frustrated because the income is far much less than what their needs would require. Such people, unable to budget for their little income, which is usually below Kshs. 4,000 per month, end up over-drinking in the name of forgetting their problems. The problems are not solved, but rather intensified by the abuse of alcohol. The chemical properties of alcohol can easily create an addiction at physiological and psychological levels that lead to alcoholism. As a result, income that was intended to go to the family is spent on alcohol. As a matter of fact, more than 35%

of the families in the slums have been directly affected by alcoholism.⁹³ Children have not been spared from the challenge of single parenthood which comes about as a result of separation or divorce to which domestic violence is directly connected.

Regarding the gender of the interviewees, it was observed that 70% of the drinkers were males and 30% females. This confirms what was pointed out in Chapter Two: men drink more than women although people are gradually becoming more tolerant with women who drink.

The religious affiliation of the interviewees seems to have an important relationship with their drinking patterns. Some even accused their own churches of promoting their drinking. The Catholic Church does not have a strict doctrine on the use of alcohol as many Christian churches have. The Catholic church does not forbid drinking, for some this is understood that the Catholic Church does encourage drinking. It is true that the Catholic Church has not done enough campaign against over-drinking but has focused on the rehabilitation of those who have already fallen into alcoholism.

4.1.2 Factors underlying abuse of alcohol

The researcher wanted to know the main causes of alcohol abuse. Our question enquired on the kind of drinks that are taken mainly in Kawangware. Twenty nine per cent of the interviewees took *chang'ua* only, 19% took *chang'ua* and *Busaa*. Thirty five per cent did not choose what to take; they did not have a particular choice. The other 16% took *muratina* and *miti ni dawa* respectively. The table below illustrates this fact:

⁹³ According to a research carried out by Sacred Heart Parish in Dagoretti Corner. The document was not available to the researcher. This information was obtained orally through a reliable source.

Table 4: Type of Drink Consumed

	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Chang'aa</i> only	9	29.03%
<i>Chang'aa</i> and <i>Busaa</i>	6	19.36%
Any drink	11	35.48%
<i>Muratina / Miti ni Dawa</i>	5	16.13%
Total	31	100.00%

Busaa and *chang'aa* are the most available brews in slum areas; they are found in various measurements that are cheap to buy. Even with Ksh 40 one is sure of getting drunk. From the above Table 4, we can deduce that 50% of the drinkers abuse these two types of brews. From the interviews conducted, the researcher understood that *busaa* is the easiest to prepare and can be sold openly in *busaa* clubs. In slum areas, there are many *busaa* clubs that are licensed by the government. *Busaa* is made up of maize flour, thus making it porridge-like. This fact makes many of its consumers regard it as food. While drinking, they get at the same time some kind of satisfaction hence no need of other sources of food that can be more nutritious.⁹⁴ In this way, *busaa* is considered as an economic brew. The group that takes alcoholic stuff indiscriminately are those who are so addicted that they go to drinking points even without money. This kind of people will take anything as long as it is offered for free from the other drinkers. This group is the most vulnerable as far as health hazards are concerned. Different types of liquors are prepared differently; their content vary as well. When one takes different brews indiscriminately, the body is overburdened in trying to adapt itself to the poisonous substance.

Those who take *miti ni dawa* are made to understand that it has some medicinal value. This literally means in Kiswahili, herbs are medicine. The researcher understood that initially it was difficult for people to acquire business licenses for locally prepared liquors. As such they posed as if they were selling herbal medicine. Gradually, the concoction which were supposed to be medicine were converted to alcohol. If not well

⁹⁴ The nutritive values of *busaa* (per 100 g) are the following: energy (KJ)= 292, protein (g)=1.55, fat (g) 0.65, carbohydrate (g)-6.96, alcohol (g) 4.22. On the contrary *chang'aa* is almost useless from the nutritive point of view. The content of alcohol is much higher and equal to 31.01 and therefore the amount of energy it provides is as high as 901 KJ (per 100 g). The amount of the essential nutrients, i.e. Protein, Fat and Carbohydrates is almost zero. Cf Beckman, op. cit, p. 159.

prepared, all of the above mentioned alcoholic substances portend great health risks to the drinkers. For instance, it was found out that a special chemical used in industry to wash metallic gadgets is used in enhancing the fermentation process. If directly taken by a drinker, it can kill.

A question was asked as to when they started drinking. It was found out that all of the interviewees had taken alcohol for more than five years. Some of them had been taking alcohol as early as at the age of four since their parents were brewers and used alcohol as a substance to make them sleep so that they would not disturb them during work. With this kind of alcoholic history, it is even difficult to figure out how a person can stop drinking. They have become hard-core drunkards.

Interviewees were asked why they drunk. The following Table 5 illustrates the responses they gave:

Table 5: Reasons for Drinking

	Frequency	Percentage
Peer pressure	9	29.03%
Idleness	16	51.61%
Stress/family tension	9	29.03%
All of the above	15	48.39%

It should be noted that the addition of the percentages does not make 100%. That is because most of the interviews understood the cause for their drinking as a combination of the mentioned factors. As a matter of fact half of them answered that the three above mentioned causes – peer pressure, idleness and stress/family tension -- are related to their drinking.

Yet, the number of those who drink due to idleness is the highest. This comprised mainly the 50% of the youth who are not employed. They have to spend much of their time idling around in the village. The harsh realities in the slums under investigation are that 50% of the population are under 20 years old and youth unemployment stands

at 50%.⁹⁵ This fact explains why most youths are implicated in alcohol and drug abuse. Peer pressure is another contributing factor towards over-indulgence in alcohol taking.⁹⁶ Thirty per cent of both youth and adults did not give good-enough reasons as to why they abused alcohol: they took alcohol because of their friends, fearing that they would lose them if they did not accompany them to drinking spots. Psycho-socially, peer pressure has a lot of influence on one's character and general personality the way people view things and the way they think and behave.

