

CHANG'AA DISTILLATION AND DRINKING IN IDAKHO LOCATION,
IKOLOMANT DIVISION, KAKAMEGA:
IMPACT OF THE CLOSURE OF BUSAA CLUBS

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BY

DONDE, DAVID FREDERICK. M

THIS DISSERTATION IS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
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For Esther and Aggrey Mudembei

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ABSTRACT

The study raises the questions of the effect(s) of the closure of Busaa clubs (and ban on brewing of traditional types of alcohol) on the actual activity of brewing or distillation and drinking of Busaa and Chang'aa. The study presents the argument that the closure of clubs and subsequent ban on the brewing and drinking of traditionally prepared types of alcohol had a negative effect than pre-supposed on brewing and drinking activities of Busaa and Chang'aa. Indeed, one of the standpoints of this research is the prediction (and subsequent proof) that the closure of clubs has been the major factor contributing to the now acute problem of chang'aa distillation and drinking at an increased rate than ever before.

A keen emphasis will be attached to the issue of the informal sector and the factors that lead to its emergence - unemployment will feature as the key factor. In the discussion on the Informal Sector, it will be argued for example that there is still a lot of untapped wealth in form of taxation in the Informal Sector - Wealth which could be utilised by the government for economic development.

Introduction

This paper is part of the requirements of the Sociology 3:1:1 course, University of Nairobi. The purpose of the topic on which I have chosen to carry the research is to provide an insight into the business of brewing and drinking of Busaa and Chang'aa especially in the rural areas. It is to bring to the knowledge of the administration machinery the counteractions of the closure of Busaa Clubs and go further to suggest what in effect could have been the best alternative from the point of view of the people effected much by the closure is the brewers and drinkers of Busaa (majorly the common man in the rural areas popularly known as peasants) to solve the problem of excessive drinking of Busaa and or Chang'aa.

The paper is divided into four major chapters - as in the table of contents next page. It tries to examine the issue of brewing and drinking of chang'aa and/or busaa first from the framework of the Infomal Sector: Building it to the emergence of Busaa clubs and Chang'aa distillation and the repercussions of the closure of Busaa clubs. Then the discussion enters into a more statistical region that aims to critically examine each hypothesis and eventually into the more relaxed arena of conclusion and recommendations. It should form a piece of easy but interesting piece of work to the potential reader.

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CHAPTER 1

1:1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The aim of this study is to find out the effect(s) of the closure of Beer halls (Busaa clubs) in 1979, on the drinkers and brewers of Busaa. Furthermore, the study will examine the consequences of this closure for the rate of drinking and distilling chang'aa; i.e. has it changed in any way, has it increased or decreased after the closure. It is also the aim of this study to examine the relationship between brewing and distillation of chang'aa respectively and socioeconomic factors like income, education, age and sex. Status and occupation of the brewers and drinkers of these two 'traditional' forms of alcohol.

Chang'aa distillation and Busaa brewing are classified among Informal Sector activities Mukui (1976.3). One of the factors that was instrumental in my decision to choose this topic for study was one that has been mentioned by I.L.O. (1972.223) that:-

"- the Informal Sector has either been ignored in most cases by the government as unproductive and earning little for our economy, or when noticed, has faced sporadic harassment from law - enforcement officers - "

From the point of view of a sociologist, it is an area of profound interest given the awareness that most (if not all) activities in the informal sector have on most occasions been seen by government officials as the cause of many problems in our society. For example, prostitution is an Informal Sector activity and many people eg politicians have condemned it (Publicly) as contributing largely to the problem of illegitimate children (eg parking boys) without even as much as a thought to the root of the problem is what drives people into prostitution. On the other hand, brewing of traditional types of alcohol like Busaa especially in the rural areas has been seen by many administration officers as a casual sector of crime like murder, arson and also it has been seen as a cause of retardation of development strategies. These and many other perceptions of the Informal

Sector activities have contributed majorly to the general reaction of the government and the public at large about most informal Sector activities; to the extent of undue harassment of even those who run Informal Sector activities that are beneficial to a large section of the public - for example fruit selling along the streets or clothes at open air markets.

Chang'aa and Busaa have become a real problem in as much as the behavior of those engaged in these businesses interact with those who do not. In courts for example, it has become a practice especially in rural areas for people (the accused) to defend their crimes by saying that they were drunk when they committed the crimes they are accused of: Chang'aa has featured prevalently in such cases.

In the fifth Development plan (1984 - 88) the government has stressed its desire to develop the Informal Sector as a source of employment and try to encourage more interaction between the formal and informal sector that has existed before. This of course has not been the trend in foregoing years (even I.L.O. notes this) . In most cases, the informal sector has been seen not as an innocuous sector but as a 'Parasite' of the formal. (See discussion in literature review). Given this change in attitude which must have resulted from the seemingly indegatigable activities of those working in the informal sector in the face of harassment from law - enforcers, the informal sector provides an arena of interesting studies.

It is true that chang'aa and Busaa brewing and drinking have inimical effects on the general behaviour of those involved; their relationship with their families and society in general to the extent that they have warranted a government decision to ban them. What then these effects are is an issue of significance which though is not the basis of this study, but it forms part of it .

The findings of this study will quite evidently contribute to the already accumulated knowledge on the informal sector as relates to this specific problem or topic and in the final analysis, the deliberations will form a frame of reference for government policy makers. Of even further importance will be the search for an explanation as to why people who engage in these activities (especially brewing of chang'aa and Busaa) have proved incorrigible and indifferent to the government's efforts to stop them from carrying out this activities.

One remarkable study has been carried out on chang'aa by Prof. Acuda of the department of psychiatry at Kenyatta Hospital. The study however, was entirely on psychiatric effects of chang'aa drinking. Another study by Cecily Mwangi was done in Mathare Valley but it did not emphasize nor dwell in detail on chang'aa distillation or busaa brewing. Other studies have been done on prostitution (Prof. Muga), on drug abuse (Prof. Acuda, Dr. Yambo 1984), on parking boys, Kiosk business (Mukui 1976) and a few more on Informal Sector activities. This study will be emphatically on chang'aa and Busaa without reference to other informal on the socio-economical aspects of these activities for example, who (socio-economic status) engages in them, what they gain from them, the problems they encounter and what measures they think can be employed to help them solve such problems.

1:2 LITERATURE REVIEW

I have already mentioned above in the problem statement that chang'aa and Busaa brewing are informal sector activities. The informal sector has been defined as:-

"- an intermediate sector halfway between the traditional sector (ie rural - small scale agriculture) and modern sector (i.e. industrial activity)" Mukui (1976:3)

According to this definition, the informal sector is not rural or urban based per-se sector, but a phenomenon of both settings. Informal sector activities, have also been classified into legitimate and illegitimate - with the former including such activities like urban farming, shoemaking, manufacture of beer, petty trading, shoe-shining etc. The former are legitimate because a licence of operation can be issued unlike the latter case where licences cannot be issued. Chang'aa and Busaa brewing are legitimate primary - cum secondary informal sector activities. Mukui (1976:4-5)

The concept of informal sector has been discussed in a number of articles and papers which will be reviewed here. Such are articles by Cecily Mwangi (1975), William House (1977) I.L.O. (1972). My paramount aim is not to discuss the activities that take place in the informal sector, rather, it is to unearth and discuss some of the fundamental factors that facilitate its growth with special reference to the topic of Busaa brewing and Chang'aa distillation as informal sector activities.

Many scholars have explained the emergence of the informal sector as having been majorly out of the lack of employment in the formal sector - i.e. the inability of many people to acquire jobs in the formal sector and the factor that they need money for their livelihood leads them to start business that are not formal from which they can earn some money to meet their domestic requirements.

It is not however necessarily true to say that all those operating business in the informal sector are unemployed elsewhere. Some of them infact are employed within the formal sector and carry out informal sector business as an alternative source of income to supplement their earning.

In our Kenyan context, civil servants have been accused by politicians of running private businesses for example kiosks or matatu business through agents employed to pose as the real owners. And recently, some teachers, lecturers at the university and doctors were accused by Members of Parliament of operating petty - shop keeping business etc. The question to address oneself to is whether these businesses are undertaken as a way of supplementing one's meagre salary or whether it is an aspect of 'get-rich-quickly' nature of the capitalistic mode of productions.

Since unemployment features as the causal factor in the emergence of the informal sector, and not the above factors like supplementing one's earnings; I'll base the discussion on the causes of unemployment and how unemployment influences the emergence of the informal sector. The I.L.O. (1972) report views unemployment as a result of the:-

"- Imbalance between the growth of the labour force, the urban population, education and the overall growth of the economy, and the imbalance between people's aspirations of work and the structure of income and opportunities."

I.L.O. (1972:223)

The above generalisation can be broken down further into the following points:-

- (a) The rate at which the labour force and urban population (for the case of urban informal sector) is growing is higher than the growth of job opportunities in the informal sector.
- (b) The expansion in education is not in harmony with the overall growth in economy and job opportunities for school leavers.
- (c) People's aspirations and expectations of work cannot be accommodated in the present economic set-up given the income disparities and the distribution of job opportunities. It is also evident that the labour force

in the country continues to expand every year as the populations of school leavers increases and finds its way into urban areas; but the economy of the country is faced with two constraints as it tries to deal with this problem. There is the issue of lack of resources to expand and create job opportunities to meet the demand and there is the problem of the job seekers aspiration that are higher than the available opportunities.

The problem of resources is not an easy one to discuss. It is an indisputable fact that our country is faced with a simple but crucial problem of lack of natural resources like fuel, minerals etc that are instrumental in the development of industries which form the core of job opportunities. It is an agricultural oriented country and relies heavily on agricultural strategies to solve her economic problems. With this lack of resources to expedite our economy, the agricultural strategy remains inadequate as a source of income especially for the small scale farmers compound by the increasing shortage of productive land.

Often in most rural areas it is traditional for most patrilineal societies for parents to allocate land to their children. Not all areas have succeeded in this practice because of the diminishing sizes of land as the population increases. However, even allocated such a piece or plot of land to start a living with, a school leaver or drop out (or any other adult by traditional definition) is faced with lack of financial backing that will enable him to cultivate this land and produce anything substantial for his consumption and probably for sale in order to obtain other necessary items.

Maize seed, fertilizers etc increase in prices every day and the question of growing a cash crop a 1 acre plot is tantamount to inviting a shortage of food because the crop will take years to mature in order to be sold for cash. Moreover, it will mean that such a farmer has no other place to plant a food crop for the use by his only family and if the crop does not get a market, he will be faced with a severe problem of shortage of food like the case of sugar cane planters in Mumias.

It is not surprising then if such a school leaver migrates to the urban areas (leaving maybe a wife to look after the farm) to try and obtain a job that will not only be his major source of income, but one that will enable him to save some money for his family at home so that they can (maybe) try to develop the farm.

Dr. Clayton and Greenidge (1974) writing on unemployment in Kenya, supported the I.L.O observation that the unemployment problem in Kenya is not entirely an "absolute shortage of jobplaces but an excess demand for jobs of a specific kind." These are jobs that pay enough to obviate the need to seek alternative or supplementary sources of incomes - jobs of the white collar kind such as teaching, medical practitioner or clerical jobs.

One would want to find out why school leavers in general all over the country aspire for 'white-collar' jobs and not any other jobs that could well be paying enough to meet the necessary requirements. One of the explanations so far brought forward is the nature of the family and social backgrounds of the school-leavers (or any other person seeking for employment) and the other is the type of education they receive at school that is supposed to prepare them for their future lives.

The family background includes parents who are either themselves successful and of high socio-economic status or ordinary people who consider themselves as 'unfortunate' or failures in life. The latter would therefore want their children, given the opportunity of education to excel in their performances and become 'big shots'. They refer their children to work hard and be like these people. As for the well-to-do parents, they cannot imagine or visualise their children as failures and a disgrace to the family - they should therefore do even better.

The social background is made of cultural values, forms of income activities, beliefs and attitudes about the 'prosperous' person. Given even the same education, a child from maasai does not share the same views about prosperity as the child from Kiambu and this is mirrored in their aspirations. Having however, most likely been at the same school, their aspirations undergo certain changes during their interaction with fellow students from different social backgrounds and this leads them to develop desires or expectations far more

different from whatever they could have been able to achieve in their respective social background.

The kind of education the students receive at school and which they must use as their 'pass-key' to white collar jobs has been questioned too. They have been prepared by an education system that has "remained geared towards meeting the manpower needs of the modern sector of the economy - the formal sector and white-collar jobs" House (1977:357). And according to Lockhart (1977:280), supporting the point of view by House he sees the problem of unemployment as emanating from a "Mis-match of the job opportunities of school leavers and the actual job opportunities open to the majority of them". Furthermore Lockhart argues that school leavers actually believe that they have been educated for white collar jobs.

To address myself to the nature of education that is offered in our schools that makes school leaver develop this misguided notion of white collar jobs, Todaro (1976) says that the education system in this country has not equipped the graduates from all levels of education, with knowledge and skills that would have enabled them to carry out more advantageous and investment geared activities; formal or informal. Todaro further says that:-

"....the formal primary school education in Kenya is with minor adjustments or modification, a direct transplant of the colonial system. Emphasis is put on literacy, numeracy and learning a foreign language. The overwhelming goal is to prepare the children to pass exams to proceed to secondary school. The priority need of preparing most of the students (those destined to spend their lives living in rural areas) is given minimal attention".
Todaro (1976:275)

Todaro's observation does not apply only to formal primary education, the same trend is instrumental in secondary curriculum. Very few schools include professional courses in their curriculum - for example carpentry, agriculture and metal work. Though quite understandably, those schools that have incorporated such courses in their syllabuses are plagued with the problem of lack of adequate capital to subsidize them or offer a follow-up of the courses at advanced level. The end result is that the effort is wasted and the students who undertook such courses do not enjoy any professional advantage over their contemporaries who never undertook the courses.

A body formed to review the formal education in this country; the National Committee on educational objectives and policies (NCEOP) - also recognised the inadequacy of primary education as an instrument of equipping the child who cannot make it to the secondary school with ample and necessary skills to help him earn a living from the available resources at home. The body therefore come up with the strategy of extending the formal primary education to nine years. It said this about unemployment;

"- unemployment among the educated is increasing over time the education level at which serious unemployment is experienced has risen and it affects those with technical as well as those with academic education" NCEOP (1975:279)

The NCEOP noted for example that the numbers of Primary School leavers not offered form 1 places had risen from about 84.400 (1964-5) to 142.00 (1974-5) - a percentage increase of about 59.4. And so was the trend at 'O' level and 'A' level. And the students who graduated in arts faculty at the University of Nairobi were being pushed into teaching.