Stress, especially from family tension, for those who are married constituted the reason why 30% of the interviewees abuse alcohol. The current economic situation in Kenya has negatively affected almost everybody, worst of all, the poor slum dwellers. With 90% of those living in slums below the poverty line, that is, unable to afford meeting their very basic needs. The heads of the family have always found themselves carrying a burden they cannot bear. This fact frustrates them so much that they see alcohol taking an escape to their problems. Unfortunately, they have to drink every day because the problems are unending. What most people forget is that postponing problems does not help at all. So, people have to look for solutions, rather than avoid the reality that the problem is theirs. Marital relationships are often a source of unease for husbands and wives, making some of them leave the house to search for a psychological consolation in the bar. Regarding the frequency of drinking, the interviewees responses were quite alarming. Eighty per cent of them conceded drinking daily, 10% every week and the other 10% once a month.

It was also noticed that peer pressure and idleness are the major causes of alcohol abuse among the youth. However, adults have a different reason to drink: stress and anxiety generated around the family. Therefore, alcohol has a double social effect, or in other words, it answers to the needs of those who feel hopeless and to the needs of those who feel overburdened and need a drug to release tension.

⁹⁵ According to the research carried out by Sacred Heart Parish in Dagoretti Corner.

⁹⁶ After the *Kumi-Kumi* tragedy in Nairobi, eight victims were interviewed by a local media. Four of them confessed that they took the brew after being asked by friends or they themselves asked other friends to go to drink with them. Cf. Nation Team, "It was a lucky escape, say patients at Kenyatta". *Daily Nation*, November 21st 2000, p. 2.

Interviewees under the category of daily frequency have developed an addictive pattern and cannot sleep without taking alcohol. This group is the highest among the drinkers in the slums. They would rather buy alcohol than food. When there is no money, it makes no much difference because they still go to the drinking places to beg from their friends. This hinders them from thinking about other productive activities both in the family set-up and the society at large. In the long-run, the addictive element leads to psycho-social, physical and sexual problems. The 10% of the people who drink on weekly basis are mainly casual labourers in the construction sites who are paid on weekly basis as well. This group spends at least 20% of their income in drinking. Given money, this group of people can drink daily. It is the financial situation that stops many people from over-drinking. The other remaining 10% who drink once a month are the people who depend on salaries they earn monthly. This group of people comprises those who are not habitual drunkards. However, given an opportunity, they can intensify their drinking frequency. The reason why they are considered or rather classified as alcohol abusers is because of their heavily drinking habit during the monthly spree.⁹⁷

4.1.3 The impact of alcohol abuse

Looking at the effects of alcohol abuse on the individual, all the people interviewed confessed alcohol had adversely affected their health in various ways, that is, mentally, physically, sexually and emotionally. After over-drinking, most people, loose self-control and end up in anti-social behaviour. Several women admitted that after drinking, they find themselves in irresponsible sexual behaviour. Some have even become victims of rape because of the same behaviour. For men, they become very emotional and cannot control their sexual urge and end up sleeping with prostitutes or raping. The excessive consumption of alcohol has been proved to impair the reasoning faculty. Those kinds of behaviour subject drinkers to a lot of vulnerability especially in this era of AIDS/HIV.

⁹⁷ This confirms the thesis pointed out in the literature review about the link between the introduction of the wage system in Africa and the abuse of alcohol as a recreational activity. It is a tragedy to see people spending large proportions of their salaries in alcohol without any consideration for their short-run financial needs. This reality is well portrayed by Meja Mwangi's novel where he describes the adventures of a gang in the slums of Nairobi in the 1970s. Cf. Meja Mwangi, *Kill Me Quick* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1987).

It is very sad to see the amount of damage that alcoholism has caused to families especially in slum areas. As earlier mentioned, more than 35% of the families are affected by alcoholism. It was found that 50% of those interviewed have abandoned parental responsibilities due to alcohol taking. Parents who indulge in excessive drinking have often ceased providing for the family's clothing, food, school fees and other essential expenses. They have denied their children parental love and instead they promote domestic violence in form of physical assault, marital rape and child abuse.

In such a family, it is children who suffer most because of their vulnerability at the emotional level. It is even more serious if both of parents drink. The kind of upbringing such children receive does not help them to grow up as responsible members of the society. Among the drinkers, those who were divorced, blamed alcohol for the reason of their broken marriage. Here also it is children who suffer most. Family violence is the most common effect of alcohol abuse at the family level. This has a devastating effect on the lives of all the members of the family. The lose of job is also a side-effect of alcohol abuse. Alcohol abusers have extra difficulties in finding a job in a society where unemployment is a major problem.

On the question of how alcohol abuse affects one's social life, 30% thought that alcoholism had positively affected the social life and 70% thought that is had negatively affected their social life. The former 30% argued that they became more friendly when drunk than when sober. They also thought that it was at the drinking places that they met friends and other potential opportunities for their lives. The latter were of the view that people tended to avoid them because they became a nuisance after drinking. Alcohol intake may lead to unpredictability of one's behaviour. It is very common to find very quiet people shouting after drinking or very peaceful people becoming violent. They also argued that alcoholism made one loose friends because of abnormal behaviour brought about by over drinking - one becomes a social misfit. In addition, alcohol abuse hinders one from participating actively in community activities. Because of its addictive nature, people tend to spend most of their time in pubs or other drinking dens. It is difficult for them to participate in other meaningful social activities.

A consensus was reached by all the interviewees that drinking had a negative impact on their income. They all agreed that because of its addictive nature and uncontrollable

intake, one ends up spending more money than expected/budgeted. One keeps on yearning for more and more as time goes in a spree.

Still on the economic impact of alcohol abuse, when asked whether over drinking had made one lose a job or if they would say that it has hindered them from getting a job, 60% of the interviewees thought that over-drinking considerably contributed towards bad employee-employer relationships. The few who were informally employed confessed that sometimes they had abandoned their duties because they were either drunk, were going to drink or drunk the previous night and were suffering from hangovers.

This portends bad working record and even in some cases, lose of job. For the other who are jobless, especially the youth, alcohol abuse reduce their chances of getting employed. This latter group constitutes more than 40% of the drinkers. Generally speaking, all members of the society should be stakeholders as far as nation-building is concerned. Economic development cannot be achieved if the society is overburdened by the consequences of alcohol-related problems. Development has to be spearheaded by sober-minded people. If a country collapsed economically, even the other aspects of development are badly affected, for instance, politically, socially, culturally and spiritually.

4.1.4 Possible solutions

The researcher asked the interviewees if they had attempted to stop drinking. Twenty per cent of them negated the fact that they had tried to stop it because they thought that it helped them reduce stress. The other 80% strongly indicated their efforts to stop drinking but they had found it very difficult.

As pertains to possible solutions, the interviewees were asked to suggest strategies that could help them and others in their endeavours to stop over-drinking. Generally, the following suggestions were given:

- Seek help/assistance from counsellors
- Sensitisation on the dangers of alcohol abuse
- Joining Alcoholic Anonymous (AA)
- Getting to the root causes of over-drinking, i.e. poverty
- Creation of many recreational facilities, e.g. gymnasiums, youth clubs, etc. to keep people busy rather than going to drink.

4.2 Questionnaire for Those Who Manufacture or Trade Brew

All the fifteen questionnaires administered to those who manufacture alcoholic beverages were received back by the researcher. The main purpose for this category of questionnaires was to evaluate the place of illicit brewing as an economic activity. Through the interviewees' responses, the researcher wanted also to demonstrate how the presence of alcohol in a given community fosters its uncontrolled consumption and vice-versa. To start with, the researcher assessed the background of the manufacturers.

4.2.1 Basic information of the manufacturers

Regarding the nationality of the interviewees, it was evident that all of them were Kenyans. They described their occupation as 'brewers', meaning that they have to brew to earn their living. Fifty per cent of them were youth i.e. aging between 18-30; the other 50% were adults, mainly comprising of women aged between 35-50. A question was asked about the number of dependants one had. Among the youth brewers, there was an average of three dependants. For the senior brewers, the number of dependants ranged from six to ten. It mainly consisted of children and some members of the extended family. All of the interviewees claimed to be Christian and more specifically Catholics.

4.2.2 Production of/ Trade in alcoholic beverages

In this section, the researcher wanted to know what kinds of liquors are manufactured in the slums by various brewers. It was found out that in Kawangware 50% of the brewers manufactured *busaa*, 30% *chang'aa*, 10% *miti ni dawa* and the other 10% *muratina*. In Kianda slum, the five interviewees sold *chang'aa*.

In Kawangware, the majority of the manufacturers brew *busaa*. The reason for this was that it was easy to make. From the brief description of the preparation of the brew gathered from the interviewees' response, it was understood that only water, maize flour and fermented millet were the ingredients. However, sometimes yeast is used to enhance fermentation process. Most of these raw materials are cheap and easily available. It can be easily manufactured and sold at an affordable price. Therefore, manufacturers are sure of a steady source of income. Another factor that makes *busaa* more prevalent in the slum areas of Nairobi is because of the fact that most *busaa* Clubs are licensed by the local government.

Chang'aa on the other hand though illegal is the second highly consumed in the slum areas. About 80% of *chang'aa* in the slums of Nairobi is manufactured from within and the other 20% is imported from upcountry, usually from Western Kenya. In fact, the imported one is considered the best because it is free of intoxicating agents. In most cases, *chang'aa* is manufactured by the process of distillation of *busaa*. However, prior to distillation, some manufacturers add other poisonous substances such as methanol to accelerate the process of manufacture. These kind of additional substances were often the cause of death. It is worth mentioning that *chang'aa* manufacturing is done in secret. Brewers always keep money aside for the purpose of bribing the police. The reason why some people prefer taking *chang'aa* to other alcoholic substances is because only a little amount will make one drunk. Moreover, there is a common belief that *chang'aa* is medicine, although this has never been proven.

Muratina is made up of *muratina* fruit and honey. Since it is not easy to find honey, brewers usually use crude sugar. This kind of brew is a Kikuyu traditional beer and that is why it does not sell more to the members of other ethnic communities. In most slums

muratina is only marketable during feast days such as Christmas and Kenyatta Day. Its consumption is recognised by the government since it is regarded as a traditional beer.⁹⁸

Miti ni dawa is manufactured by boiling herbs and mixing honey. However, too much commercialisation of it had led to use of sugar instead of honey. The perceived 'medical' value of the beverage makes those who drink go for it.

It is rare to find *chang'aa* brewers in Kianda. Most of the women who are in this business buy the beverage either from Dagoretti Corner or Mathare Valley and thus they do not undergo the risk that brewing entails.

A question was asked as to how much money a brewer made on a successful day. In Kawangware brewers can make up to Ksh 3,000, although Ksh 1,500 was given as an average. However, this income is not net because the police can take as much as one thousand for a bribe. Some of the respondents confessed that they preferred going to court if the police asked more than that. At court, they could give lesser bribes to court clerks who in turn would forward it to the magistrates. It is so amazing to look at how corruption among the administration is structured. While the economic importance of alcohol in society is a factor to consider, we must not forget the ethical part of it.

At Kianda, those who trade *chang'aa* get much less than those in Kawangware. They make between Ksh 150 and 500.⁹⁹ Usually they buy a 5 litre-can for Ksh 250 and they sell it by Ksh 500. Still, something has to be put aside to bribe the police.

The role that the police play in the whole issue of illicit brewing and trading is exceptionally oppressive on those who find themselves in this type of business. Often they demand consumption of the liquor for free or even they demand sexual favours with the sellers under the threat of arrest.

It is true that the income derived from manufacturing and selling of alcohol assists in the main areas of financial expenses, for example, food, school fees, clothing, house

⁹⁸ Cf. The Law of Kenya: The Liquor Licensing Act (Chapter 121)

⁹⁹ Note that in Toy Market (nearby Kianda slum) people can hardly make a profit beyond Ksh 250 per day.

rent, bribery, medical expenses and transport. Nevertheless, there could be better ways of establishing some alternative income generating activities. However, most brewers would not stop alcohol business for another because they believe that they can make quick money from this business. In fact, 90% of the interviewees could not imagine alternative businesses, in spite of being aware of all the dangers involved in alcohol taking. They pointed out high taxation and enormous amounts of capital required to set up an alternative businesses as hindrances towards such courses. However, 10% of them thought that they could opt for another businesses given adequate capital.