The proposal (though controversial) to delay the completion of Primary School Education for another two years "would allow the majority of the leavers to quit school around the age of fifteen to sixteen rather than thirteen to fourteen" NCEOP (1975:279). This strategy was hoped to make it easier for the school leavers to be absorbed into the labour force and as well, the two years would be utilised to instil skills and knowledge and also to act as a re-orientation to basic needs and income earning opportunities. It (the new curriculum) would include pre-vocational skills, in particular those related to agriculture and small scale business management. It would also seek to alter aspiration (of the students) and attitudes in particular those relating to agricultural work - focusing on 'self-reliance and self employment' opportunities in the rural areas so that they do not depend on their parental support all the time. The idea of Initiativeness and independency was therefore very key. The debate on education continues with another observation - the 'differential opportunity' in acquiring it. If education were to be used as the 'yard-stick' for determining who acquires a job, then the opportunity for acquiring the education has to be universally equalitarian. Contributing to the debate on 'differential opportunity' was Todaro who made the following observation:

"- the education system of any country reflects the essential nature of the society - If a society is egalitarian in its economic and social structures then this will be reflected in the education system. Education systems however, tend to perpetuate, reinforce and reproduce that economic and social structure"
Todoato (1976:271)

Our Kenyan context is evidently not egalitarian in the distribution of her financial assets and income earning opportunities - witnessed in the regional disparities of essential income generating and facilitating resources for example land, infrastructure etc. Todaro sees the institutional and socio-economic structures in Kenya as catering primarily for the middle and upper income groups - education is not an exception. I may not agree entirely with Todaro's observation because it would seem that our efforts in harambee self-help projects are not in any way beneficial to the lower income group. Efforts have also been made by the government in the form of the primary education to ensure that all Kenyans acquire minimal education. It is true that the scheme is not perfect wholly since parents are required to pay other funds, buy books and uniform etc; but in essence, children are not harassed as before and at least it is an effort towards higher literacy and higher chances of getting minimal education than it has ever been before. So it may not be as serious as Todaro sees it.

Also, at secondary school level, Bursary schemes have often come to the rescue of many a stranded student even though they are frequently sabotaged by influential persons for their own personal use.

Disparities exist in several ways in the education system of our country. One of them is the unequal distribution of schools especially those run by the government and are therefore more likely to have a higher standard of education offered than those run on harambee basis. There is also the unequal expansion in self-help harambee schools - resulting from the inter-regional disparity in distribution of resources and income earning activities. Without any doubt people in Kiambu for example are better equipped to raise money towards harambee than those for example in Kitui.

Schools in Kenya are also divided into high-cost and low-cost - serving a cliché of people from different income brackets. And as such, the quality of education in these schools would not be the same resulting in poor performances in low-cost schools that do not have the same facilities like those in high-cost schools. Though not all those who attend high-cost schools do better at examinations, but it is prestigious to be in such schools and this affects the chances of getting a job after completing school.

A good majority of those who attend high-cost schools come from well-to-do families and as I have already said above, they are likely to have influential parents with connections in 'right' (strategic) places that facilitates the acquisition of jobs by their children. The end result is that even those who have passed their examinations from low-cost schools still cannot compete with their counterparts from high-cost schools (who may have failed their examinations) in their struggle to get a job or a training course due to this parental influence, in places suitable for acquiring a job.

The process of 'selection' continues at the level of advancement in education. Not every student has a chance to finish his education at any given level. There are still high demands for school funds, uniforms and books that parents have to forfeit certain basic requirements to meet these demands. Many children however, though they may finish their formal primary education, but they cannot advance to secondary school because the advantage of 'free' education does not extend to this level - their futures are doomed because they are not equipped with any skills apart from writing and reading to start trying to earn a living.

A good majority of those who have been forced out of school for reasons like getting pregnant (for girls) or who have been unable to further their education for one reason or the other flock to urban areas to join relatives and try to look for any kind of job - though some of them come with pre-determined minds as to what they want to do. Their failure to obtain what they had aspired for according to TODARO "..... drives them into the informal sector to start their own businesses or work for proprietors.." Todaro (1976 : 280) Most of those who reached a high level are underemployed in the formal sector as messengers or sweepers because they are desperately in need of a job, regardless of the terms of work. They may be employed in low productivity areas - often on daily basis - but still work for irregular and often

long hours in return for very low rewards (example of shop attendants). To supplement their low pay, some combine 'regular' work with 'off-the-job' businesses which range from petty shop-keeping (often with goods stolen from their places of work) to the selling of illicit beers bought from 'wholesale' brewers. This of course is not just evident in urban areas but also quite prevalent in rural areas.

The unlucky lot of dropouts at all levels without qualifications, failures etc have an even more uphill task to face. In urban areas, they become ayahs, matatu conductors, (manambas) kiosk attendants, shamba boys or become street hawkers selling goods like sweets, cigarettes and fruits. And many others roam streets day and night contributing to congestion, pickpocketing and pilfery. In the rural areas, most of them do not want to become 'servants' to other people and whereas some of them join their parents to work on the farms or run petty businesses (like village kiosks), others remain idle (often gunsheoing in market places) and still a good percentage start petty businesses on their own that range from selling farm products (like groundnuts, cane and bananas) to more 'hard-core' ones like selling local beer bought from 'wholesale brewers or they themselves undertake brewing and distillation.

Actual brewing or distillation is done by mainly those in their teens or twenties with the supervision of their parents. The younger ones act as scouts on the lookout for the police or participate in fetching water or firewood necessary for the activity. Independent brewers (therefore those who brew without the help of their parents) are to hypothesise, mostly young persons (both male and female) and those in their middle ages. The age groups range from 20-30 years and 31-49 years. And from the above discussion I hypothesise also that the majority of brewers are either of low education or not whatsoever.

The informal sector is a haven for many lucrative trades, I.L.O argues that given this abundance in job opportunities in the informal sector, entry into it is a free for all exercise, likewise MUKUI (1976) holds the same view. He says for example that:

"... Not all those in the informal sector have been pushed into there by circumstances. Some who have no job orientation simply migrate to urban areas to look for work, in or out of the formal sector", MUKUI (1976:5).

In his research on kiosk business, Mukui found that the owners of the kiosks were old people over forty years of age and uneducated. They employ young people even up to 'O' level standards as attendants. Yet the owners themselves have no intention of looking for jobs in the formal sector.

*I do not however, share the same views as Mukui or the I.L.O as concerns entry into the informal sector. As 'free' as it appears, the survival of one in the informal sector is based on who he is - ie his status in the society (for example the case of civil servants who run informal sector activities), one's own cunning (when it comes to evading the police or city commission officers) and of importance, the connections one has made with influential people who can offer 'protection' so that he is not harassed.

If one were to conduct a survey of hawkers or street-vendors, the majority are 'protected' - that's they are linked to either Concillors, Politicians, Police officers, Special branch or C.I.D officers in order to stay in business. Some of them acquire this protection by virtue of being related to such people (eg. wives, cousins etc), others pay for such protection. It is not easy to get the evidence for this because most of those people feel that they may jeopardise their businesses if they divulge such information. But during the compilation of this research, I had the luck of talking to a shoe-repairer near the Halls of residence of the University of Nairobi and what he told me was very shocking. He actually claimed that he pays a minimal amount of Sh.20 weekly to Special Branch Officers in order to continue working at this place (which is out of the jurisdiction of the University). Quite evidently, I had the chance to witness the transaction one day as a Sh.20 note was passed to two shabbily dressed men (though quite clean shaven) and my shoe-repairer friend after their departure confirmed they were Special branch officers - anyone witnessing the episode would never have known or suspected anything in the attire the officers were dressed.

And as if in confirmation of the 'protection' issue, the same day, a carton-box shanty home near the Nairobi primary was pulled down. And it was rumoured it was because the owner had not paid his dues to some city commisic official and that is why the askaris pulled it down. Evidently no other shanty home was destroyed even though there are about five of them at this place.

The issue of protection extends to the rural areas as well. Though here, it is mostly to those running businesses like brewing. For the case of the site of this research, Idakho, I have often witnessed cases where a brewer pays either by cash or in kind (eg a bottle of chang'aa) an administration officer so that the brewer is not harassed during raids. The most corrupt officers are Assistant Chiefs, chiefs and administration officers.

Apart from protection, - to continue with the debate on "free" entry into the informal sector - is the issue overlooked by Mukui and the I.L.O. This is the issue of capital to use for starting business in the informal sector. One needs quite a substantial amount of money to get his business off the ground. In most cases the capital comes before protection - therefore whoever is offering the protection also funds the person who wants to start business with starting capital with which to buy apparatus of material (eg carts - mikokoteni) necessary for the business. Others, without offering protection, provide money to run the business but share the proceeds with the seller - such is the case of cloth-dealers. It is an investment that is even prevalent in rural areas.

Chang'aa distillation also needs capital with which to buy all the necessary equipment. Though borrowing is allowed at a fee, (about Sh.15 per item borrowed) but many brewers prefer to buy their own equipment. Often, teachers, civil servants (especially administration officers) join in the business by offering the necessary capital as loans. These may be repaid at any convenient time after the sale of the liquor with a percentage increase - which makes them safer than bank loans that need security to guarantee repayment (More-so the loans are granted at owner's risk).

Mwanqi (1975) in her study of the Unmarried women of Mathare found that they operate a multiple number of businesses that includes urban farming, prostitution and brewing. The influx of people into such business increases year by year - due to the "inability of the formal sector to provide job opportunities for the increasing population" I.L.O (1972:224) This argument is supported by Tadaro who says that during the 1970's, there was an output of about 200,000 people a year from all levels of education, yet there was only an expansion of 30,000 a year job opportunities during the same period.

MWANGI (1975) also says that the majority of those engaged in brewing illegal brands of beer are women. In the rural areas, this might not be the case; Idakho for example shows no special sexual division (or disparity) . From a casual observation both sexes are well represented. As for the drinkers there is a clear male dominance but the ages for habitual drinkers is similar to that of the brewers. Quoting DR. NDETEI, DOROTHY KWEYU (a DAILY NATION COLUMNIST) in one of her essays on alcoholism (1983) says that the age for excessive drinking is between 20 - 29 years and 40 - 49 years. For the Idakho context, I hypothesise the age bracket is 20 - 49 and male dominated.

Having thus dealt with the question of entry into the informal sector, I will now turn to the last - though quite major factor in the emergency of the informal sector.

This is the question of lack of land. A large number of people are forced to migrate from the rural areas to urban areas to look for jobs because they do not have land (or enough of it) to support themselves (and their families). Commenting on the issue of landlessness in the rural areas I.L.O says that:-

"the imbalance in the earnings in rural areas and urban areas is such that in the rural areas, land is the only source of economic development. Without land (or even with it to hypothesise) there is the need for cash, cash for taxes, school fees harambee funds etc". I.L.O (1972:225)

Lack of land (or inadequate supply of it) drives many rural folks whether young or old to seek direct sources of cash. The lucky few get employment in places like schools - as watchmen, farm labourers etc. But the majority have two major courses of action - either to migrate to urban areas to look for paying jobs or start small-time business like selling fruits, vegetables, miraa etc. Others undertake more risky businesses that include what MUKUI (1976) terms 'illegitimate' informal sector activities - for example robbery, smuggling etc. As for my site, (and a good many other places) a large number turn to brewing traditional beers or drinking and sitting at roadsides. A casual observation will thus generate the hypothesis that most of the brewers in rural areas (including Idakho) are either peasants or

those who are traditionally referred to as 'poor' (see operational definition).

CLAYTON (1974:8) also contributes to the question of land. According to him however, it is not so much the issue of lack of land, but the 'unequal distribution' of it. This is certainly the case for our Kenyan context. It is well known that there are people in Kenya with fertile chunks of land enough to be sub-divided into plots enough to be utilised by another one hundred people. Some people do not even cultivate them. Yet in other places, there are squatters with hardly a plot to build a house.

Though this unequal distribution of land is one of the aspects of our economy or mode of production, but then it is inevitable that some people should own so much when others do not have anything. It is also inevitable that those who do not have such assets like land will turn into informal sector activities (though they are joined by even those who have such assets). Poaching, hawking, brewing are some of the most prevalent.

Furthermore and of significance is the observation by I.L.O. that:

"Incomes earned in the informal sector activities (especially in rural areas) are significantly higher than some earned by working for example as a wage labourer on small farms or incomes received by farmers tilling small plots of land"
I.L.O. (1972:224)

To illustrate this point, I will give an example of Chang'aa or Busaa brewing. A drum of Busaa grosses about shs. 250 (see Chapter 3). Minus the cost, the profit is about shs. 70. Assuming that the brewer will prepare a total of four drums in one month, he is expected to have a profit of about shs.300. A wage labourer on the other hand, especially in rural areas, - (like those working for wealthy people) normally earn between shs.200 and shs.250 per month. And on most occasions, are not paid regularly. As for the farmer, his income comes after the harvest - if he has any surplus for sale and therefore he cannot equal the brewers unless he has a large farm or land and/or grows a cash crop like tea. Chang'aa profit are even higher (see Chapter 4). From this information, I further hypothesise

that lack of assets that generate income (or lack of job opportunities) leads people into brewing Chang'aa or Busaa as alternative sources of income or as a way to supplement their meagre earnings.

Though no writer has yet talked about this, but the sporadic harassment of people in the informal sector for example brewers in Mathare or in rural areas like Idakho reached a climax in 1979 when PRESIDENT MOI issued a directive to District Commissioners to consult with wananchi over the issue of beerhalls (Busaa clubs) and come up with a solution as to whether they should continue to operate or not and whether any new beerhalls were to be licenced. (see details *Chapter 3).

Speculating on the consequences of this move- when most District Commissioners had ordered the closure of every beerhall in the jurisdiction without even asking for public opinion - the then Editor in Chief of the 'DAILY NATION' MR. GITHI, predicted the "inevitable increase in brewing and drinking of other brands of beer" (i.e Chang'aa, beer and whisky), since they had not been included in the directive. DAILY NATION, EDITORIAL, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14TH 1979:4

From a casual observation of the situation in Idakho and other parts of the country, the editor Mr. Githi was not far from the truth.

Since beer and whisky are expensive, the only other cheap alternative brand of beer available in most rural areas (like Idakho) and even urban areas, was Chang'aa. And many people despite the fact that distillation of Chang'aa was illegal (since it had never been legalised) turned to distillation and drinking of Chang'aa. One thing became clear, if one were to be arrested because of brewing, then it better be something worth the effort and risk.

Busaa, though cheaper to prepare (due to cost) was not as profitable as Chang'aa and therefore many people (brewers) opted for Chang'aa. As for the drinkers, with the subsequent scarcity of Busaa, they turned to the one 'cheap' and available brand of beer - Chang'aa.

To hypothesise; the closure or order to close beerhalls by District

Commissioners actually resulted in an increased distillation of Chang'aa (and its consumption) though it resulted in a decreased brewing and drinking of Busaa.