A question was asked as to whether the manufacturers drunk the product of their labour. Fifty per cent of them responded affirmatively and the other 50% did negatively. The latter reasoned that doing so would not create the separate entity business concept but would instead cripple it. And they were also aware of the dangerous process and components involved in brewing the illicit liquor.

Asked if they knew the dangers and effects of consumption of their brew; the brewers brought out several points. These included family break up, draining one's resources, encourages laziness, intensifying crime and violence, encouraging spread of AIDS, health hazardous (physical and mental) and addiction of alcohol.

It is ironic to see how brewers – aware of the personal and social dangers of their brew – continue sustaining it. The answer seems to lie in the fact that they are forced to go against their own values in order to survive. Some of the interviewees, aware of this, confessed that they do not sell more than two glasses of beverages to the same person so as to force him or her to control his/her drinking.

Closely related to the above question, was whether the brewers thought that women are more vulnerable than their male counterparts when it comes to the issue of alcohol taking. There was a general consensus that when men direct all or most of the family resources to cater for alcohol needs, it is the woman who is left with the responsibility of taking care of children. Many women are economically disadvantaged as compared with their male counterparts. It is no wonder that all the brewers were women.

A question was asked on the categorisation of the clients according to age, sex and economic status. Table 6 below illustrates the findings.

Table 6: Age of the Customers

	Frequency	Percentage
Youth	6	40%
Adults	7	46.67%
Teenagers	2	13.33%
Total	15	100.00%

Table 7: Gender of the Customers

	Frequency	Percentage
Male	13	86.67%
Female	2	13.33%
Total	15	100.00%

Table 8: Social status of the Customers

	Frequency	Percentage
Poor	14	93.33%
Middle class	1	6.67%
Total	15	100.00%

Table 6 shows an alarming number of youth who fall into the traps of alcohol abuse. The issue of the youth has already been discussed in the previous findings. It is rather upsetting that adolescents are also caught up in the trap of alcohol abuse. Most of these adolescents fall under school age but they are unable to go to school and end up abusing drugs and alcohol. The adults comprise those who are so frustrated by the economic situation of the country and use alcohol as an escape.

We find from Table 7 that men drink more than women. It is also true that from a cultural and social viewpoint women are expected to stay at home doing the daily chores of the house.

Table 8 portrays the socio-economic status of the drinkers. We find the majority who drink are poor. The reason for this has already been discussed in the previous pages, lack of poor recreational facilities, poverty, ignorance and frustration.

4.2.3 Possible solutions

In this section, the researcher wanted to know if the brewers would think of possible alternative income generating activities, given opportunity. Just as it has been discussed previously, most will go for an alternative if huge profits and returns are guaranteed than their current business. Since this condition is almost unrealistic, it is one way of showing the challenge. However, there was a general agreement though reluctantly, that some could sell charcoal or operate a food kiosk given a chance. This would highly depend on the improvement of the economic situation of the country, an economy that would offer ample conditions for any business to prosper. The government should be at the same time able to issue business licences without so many complications.

Lastly, the researcher wanted to know how informal education could create awareness of the dangers of over-drinking in the slums. Generally the following points were brought out:

- Through publication and spread of posters indicating the impacts of alcohol abuse.
- Use of public gathering e.g., chief meetings, cautioning people on the dangers of drinking.
- Setting up social groups to assist those keen on stopping drinking.

All in all, alcoholism is an issue that has to be taken seriously; as we have seen. It calls for the participation of those who brew, drink and even those who do not drink themselves, because in one way or another everybody is affected.

4.3 Summary of the Findings

The root cause of alcohol abuse in the slums is not other than poverty. The current economic situation in Kenya has stricken the slums dwellers with special cruelty. The overcrowding conditions of the slum dwellers, together with unemployment make many to find in alcohol what they look for: a psychological medicine to reduce awareness of a reality of which they are more victims than actors. Men, unable to meet their own needs as well as those of the family resort to drinking. When people are badly affected by the economic situation, the other aspects of development are simultaneously affected in the social, cultural, religious and psychological well-being. Considering that even the simplest genuine business are prone to collapse many people are forced to adapt to the economic hardships by engaging in morally questionable means of generating income such as alcohol brewing or trade.

Illegal brewing or trade is therefore the only alternative perceived to sustain survival. As an economic activity, it plays an important role towards the household income. It is usually administered by women and thus ensures that it answers the needs of the children. Brewers are also not very enthusiastic about searching for alternative income generating activities, as they are aware of the difficulties others find trying to make their small undertakings take off.

In direct link with the economic situation is the growth of school drop-outs and unemployment. As a result groups of youth hang around the slum with growing conviction that there is no future for them. Their collective desolation finds in alcohol the hidden needs of their beings: to travel to the land of the unconscious where they are who they are not. For a young man, the group is everything, it is a vital reference, therefore, he/she cannot detach him/herself from it. Peer pressure is undoubtedly a very strong push factor.

From the religious point of view, most alcohol abusers believe that the Catholic Church does encourage drinking. Certainly, abstinence from alcohol is not an ethical requirement for membership unlike other Christian churches where the faithful are asked to sign a document to assure that they do not drink alcohol. Therefore, there is a link between one's religion and drinking patterns. But this should not be understood in

the sense that Catholics are more prone to abuse alcohol but the opposite: those who drink find spiritual refuge in the Catholic church once they perceive the doors of other churches close to them.

Police forces, those who are supposed to care for the welfare of the society through law enforcement, play a very ambiguous role, highly questionable from the ethical point of view. It cannot be denied they are also victims of a social system that certainly influences them negatively. Their low salaries make them either accept or ask for bribes. Yet other practices, such as demanding sex or asking for brew are not easily condonable. This is to be categorised as highly immoral. Firstly because of the frustration of those who fall victims of them and secondly because of the misuse of power in order to humiliate and to take advantage of the poor.