To summarise then, let us turn to some of the recommendations that have been advanced by several writers. LOCKHART (1977) sees the solution as lying in the efforts to change the attitudes of school leavers and their aspirations, 'in particulars, these relating to agricultural work' LOCKHART (1977:279). Of the same view is TODARO who thinks that to facilitate such a change in attitude:

" Only an increase in rural income opportunities can reduce the rural-urban wage difference (the basis for aspirations for white-collar jobs) and hence curtail migration to urban areas in search of jobs. Since Kenya's economy is dependent on agriculture, it is only obvious that the agricultural sector should be developed so as to create employment opportunities of the same magnitude as in urban areas" TODARO (1976:273-4)

Similarly MUKUI as well as I.L.O. have expressed the need to develop the informal sector as well as the agricultural sector. MUKUI for example criticises some writers like KAPLINSKY (1975:224) who argue that the informal sector is a 'parasite' of the formal sector:

" to argue that the informal sector is a parasite is analogous to viewing Kenyas' development as being parasitical rather than dependent for relying on foreign technology. The future of the informal sector depends on the attitude of the planners towards the poor" MUKUI (1976:9)

MUKUI further argues that the volume of trade between the formal sector and informal sector is very large. Low income earners in the formal sector are buying more from the informal sector. What the informal sector does is to provide the formal sector with goods and services at very low prices - for example food and clothes. Busaa and Chang'aa are no exception - many people, even those who can afford it, are shifting from beer to drinking Chang'aa (CX3). Others take it as an appetizer before they start drinking other brands of alcohol - this it is understood, stimulates the action faster (an effort to beat the increasing prices of liquor).

The informal sector, says MUKUI, is characterised by 'indigenous resources' and labour intensive technology. It therefore has the * advantage of not being a drain of foreign exchange either as:

"...Payments for inputs or for the repatriation of profits - hence it can only be exploited by the international economic system through the 'formal sector'". MUKUI (1976:14)

I.L.O. on the other hand sees the solution to facilitating a change of attitude in job seekers aspirations as contained in

".. the development of the informal sector so that job opportunities in this sector are as competitive as those in the formal sector" I.L.O (1972:226).

From these arguments it is understandable and quite clear that no one method can be employed to solve the unemployment problem in Kenya. The education system has to be reviewed, though not necessarily as to put an emphasis on technical aspects as some people see it (because this would still lead to a flooding of the market) but as to have a contextual application or meaning in our Kenyan society. Given that we are agricultural-oriented, this sector should be given more emphasis in schools than any other. Agriculture has the immediate limitation of land but if we can produce enough to afford to export some, this can earn ~~us~~ extra foreign exchange which would be utilised in developing agriculture. Indeed as the editorial in DAILY NATION says:

" ..It is important to appreciate that the only way to increase employment opportunities is to raise productivity. Coupled with a rise in the quality of goods and services, this would expand the economy and this would in turn, increase job opportunities.." DAILY NATION, EDITORIAL FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1984:6.

The land tenure issue has to be reviewed so as to curb the emassing of large 'shambas' by a few individuals while others starve for lack of a plot to plant even just a little maize for family consumption. Even them in the rural areas, there has got to be a policy formulated that will entail the use of some measures that will be taken against those who do not utilise their lands though they are very fertile and spent their time brewing Busaa or drinking and loafing at market places.

The informal sector has to be given a second thought and actual measures taken to find ways of tapping the money generated in this

sector by taxation or licensing so that the sector contributes to our economic development. In any case, the funds used to raise the personnel that is involved in running after those operating 'legitimate' businesses in this sector can be used to promote them.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2:1 HYPOTHESIS

The literature review that precedes this chapter has generated the hypotheses numbered below. The hypotheses arise from the discussion on several issues in the literature review among which is the key concept of unemployment. All the hypotheses centre on the topic of brewing and distillation of Busaa and Chang'aa respectively as they interrelate with variables like sex, age, status and occupation of the brewers and drinkers. All the hypotheses given below will be examined in Chapter 4 on data analysis to determine their credibility. Listed below then are the hypotheses for quick reference and also after them comes a sub-section on operationalisation of variables.

1. The closure of clubs resulted in a noticeable increased rate of distillation and drinking of Chang'aa but a decrease in brewing and drinking of Busaa.
2. Peasants and other people usually referred to as poor form the largest portion of brewers and drinkers of either Busaa or Chang'aa.
3. Brewing and drinking activities for both Busaa and Chang'aa are dominated by people with low or no education at all.
4. A large portion of the drinkers are of youthful age (0 - 49 yrs) than old ages (50 and over years) and mostly males.
5. Lack of job opportunities (or unemployment) leads people into brewing Chang'aa and/or Busaa as alternative sources of income.

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2:2

OPERATIONALISATION OF VARIABLES

HYPOTHESIS	VARIABLES	INDICATORS
1	<p><u>Independent</u> - closure Busaa clubs</p> <p><u>Dependent</u> - Increased rate of Chang'aa distil- lation and drinking Decreased rate of Busaa brewing and drinking</p>	<p>- Directive to close clubs (where the public has agreed to the directive).</p> <p>- Number of brewers, drinkers, quantity brewed, frequency of brewing, quantity drunk and sold before and after the ban/closure</p>
2	<p><u>Independent</u> - Occupation - Status</p> <p><u>Dependent</u> - Brewing and drinking of Chang'aa and Busaa</p>	<p>-Type of work (occupation) -Size of land, cattle -Number of people brewing and drinking Busaa/Chang'aa in relation to indepe- ndent variable.</p>
(3)	<p><u>Independent</u> - Education</p> <p><u>Dependent</u> - Brewing / distillation of Busaa and Chang'aa</p>	<p>Level achieved responses in questionnaire (see no.2)</p>
4	<p><u>Independent</u> - Age - Sex</p> <p><u>Dependent</u> - Drinking of Busaa/Chang'aa</p>	<p>Number of years Male/Female see above 2</p>
5	<p><u>Independent</u> - Unemploy- ment</p> <p><u>Dependent</u> - Brewing and distillation</p>	<p>Type of work - Number of people working as above</p>

2:3 Definition of Concepts and Terminology (operational)

1. WHOLESALE BUYER

One who buys (purchases) Chang'aa or Busaa not in bottles, glasses or tins, but in five-litre or 20 litre cans (for Chang'aa) or 5 litre cans and kettles (large - for Busaa). He is also known as 'MIDDLEMAN' (literal translation from MUKOMBOLI). He later sells what he has bought at a higher price.

2. WHOLESALE BREWER

One who brews in large quantities or continuously using mostly drums as a measure (instead of pots). He also brews for a number of times not less than 4 in a period of one month.

3. FACTORY

The place where most of the brewers gather to distill Chang'aa (Busaa is brewed at home) - especially along river banks.

4. POOR

Operational definition for Idakho context (traditionally) is a person without land or with a small plot of it (not exceeding 10 acres). A person who has no animals (e.g cattle) or very few of poor health and are not more than 10 in number.

5. PFASANT

Those farmers who cultivate their small (about 2 - 5 acres) pieces of land in the rural areas and use the products as food for the family without sale of surplus. (Note: the size of land is contextual - applies only to Idakho).

6. INCOME

What the brewers obtain from the sale of their distilled Chang'aa or Busaa brewed regardless of the costs.

7. PROTECTION

A term used here to refer to the situation where a brewer has offered either cash or alcohol or any other inducement to administration officers (or any other person with authority) so so that he is not harassed or arrested during raids.

Note: The term also applies to other people in informal sector activities.

8. UNEMPLOYED

Used here to mean those who are not working for any wages or salary. It also refers to those who do not have land or have only a small plot (less than 1 acre) and therefore do not cultivate for crops - (they are therefore not peasants).

2:4 Site Selection

I had two alternatives to my choice of the site for this study - either in an urban setting or in a rural setting. I decided not to choose Nairobi because a study had been done in Mathare valley on brewing activities. The other likely places of where brewing activities are common are Eldoret, Kitale and Kakamega though Nakuru and parts of Central Province urban centres also experience the practice. However, resources (funds) were limited to allow me to stay at an urban centre where I would have to pay for accommodation and therefore I decided to extend the study on informal sector activities to the rural areas - though this was not the first time for such a study (of Nairobi University Team 1977).

Initially, the research was meant to encompass the whole of Ikolmani Division - consisting of two locations i.e Idakho and Isukha. However, I was advised by my supervisor to concentrate on Idakho only due to the large size of the division.

The choice of Ikolmani (Idakho) was also due to my familiarity with the area as a resident there. It was an added advantage because most of the respondents proved helpful even though they feared the information they were giving out would incriminate them - but at least they took me as one of their own children and not a stranger. Since the location of Idakho consists of only one sub-ethnic group, there was no language barrier and this was advantageous since most of the respondents were either illiterate or could not understand English (and/or Kiswahili) even though they could read and write in Luhya having been to school but dropped out on lower levels.

I had also out of curiosity and personal interest spent quite a long time with brewers and drinkers near my home and equipped myself with general knowledge about brewing and drinking of either Chang'aa and/or Busaa and this proved very helpful especially when some respondents became hesitant and unwilling to answer questions and therefore resorted to telling lies about the activities.

2:5 Techniques of Data collection

Chang'aa distillation has already earned itself a name as a sensitive issue on political and social levels. As such, people are prone to be less enthusiastic about answering questions about it for fear of incriminating themselves. Any technique adopted for this study to tap information from the people has to be a technique that involves intensive inter-action (face to face) with them so as to create a rapport in order to ease the inevitable tension that will obviously prevail between the people and the researcher who will be branded an informer or government C.I.D. I have therefore adopted all the available methods that proved adequate at varying stages with a few irregularities especially in the interviews schedule.

A. Interview schedule

This was delivered in two procedures. The first was a structurally formulated interview - therefore the questions were prepared and written on a sheet of paper and read (not necessarily in the same order) to the respondent, who answered them in his or her own words without being given a choice of answers. They were open-ended questions - for example; what were the functions of Busaa in the traditional community? The informants were in a way 'key informants' and their answers were recorded in a notebook and then later compiled to form what appears here as the 'Historical background' in Chapter 3.

The first stage in obtaining these 'key informants' was to find out from the local headman (LIKURU) in each respective sub-location and other hand-picked drinkers and brewers of experts in the field of brewing - by virtue of their age, duration in brewing and where necessary by the quantities they brewed. The most eligible ones were old men or women above 50 years of age. From each sub-location I obtained at least one key informant bringing the total number of respondents to 10 out of eight sub-locations. In two sub-locations i.e Madivini and Shikulu, I obtained two from each of them - the two added were former club-owners at Shisejeri and Shikulu markets and so they supplied information about clubs. No single person has credit for giving the information in this section because all the information was compiled into one Chapter.

The obvious bias in choosing the right key informant was reduced by not accepting the choice of the headman nor his friends as the final word but by also consulting with a few brewers and drinkers until we came to a consensus. In order to get the most suitable key informant therefore, I first spend a few minutes or an hour at a drinking place on the first day of the visit to each sub-location where I could talk to the drinkers and brewers present at the session to establish to them the nature of the research and also to try and get the key informant. I tried not to carry out any research on this day about the problem of brewing and drinking unless I obtained the key informant quickly.

The second procedure was the questionnaire. This was the key method of the research. Copies of the questionnaires had been prepared beforehand without any tangible form of identification (like a place for the name of the respondent) but for my own purpose, I had numbered the questionnaires from 1 to about 150. A few of the respondents could read and write in English and I gave them the questionnaire to fill themselves. However, during the first two weeks of the research in which I spent in my own sub-location in order to get acquainted with the methods, I discovered the limitation of the questionnaire - people were not ready to have

what they were saying recorded on the questionnaire except for those who could read and write in English and did not see anything irregular with the procedure.

I was forced therefore to adapt the questionnaire technique in two ways. First, I persuaded a close friend of mine - a form four school leaver who drinks both Busaa and Chang'aa to act as an 'assistant'. Although this may be irregular but I found it was not easy for me to walk to drinking places and start interviewing people straight away when in fact I was not a drinker of either type of alcohol and therefore had no right to be at the session - since it is not easy to trace any drinker at home.

The work of my 'assistant' - a habitual drinker of any alcohol, himself, was two fold; to introduce for me to the brewers and drinkers about the research and convince them of my 'cleanliness' - i.e not a C.I.D. The other function after this was to appear for me when I delivered a questionnaire to a person or a respondent who knew how to read and write in English. I had briefed him about the whole research and he was familiar with the questionnaire and therefore his job was to help the respondent fill in the answers whenever the respondent had problems in comprehending a question. However, even so, I tried to be near so that I could offer help or supervision since it was an irregular procedure. The respondents who came under my 'assistant's' guidance were mostly standard eight or seven drop-outs but those of higher academic qualifications (or level) were left on their own unless they requested my presence. Apart from this 'assistant' was of course the local headman for each sub-location (the one they called 'Senior' or overall) and one or two of drinkers who also were helpful as I have said about the key informants - these ones however were temporal and I obtained or replaced them in each sub-location and took others from the new sub-location.

The other adaptation was more tedious and also irregular but there was no option. The respondents who could not read nor write proved very sceptical about the whole business. As such, they were very

hesitant and concerned about their responses being entered on the questionnaire paper - because as they argued, the paper would be brought to Nairobi and they would be traced easily from its contents. It may appear illogical but one must understand again that I was dealing with mostly illiterate people who are very sensitive to anything that looks official and even so, something touching on their safety in society. These people had been harassed frequently day and night about Chang'aa and therefore, due to the heavy fines, imprisonment etc, they were very sure that time had come when they were to be caught easily. The questionnaire, though it did not request for any names, but all the same, it was the evidence the government wanted in order to catch them.

The majority of these people therefore refused to have their responses (having been very helpful and understanding to release them - to their own child) written on the official paper. I am sure, if another researcher went back to the same area (even now that raids have intensified) he would not get any replies to his questions. So I had to prepare separate sheets of paper - rough looking - to record on the information. The plain papers had no numbers on them although I identified them myself by secretly writing a number on each of them so that at the end of each day, I re-entered the information on the questionnaires. To facilitate this, I had a copy of the questionnaire from which I read the question and translated them simultaneously into Luhya, and several sheets of paper onto which I wrote the answers. For example, Question 1 on the questionnaire would be answered as below on the sheet of paper:

Q. 1 (a). 395/= per month.

Whereas question 14 (section B) could be answered as :

Q. 14 (b) 2 times, 1½ years, 6 months.

On the questionnaire, this information could be recorded later. The respondent would of course feel that the sheet of paper alone

could not crucify him or her and answer the questions accordingly. At the end of each day - having interviewed 4 to 6 people, or less, I would now enter the information on the questionnaires.

Problems encountered

I did not encounter any problems with the choosing of the key informants nor convincing them to talk about Busaa or Chang'aa. I was known as being interested in 'Utamaduni' - having once carried out a research on traditional oral literature (stories and tales) in the same area, and to the informants, it was like a continuation, since no single question called for personal involvement.

The District Officer had also requested the people to be helpful and although they were sceptical, but gave me what they could.

With the other respondents, it was in a way tedious to re-write the answers on the questionnaires at the end of each day, but this was the only problem since I wrote all they said without trying to memorise anything - which could end in loss of information. No information was therefore lost through transmission. The other likely flaw of the quality of answers was limited by my already gathered information about Chang'aa and Busaa brewing - during the time I have spoken of above. Without questioning the answers given, I would be able to detect a lie on any question. In such a case when I detected a lie, I would stop using the questionnaire and try to talk around the question I had asked so as to verify the validity of the answer. In all cases, this paid dividends because I would then get the rightful answer.