From the findings, it is agreeable that availability of alcohol does foster its uncontrollable consumption, yet there is no doubt that illicit brewing and trade contributes significantly to the economy of the household. Most brewers are reluctant to stop this activity since they believe that their contribution to the problem is minimum and their benefits are what they live on and therefore not negotiable.

Finally, looking at the reality, it seems just unthinkable to enforce any law that would bring up a feasible transformation of the problem while ensuring the livelihood of the brewers. Still the issue of adulteration of beverages should be strongly enforced, as the danger on human lives is imminent.

Chapter Five

Projections, Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1 Analytic Framework

Alcohol related problems occur as a result of a sequence of interlinked events with varying degrees of effect. Any action that endeavours a feasible assessment of the problem should go beyond its obvious manifestations such as alcoholism, alcohol induced violence, drunkenness and illicit brew or trade.

In order to properly embark upon presenting recommendations, it is paramount to understand the cause effect link among different factors as well as to make accurate distinctions among the relevant target groups: the youth, male adults and female brewers.

Unemployment is an underlying cause to alcohol abuse among the youth in the slums. Consequently they become idle with a growing sense that they have little or nothing to contribute to the society. A sense of hopelessness decreases one's self-esteem and therefore, the capacity of the person to take decisions for him/herself dwindles. At this stage the group plays a major role in shaping the life of the young person by exercising peer pressure.

The so-called *Bar Culture* fits perfectly in this given context. First of all, it gives the youth a meeting-point and secondly it offers alcohol – an intoxicating substance that decreases the level of awareness. There is no doubt that frequent gatherings at bars leads almost inevitably to alcohol abuse. It is obvious that a person that is often intoxicated with alcohol will have it very difficult to find a job, and thus closing the destructive cycle.

A similar cycle can be found for male adults. But in this case, the starting point is not so much unemployment as it is low income. It was found that most of them are able to

engage in different activities such as casual work or in the *Jua-Kali* or informal sector. Yet, their salary is far from meeting their needs and those of those of their families since most of them are married with a good number of dependants.

Poverty generates a number of family problems. If a man does not find a sense of self-actualisation in the work he is doing and at the same time his family set-up adds more stress, he will rather search for alternatives to his frustrating situation. Once again, the *Bar Culture* breaks in to give a short-term solution to that sense of frustration by providing an informal forum of socialisation. There, alcohol becomes a socio-activating medicine that takes the person beyond his/her broken world.

In addition, alcohol abuse does not at all solve the problem, it further increases it. The very negative effects of alcohol in the family have already been stated but also become a financial burden not to mention that the chances of losing a job are increased.

In respect to the women who brew or trade illicit brew, there are some important points to be kept in mind. There are the ones that in a certain way materialize the *Bar Culture* by providing what the society demands. Ironically, looking at possible solutions to the problem we are faced with its paradox nature. By brewing or trading illicit drinks, women are able to earn their living and cater for the needs of their children.

Recreation as well as social gatherings are essential needs of any social group. Today, in the slums, this need has been quenched through the *Bar Culture*. Strictly speaking, there are very few alternatives to it.

5.2 Recommendations

Most people agreed that possible solutions to the problems include joining AA and making sensitisation campaigns on the dangers of alcoholism. While we cannot disregard these two suggestions, we see that they tend to answer more to the symptoms than to the underlying causes of the problem.

Therefore, the following suggestions endeavour a more long-lasting and integral solution to the problem:

- Given the fact that the *Bar Culture* is a common characteristic for the drinking patterns of both youth and adults, and having said that alternatives to it are rare, there is need of counteracting the *Bar Culture* by bringing in alternatives to it.
- In close connection to the previous point is the need for the creation and promotion of recreational facilities in slum areas and as well as informal forms of gatherings where people can socialise.
- Provision of recreational facilities that are alcohol free to demonstrate that entertainment does not necessarily include alcohol intoxication is a welcome idea.
- There should be efforts towards creation of cultural facilities that expand knowledge and give people a sense of belonging and pride to break the cycle of possibilities. In other words, this implies expanding the horizons of the people.
- We need to explore a more comprehensive pastoral approach to the problem. People in the slums are highly religious although they do not often find way to quench their spiritual needs. It is also believed that alcohol comes to fulfil such need. Churches have a great responsibility in the creation and promotion of an alternative to the *Bar Culture*. It is not enough to tend a compassionate hand to those who have already been trapped by alcoholism.
- Unemployment, an underlying cause of the problem is to be addressed. Therefore we foresee that to put up a job placement agency can certainly help in the creation of job indirectly. Such an agency involves the creation of a data base with candidates, the networking with employers and other institutions, the publication of a magazine and networking with training institutions according to the demands of the labour market.

- Finally, there should be corporate search for income-generating activities for those women that brew or trade with illicit drinks. Decrease on availability of alcohol can have a positive effect on the reduction of alcohol related problems.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

The issue of alcohol-related problems in slums is complex due to its paradoxical nature. On the one hand, there is a high demand of alcohol and on the other hand this demand is answered with the springing up of numberless business related to the manufacture and trade of illicit beverages. They pose risks of immense magnitude to individuals and society.

Our study showed that the poor would rather go for the cheapest drink they can find in order to get drunk. The purposeful intake of alcohol to become intoxicated is a sign of a serious pathology and an indicator that people's lives seem to lack something. Gradually, the intake of alcohol becomes central to the person as a release of a great inner pain.

From a theological perspective, it is agreeable that there is an enormous devaluation of human dignity that thwarts the victims' efforts in becoming fully human, that is, there is a loss of humanity since they are more objects of the effects of alcohol drinking than the masters of their lives with capability of making decisions.

Brewers and traders make their living out of this. But, how can we call for moral responsibility from those who are living on the verge of desperation? Their business – though illicit and socially harmful – is their only hope, not only for them but also for their children.

Thus, the two issues analysed: alcohol abuse and illicit brew/trade are strongly interlinked. In the same line, it was shown how availability of alcohol is a factor influencing its consumption.