For example, if I asked a brewer how many times he brews per week and he said three times (not very possible for Chang'aa or Busaa because of the duration of the fermentation process - 3 - 4 days for Busaa and 5 - 7 days for Chang'aa) I would then know she or he was lying either intentionally or ignorantly. I would then start discussing about the process until I found out how he/she organised in order to brew that number of times

and in the end he/she would agree with me that it would not be possible to make it - unless the person was a wholesale brewer and actually brewed both Chang'aa and Busaa simultaneously.

b). Participant observation

It was the most tricky of all the methods because of the fact that I do not drink either Busaa or Chang'aa. But my 'assistant' again came to my rescue. With him, we could visit drinking places and while he drank and joked with other drinkers, he would at the same time try to obtain respondents for me. This method was the one I used to get the drinkers for my questionnaires. The only difference here was that most of them had known about the research since by this time I had already interviewed the brewers and word had spread about it. In each sub-location, the interview for drinkers came last. This 'hidden' participant observation technique was also used to gather any valuable information about generally the activity of drinking and brewing which might not have come up during the 'key informant' session. I remember at one time, at a drinking session for Busaa where my 'assistant' and I had gone as early as 6 a.m in order to watch it and gather any information or interview a few people before they left for Chang'aa, One drinker, a teacher, told me some taboos about drinking Busaa which the key informants had not told me about. Though these are included within the others in Chapter 3, but it just shows how useful it was to 'participate'.

The only problem here was that of being branded a C.I.D but as I have said, this was limited by the help of my 'assistant'. Only once do I remember when a drinker publicly branded me as an S.B. officer but demanded for my authorisation letter (which I produced) to prove that I was not.

2:6 Sampling

At the time of the writing of the proposal, my target of respondents

was 100, divided equally among brewers and drinkers.

This was not the case in the field however, I finally obtained a sample of 120 respondents; 60 brewers and 60 drinkers (excluding the 10 key informants). The sum of 120 respondents is the total number of respondents interviewed without deduction. This however, does not mean that in the whole of Idakho, there are only 120 brewers and drinkers, but this is the much I could get from the population of brewers and drinkers, given the nature of the topic.

However, of a consolation effect is the realisation that in actual sense, the information given by the respondents was not very varied - in most cases, three to five respondents would have similar answers to the questions asked and the only difference would be maybe in their locations (home areas). Most females interviewed for example of the same age and education level would give similar answers when it came to their brewing practices. Brewing is like planting of maize - therefore people do not just do it at random. If one lives in an area where maize is planted twice a year, he does the same unless he plants enough at a go. So like the frequency of brewing, how much is brewed or sold, there is very little variation but the information can be grouped in three sections - those who brew when they chance to get money (no fixed time, amount) , regular brewers (2-4) times in one month in similar quantities, and wholesale brewer (4 and above times).

Similarly, drinking habits vary less since most people prefer to drink after work - the type of alcohol drunk is the same and differences (minimal) will feature in amount and regularity.

However, this is not the factor behind the choice of 120 respondents.

Idakho location consists of 10 sub-locations. To have ample time to cover each sub-location adequately, I spend 5 to 6 days in each sub-location and left the weekends for checking through the information given. I started with my own sub-location and spent the last two weeks of April here. As a result, this sub-location

has the largest number of respondents - this did not however alarm me because according to the Chief, it had the highest number of brewers and drinkers of Chang'aa and Busaa.

Out of the ten sub-locations, two were left out - one of them was the Chief's own sub-location which had no noticeable brewing activities though it was rumoured that some people were allowed to brew by the special licence. In any case, the Chief felt embarrassed when I told him that I would cover his sub-location and therefore I had to leave it out. The other one, Shiseso, the Assistant Chief was very unco-operative and offered no help which made it difficult for me to carry out the research because the villagers proved very hostile - a close associate of the neighbouring sub-location's Assistant Chief hinted that people in the sub-location were allowed to brew at night by special licence from the Assistant Chief at a fee.

The two sub-locations, Sabane and Madivini had the lowest respondents - Sabane because the area Assistant Chief is so rough that brewing activities are very minimal - to get a person to accept that he brews was very hard; Madivini because at the time I had just started carrying out the research, Police-men from Vihiga raided the area and the people thought that I was behind the raid, by this time, I had just interviewed the key informants - a woman and the former area Assistant Chief. The three brewers and four drinkers I only got by the help of the Assistant Chief.

As for the remaining sublocations, I tried to equalize the numbers but it was impossible because of the responses. As a result, no ratio of whatever kind was used in distributing the respondents among the sub-locations. In any case, some sub-locations like Iguhu, Shikulu and Shibunama are larger than the others and trying to equalise the number from each sub-location would just distort the picture. Overleaf is a table to show the distribution.

	NAME OF SUB-LOCATION	NO. OF BREWERS	NO. OF DRINKERS
1.	IGUHU	14	14
2.	SHIBUNAME	9	9
3.	SHIKULU	9	9
4.	SHIVAGALA	8	6
5.	SHISEJFRI	8	8
6.	SHITOLI	6	6
7.	MADIVINI	3	4
8.	SABANE	3	4
	TOTAL	60	60

The interviews were carried as follows:-

a). Key Informants

The first day of the research for each sub-location was to attend a Baraza organised by the Assistant Chief - in which I would be introduced to the people and where I told them about the research. The remainder of the day, I went to one or two drinking places with my 'assistant' - who would drink as usual - and the headman of the area (the senior headman was like a deputy Assistant Chief). At the drinking places visited, I would then try to obtain the 'key informant' using the procedure I outlined above, in the technique section. Of time allowed, I would interview the key informant. As it were, they were interviewed on the first or second day in each sub-location.

b). Brewers

To obtain the brewers, we would walk with the headman and go to any home where he knew they brew either Busaa or Chang'aa (starting with his own if he was a brewer - the Assistant Chief would tell me). At the home, if we found the brewer,

we would then leave to the brewer to introduce us to the brewer and then if he or she was willing to talk to us, I would commence the interview. We tried to avoid homes where there were drinkers after going to one such home and all drinkers run off into the bush for fear of us being the Police, but would come back to it later as soon as most of the drinkers had left. If a brewer was hostile or unwilling to talk, I would then abandon the interview unless my 'assitant' managed to convince him/her - since it was a voluntary exercise. The information I received as I have already said was entered on separate sheets of paper unless the brewer said she/he did not mind where it was written. If the respondent refused to continue with the interview, for any reason whatsoever I would only ask a few questions without recording anything to test the type of information I would have obtained and unless the respondent changed his/her mind or mood, I would not continue with the interview.

As a result of this, after visiting three or so homes, I would be able maybe to interview without any problem one or two of the brewers. My maximum number of respondents (brewers) for each sub-location I had set at ten (10) and therefore if I interviewed any number above five(5), I would not mind if I did not get any other (except for the two sub-locations mentioned earlier). As for those who proved hesistant, as I have said above, the questions I asked were mostly like the size of their land, property, what type of alcohol they brewed, how many times etc so that I would find out if there were major variations with information received from other respondents. The interviews for brewers commenced after interviewing the key informant for a period of two or three days. The remaining two days, I used them to obtain the drinkers.

c). Drinkers

There were easy to obtain since they came from different parts

of the sub-location or even the location and outside the location. There was no need to cover a large area looking for them. After interviewing the brewers, I would then start visiting drinking places - there was no fear of people running away since by then they had known about me - and then I would use the procedure I outlined in the Technique Section - using my 'assistant'. There was no order in picking the drinkers, those who were willing came forward and I interviewed them. This was no like interviewing farmers or other people where I could for example interview every fifth to tenth person. I picked them as they came and interviewed everyone of them. But a few were persuaded by the headman (especially old wazees) who would not have listened to even me alone. The same number of drinkers as brewers was picked from each sub-location except for three sub-locations.