Finally, and following the discussion of the literature review, the bottom line of the problem lies in the existence of a kind of sub-culture that has lost a number of basic values and it is therefore disintegrated. There is a need of enhancing new values that can make a cohesive integration between the needs of the people, the satisfaction of those needs and the reality of poverty.

Chapter Six

Project Proposal

6.1 Project Name

New Horizons Centre (NIIC):

A Multipurpose Centre for the Enhancement of Recreational Facilities,
Cultural Values and Employment in Kawangware

January 2002 – December 2003

6.2 Project Overview

6.2.1 Background

Kawangware is a slum on the outskirts of Nairobi, ten kilometres West of the city centre. It has an estimated population of about 200,000 people. The population of the slum is predominantly young: fifty per cent of the residents are below 15 years of age.¹⁰⁰ The slum lacks infrastructure at all levels: sanitation is poor or non-existent; half of the population does not have access to safe water; there are inadequate medical and recreation facilities. Roads are in a very poor condition; the sewage system is very deteriorated hence a health hazard. Overall, therefore, the residents of Kawangware are handicapped from the economic, cultural, social and spiritual viewpoints.

The shantytown became the shelter for those who look for cheap housing. Residents have little or no income. People engage in small business such as kiosks or stalls in the

¹⁰⁰ According to the research carried out by Sacred Heart Parish in Dagoretti Corner.

market. The *Jua Kali* sector plays an important role in the economy of the slums. Still many people live on undertaking occasional odd jobs. Illicit activities such as brewing are a major economic activity with relative importance. Many people also engage in criminal activities. It is well known that the slums harbour a number of criminal gangs. Yet unemployment stands very high and affects more than half of the young people in the slum.

Houses are constructed of temporary materials, most of them not conforming to the minimum standards. There are also stone houses whose rents are unaffordable by the majority. The land is owned mostly by individuals who construct structures for renting.

Family disintegration is a growing issue of concern, single motherhood, abortion and street children steadily increasing. HIV/AIDS-related problems are also on the rise.

6.2.2 Statement of the Problem

Due to the overwhelming conditions in which the slum dwellers live, they cannot meet essential needs. Their level of anxiety is high, as they feel insecure about their future. What develops in many cases is a sense of frustration. Alcohol as a drug with narcotic properties reduces levels of awareness and therefore anxiety.

In the slums, the regular consumption of strong spirits has become part and parcel of the daily life of the people, so we can talk of a *Bar Culture*. This way of life is supported by economic interest on behalf of the brewers or traders of alcohol. Thus, while they live on these types of activities, many others are victims of an abusive consumption of alcohol with destructive consequences for their lives, their families and the society at large.

Bar Culture is also fostered as a result of the little recreational facilities in the slum. Youth and adults do not find any other alternative solution but gathering around a table sharing some alcoholic drinks.

6.2.3 *The Project*

The project consists of a community-based multi-purpose centre that provides recreational and cultural facilities; and a job placement agency. Under recreational facilities the centre has a room where different entertainment games can be played such as table tennis, darts and TV-Video set. There is also a gymnasium where several sportive activities can be done: these are Judo and weight-lifting.

As cultural facilities are concerned, the two main activities are the setting up of a library and the formation of a drama group. The library is to be equipped with magazines and newspapers as well as the most well known books of African literature as well as with the classics of universal literature. The library is also meant to have enough space where meetings can be conducted. A drama group made up of a number of youngsters gives them the opportunity of discussing issues that are relevant to them and to the life of the slum. It can also serve the purpose of creating civic education by performing in the open.

Unemployment was pointed out as one of the underlying factors contributing to the problem. The project contains a job placement agency to assist those who are unemployed to get contacts of possible jobs. There should be an office with an information system for the purpose of storage of information. This office is to make an effective networking with potential employers as well as with other organisations.

Finally, there is a small restaurant that provides food at lunchtime and also creates a suitable environment for friendship gatherings. Alcoholic drinks are not provided. This small project is also meant to offer a certain number of jobs for women who were in the business of brewing and trading illicit alcoholic drinks.

6.2.4 *The Goal of the Project*

To create a community-based structure that counteracts the well established *Bar Culture* by offering suitable alternatives to idleness and unemployment through recreational, cultural and social facilities.

6.2.5 Objectives

- To provide attractive recreational facilities for the youth.
- To put up a library to enhance one's culture and knowledge.
- To set up a drama youth group that promotes a systematic civic education programme to fight alcohol abuse and other problems of social interest.
- To foster employment by establishing a job placement agency.
- To set up a restaurant that employs women who brewed or traded illicit alcohol.

6.2.6 Rationale of the Project

The Kawangware community lacks perspectives that can transform and develop itself. Alcohol related problems have become part of the life of the people in such a way that it has been integrated within the culture of lifestyle.

There is a strong felt need for a change in the cultural pattern. A multi activities centre can offer new expectations in terms of the development of new possibilities for the youth and adults.

6.2.7 Success Criteria

The success of the project is to be measured through:

- The achievement of its objectives.
- A condition of self-reliance within three years.
- The growth of the project by developing new initiatives in response to new dimensions of the focus of the problem.

6.2.8 SWOT Analysis

Strengths

- The strong felt need of recreational facilities.
- The high number of youth that are potential customers of the services of the centre.
- The positive answer with which people welcome projects, particularly the youth.
- The public acceptance of the project

Weaknesses

- Lack of capital
- The high insecurity of the slum

Opportunities

- There are already a number of projects and organisations in the slum, so that networking is possible.
- Collaboration with the local Church.

Threats

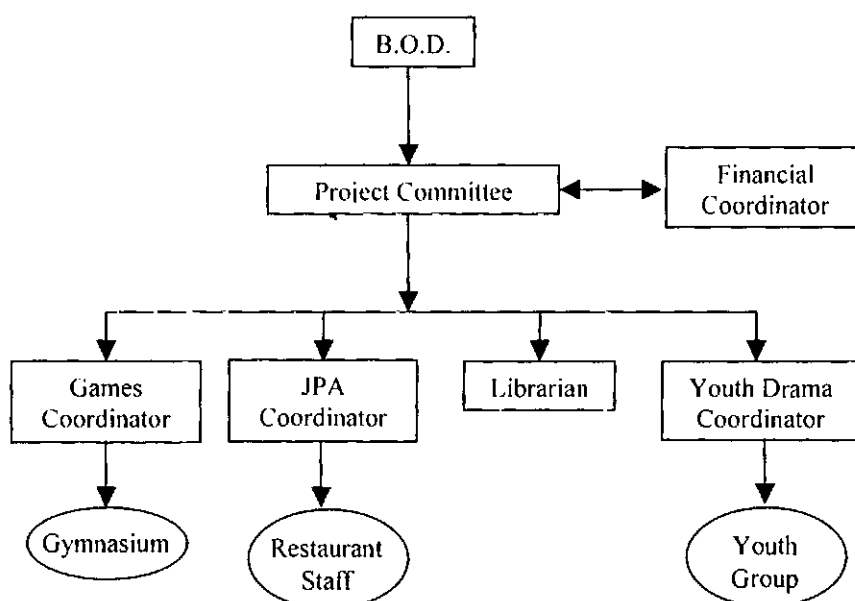
- The variety of the beneficiaries in terms of their age, culture and sex.
- Lack of participation by the locals.
- Possible damage or stealing of the assets of the project.

6.3 Project Activities and Work Break-Down Structure

Objectives	Activities	Work Packages	Time *	Cost (Kshs)
To provide recreational facilities for the youth	Acquire land for recreational centre and library	Research on a suitable location for plot	2w	0
		Buy 0.5 acres of land in the slum and register it	4w	1,000,000
	Construction of a stone perimeter wall	Hire constructors and get the plan	2w	0
		Construction	3w	220,000
	Construction of a temporal structure (120m ²)	Hire constructors and approve plan	1w	0
		Lay down the foundations and concrete the floor	2w	60,000
		Build up the structure with timber and iron sheet	3w	50,000
	Purchasing of recreational material	Buy a table tennis	1w	13,000
		Buy a dart-game	1w	2,300
		Buy furniture for TV-Video set	1w	6,000
		Buy TV-Video set	1w	26,000
		Buy 30 plastic chairs	1w	24,000
	Purchasing material for gymnasium	Purchase locally made weight lifting equipment	3w	42,000
		But removable soft-floor for practising Judo	2w	60,000
To put up a library	Construction of a temporal structure (30m ²)	Hire constructors and approve plan	1w	0
		Lay down the foundations and concrete the floor	3w	30,000
		Build up the structure with timber & iron sheet	2w	25,000
	Purchasing utensils	Buy 6 tables and 50 chairs	2w	62,000
		Buy book shelves	2w	23,000
	Purchasing books and magazines	Get yearly subscription to magazines & newspapers	5w	20,000
Buy/acquire second hand books		26w	80,000	
To set up a drama youth group	Form a youth group among the youth of the nearby churches	Go to Parishes talk to the youth	4w	0
		Gather 30 youth and start informal meetings	6w	0
		Organise 3 seminars about alcohol abuse	3w	9,000
	Provide training on dramatisation	Hire a drama teacher	1y	24,000
		Drama course for the youth	3m	5,000
Equipment of the group	5w	20,000		
Establishing the Job Placement Agency (JPA)	Acquire a second plot for JPA and restaurant	Research on a suitable piece of land	2w	0
		Buy 0.5 acres of land and register it	4w	1,000,000
	Construction of a stone perimeter wall	Hire constructors and get plan	2w	3,000
		Construction	3w	180,000
	Construction of a stone structure (30m ²)	Hire constructors and approve plan	1w	0
		Construction	4w	300,000
	Purchasing equipment	Buy table, chairs and cupboard	2w	27,000
		Purchasing a computer and a printer	1w	80,000
	Marketing the agency	Making brochure	4w	20,000
		Distribution of brochure	4w	10,000
Hiring a resource person in the office	Recruitment	4w	5,000	
	Selection	1w	0	
Setting up a restaurant	Construction of a temporal structure (120m ²)	Hire constructors and approve plan	1w	0
		Lay down the foundations and concrete the floor	2w	60,000
		Build up the structure with timber and iron sheet	3w	50,000
	Purchasing utensils	Buy tables and chairs	2w	22,000
		Buy cutlery	1w	10,000
		Buy kitchen equipment	3w	32,000
	Forming the women group to run the restaurant	Field research to gather the group	4w	2,000
		Organise the group through seminars	10w	15,000
Setting up the operational strategies		1w	3,000	
Total				3,620,300

* w weeks
m months

6.4 Project Management Structure



The B.O.D. is a body that ensures that the project activities are directed towards the achievements of the objectives and goal of the project. The Project Committee is formed by five people answerable to the B.O.D. It contains the coordinator of the project, treasurer and secretary. The financial department comprises different coordinators of the activities. They are the Games Coordinator, the Librarian, the JPA coordinator and the Youth Drama Coordinator. The restaurant project operates as an independent body from the financial viewpoint although it is answerable to the Project Committee through the JPA Coordinator. The project is meant to offer job to ten people. The number can be increased according to the progress of the project. Members of staff in the project are as follows:

- **Games Coordinator:** He/she should have leadership qualities and ability to mobilize the youth that approach the centre. A good amount of initiative is required. At the same time, he/she should be able to co-ordinate the activities of the gymnasium either by employing a competent person in the field or by being him/herself the trainer. In any case, the gymnasium should in itself be self-reliant.

- Librarian: a person with basis knowledge in organizing a small-scale library with initiative to convey relevant activities in coordination with the other activities of the project.
- Job Placement Agency (JPA) Coordinator: a social worker with good knowledge of the working conditions and requirements of employment in Kenya with ability to network with other organisations and make feasible marketing campaigns.
- Youth Drama Coordinator: a person with knowledge of drama and possibly with experience in street performance. Ability to work with the youth is an added advantage.

6.6 Project Budget

Concept	Phase I	Phase II	Phase III	Total (Kshs)
Land for recreational centre & library	1,000,000			1,000,000
Perimeter wall	220,000			220,000
Temporal structure (120m ²)	110,000			110,000
Recreational material	71,300			71,300
Material for the gymnasium	102,000			102,000
Salary game coordinator		60,000	110,000	170,000
Temporal structure for library		55,000		55,000
Utensils		85,000		85,000
Books and Magazines		30,000	70,000	100,000
Salary librarian			110,000	110,000
Form youth group		9,000		9,000
Provide training		49,000		49,000
Salary Youth Drama Coordinator		60,000	110,000	170,000
Plot for JPA and restaurant			1,000,000	1,000,000
Perimeter wall			183,000	183,000
Stone structure			300,000	300,000
Equipment			107,000	107,000
Marketing program			30,000	30,000
Salary JPA coordinator			30,000	30,000
Temporal structure for restaurant			110,000	110,000
Utensils			64,000	64,000
Women group			20,000	20,000
Sub Total	1,503,300	348,000	2,244,000	4,095,300
Add Contingency 15%	225,495	52,200	336,600	614,295
Total	1,728,795	400,200	2,580,600	4,709,595
Less local contribution				
Projects' income		200,000	450,000	650,000
Amount Requested from Donors	1,728,795	200,200	2,130,600	4,059,595

USD 1 = Kshs 78

Total = USD 52,046.08

Conclusion

The community of Kawangware is in dire need of transformation. There has been a rapid breakdown of social institutions, evolving into abusive drinking patterns and further deterioration of the social environment. This centre is meant to construct a conducive moral environment through cultural activities and development projects with the aim of enhancing moral values. Eventually, this will create a change of attitudes of the individuals and the society by offering new alternatives.

Although the project - at its initial stage - cannot directly target more than 100 youth, it certainly is meant to create a new paradigm in the society. This can also lead to the springing up of other initiatives of this kind. Thus, it can be a precedent, setting an example of lifestyle.

Therefore, this project does not tackle the issue of alcohol abuse *per se*, but its root causes, the chief of which is poverty.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire for those who use alcohol

Dear respondents,

This questionnaire is used as a means to help the researcher collect primary data relevant to the problem under investigation - i.e. Alcohol-related challenges in slum areas. This data will be used for this academic research. Therefore, kindly complete the questionnaire. Confidentiality of your information is guaranteed.

1. Age _____
2. Area of Origin _____
3. Area of Residence at present _____
4. Occupation _____
5. Marital Status _____
6. Number of Dependants / people you support _____
7. Religion _____

8. What do you drink? (Tick as many as possible)

- Chang'aa Busaa Miti ni Dawa Muratina Others _____

9. How long is it since you started drinking?

- Less than a month Less than a year Less than two years
 Less than five years More than five years

10. Why do you drink?

- Peer pressure Idleness Stress (family tensions) All of the above
 Other reasons (specify) _____

11. How often do you drink?

- Every day Once a week Once a month Occasionally

12. Does alcohol abuse affect one's health?

- Yes No

13. If yes, how does it affect one's health?

- Mentally Physically Sexual Behaviour Emotionally
 Others (specify) _____

14. Name the impact of alcohol in the family and relations

15. What does your family think about your drinking?

16. Do people ever become violent due to drinking behaviour?

Yes No

What activities do they involve themselves in in such violence?

- _____
- _____
- _____

Which of the above has been your experience:

17. In what way may alcohol abuse affect one's social life?

18. Would you say that drinking has made you have more friends or less?

More friends Less friends

Explain:

19. Has drinking hindered you from actively participating in community activities?

Yes No

Explain:

20. Approximately how much do you get/earn in a month (in Kshs.)?

Less than 500 500-2000 2000-4000 More than 4000

21. About what percentage of your income is put on drinking:

0-20% 21-40% 41-60% More than 60%

22. Would you say that drinking has had a negative impact on your income?

Yes No

23. Has over-drinking made you lose a job or would you say that it has hindered you from getting a job?

Yes No

Mention any effects drinking has had on your job:

24. Have you attempted to stop drinking?

Yes No Explain:

25. Suggest five ways that could help you and others from alcohol abuse.

Thank you

Appendix 2

Questionnaire for those who manufacture alcoholic beverages

Dear respondents,

This questionnaire is used as a means to help the researcher collect primary data relevant to the problem under investigation – i.e. Alcohol related challenges in slum areas. This data will be used for this academic research. Kindly, therefore, complete the questionnaire. Confidentiality of your information is guaranteed.

Basic Information of Interviewee

Nationality _____
Profession _____
Age _____
Residence _____
Gender Male Female
Number of Dependants / People you support _____
Religion _____

1. What do you manufacture / brew?
 Chang'aa Busaa Miti ni Dawa Muratina Others _____

2. Describe briefly the ways in which you prepare the brew.

State two or three main components that enhance the fermentation process.

3. About how much in Kshs. do you get from this business in a successful day?
KSh _____

About how much in Kshs. would you require in a month to sustain yourself and the family?

List your main areas of financial expenses?

4. Any other income generating activity you could try?

Why do you prefer/engage in this business:

5. Are you aware of any policies of the country in regard to manufacture of illegal brews?

Yes No

Have you ever had problems with police or other persons as far as this is concerned?

Yes No

Explain:

6. Categorize your clients as follows:

	Very Many	Many	Few
Age			
Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Youth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adults	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sex			
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Status			
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle Class	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rich	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Do you drink yourself?

Yes No

Explain:

8. Are you aware of the dangers of the consumption of your brew?

Yes No

If yes, give at least five side effects of the consumption of your brew:

Do you think your customers are aware of these side-effects?

Yes No

9. Mention any side-effects this has on the family?

10. Do you think easy availability of alcohol fosters its uncontrollable consumption?

Yes No

Explain:

11. Mention any alternative income generating activity/ies, given an opportunity?

Explain briefly how you would go about it?

12. Explain how non-formal education could create awareness of the dangers of over-drinking in the slum areas?

Thank you