Note: All interviews were carried out in semi-privacy that is, only three people participated - the respondent, the headman (or my 'assistant'), and myself. This was to avoid any duplication of information.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO BUSAA AND CHANG'AA BREWING
AND DRINKING

3:1 Chang'aa and Busaa brewing, drinking; the closure and ban

Nowhere in the laws of Kenya has Chang'aa ever been made legal. Busaa on the other hand, has been legal (and still is legal to an extent - there are places where clubs are still open e.g Huruma in Nairobi), to the establishment of beerhalls (Busaa clubs) and obtainment of a licence to run them from the office of the District Commissioner (the liquor licencing Chairmen)

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The directive to 'close' Busaa clubs was issued by the President and reported in the Daily Nation, Wednesday, December 20th 1978. The President expressed concern over the way people neglected their farms and other development activities and turned to excessive drinking. As he put it, "we must build a healthy nation, that is why we must return to our tradition and feed our children with milk and not liquor".

DAILY NATION (above quoted 1978:1)

District Commissioners all over the country were entrusted with the responsibility of consulting with wananchi and finding out whether the presence of beerhalls (Busaa clubs) was necessary or not. And also whether any new beerhalls were to be licenced or not.

This was the nature of the President's message. It was not an order to close down the clubs, but a directive to the effect that such a step would be taken if the wananchi agreed with their District Commissioners that it was the best alternative.

Most of the District Commissioners all over the country however, exaggerated the issue and actually ordered the closure of Busaa clubs in their jurisdiction without even consulting the ordinary wananchi about it. For example in South Maragoli - (Daily Nation January Tuesday, 30th 1979).- Where a leader's conference unanimously gave authority to the concerned authorities to close down all Busaa clubs in the location. Some of the District Commissioners called Barazas where all Members of Parliament and other local leaders were requested to address the wananchi - in all the cases, the leaders condemned 'excessive drinking' of alcohol and

called for an end to Busaa clubs (as the 'President has said'). The wananchi, by a show of hands were made to condemn 'excessive drinking' of alcohol - especially Chang'aa and Busaa. The show of hands was enough to give the District Commissioner the go-ahead to order the closure of the clubs. Without giving examples of many of such meetings, the most obvious set-back was that people (and even the President) condemned 'excessive drinking' and not drinking as a practice - by closing the clubs then, the District Commissioners expected that people would have nowhere to get Busaa and hence would drink it less. (Chapter 4 tells us what really happened). On the other hand, not a single one of the District Commissioners told the wananchi what closing the clubs really entailed - did it mean for example that there would be no more brewing and drinking of Busaa - and were the people aware of this?

Let us now look at the situation before this move.

3:2 Historical background of brewing and drinking of Busaa and Chang'aa

There are a good number of traditional beers in this country, some are legal and commercial, but others are illegal and are brewed in secret. The most familiar ones are however CHIBUKU, UGANDA WARAGI, MNAZI, BUSAA and CHANG'AA. Chibuku and Uganda Waragi are licenced and are produced commercially. Mnazi is produced at the coast and sold locally - some even at beerhalls. Busaa too was licenced and sold in beerhalls (clubs) until their closure. Chang'aa is illegal.

In the Idakho context, Busaa has always been there - since traditional times. It was however drunk on special occasions by adults unless the parents allowed their children to drink a little (for the purpose of food - especially during scarcity days). In this case, they drank Busaa only in its 'young' stage. Chang'aa on the other hand, is a borrowed activity - learnt from Nubians staying at Nairobi, Marsabit and Eldoret. Hence it was (and still is) referred to as Nubian gin. When clubs were closed, people began drinking more of Chang'aa than Busaa because Busaa was scarce and was hardly brewed in the villages.

Initially at the club, Busaa was prepared in turns with the club owner having the upper hand in selecting which days of the week he would serve his own Busaa (especially market days when customers tended to be many) and left the rest of the days to outsiders to 'rent' at a fee. With this organisation, the club owner had the last say as to who would be allowed to brew at the club and even who drank from there. Most brewers therefore preferred to brew at home although it was officially illegal.

A few other irregularities were also experienced at the clubs; for example the hours of operation conflicted with traditional working hours - clubs opened twice in a day - from 10a.m to 2.p.m and again 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. More so, since many customers preferred to work first in the morning and come to refresh themselves in the evening, the brewers often diluted the Busaa in the evening when the demand surpassed the supply. And this forced those who really wanted to get 'pure' Busaa to come earlier to drink - neglecting their farms in the process.

While clubs were closed, many brewers took this as a cue to start brewing at home. However, Chang'aa had by this time become known as very profitable from those who distilled it and sold it to urban areas. Transportation was easy by either using corrupt Police Officers, school children or influential people whose luggages were (and even now) not checked at Police road-blocks.

Local administrators who proved over-zealous in their duty were bribed either in cash or by giving them free liquor in order for them to grant 'protection'. With most brewers shifting to Chang'aa distillation, the drinkers found it hard to stay without any refreshments and they too turned to Chang'aa, though they had (and have even now) to battle with 'wholesale buyers' in order to get a share of the much needed local beer. Not that they stopped drinking Busaa, but it was so scarce that one could take a month without having drunk any. Even now, it takes time for any brewer to shift to Busaa brewing and even then maybe only once or twice,

This only happens especially during harvesting days when there is abundant maize or during Christmas when people want to celebrate the end of the year. Many drinkers joined the activity and started brewing Chang'aa when they noticed that it looked profitable.

"Factories" sprang up along rivers and police raids intensified.

At the factory, it was competition between drinker and wholesale buyer to get a share of the liquor - some had to lend a hand to actual distillation in order to be ensured of a share of the Chang'aa. Even now, the spectacle at a factory is pathetic. Infact, it is drinkers and wholesale buyers who distill the Chang'aa instead of the real brewer. Coupled with the fear of a possible raid, drinkers cool their drinks on bowls and quickly drink it a 'pause' (the local word for gulping). The result is that most of them are emaciated and ill-looking.

Drinking very early in the morning and brewing at night are some of the techniques used to beat the law. Age is no criterion for drinking like in traditional days. Idle school boys on holiday, join their friends in the practice instead of what it was like in traditional days when sports took most of their time (like dances and wrestling). Drinkers spent most of the day walking from one village to the other, looking for either Busaa or Chang'aa; drinking what they chance to come across first. For the Busaa drinkers, it is a search in vain and they end up drinking Chang'aa as a last resort. The brewers who still brew Busaa are 'raided' by drinkers as early as 4 a.m and by 8.a.m, he is forced to dilute it in order to keep the supply to increasing customers. This irritates drinkers even more and they go in search of Chang'aa instead.

On other occasions, Busaa is drunk when still 'young' - for fear that if it gets 'mature' customers would be too many to get a chance to satisfy oneself. Drank unfiltered, Busaa is very thick like porridge and actually satisfies one.

3:3 Busaa: Requirements for preparation, terminologies and Functions

Without going into actual process of brewing, the two major requirements for Busaa brewing are flour and yeast; water, pots can be easily obtained - even on rental basis for the pots (at 15/= per pot used). The cost of preparing one drum of Busaa is as follows:-

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>AMOUNT NEEDED</u>	<u>COST</u>
1. Maize	3. debes @ 35/= a debe	105.00
2. Grinding maize	@ 3/= a debe	9.00
3. Yeast	4 2kg tins @ 10/= each	40.00
4. Miscellaneous (friends water drawing, pot)		20.00
	Total	shs. 174.00

1 drum grosses about	shs.	250.00
Cost	shs.	174.00
Profit	shs.	76.00

The profit may be more or less depending on how much one spends on costs. Since Busaa is prepared mostly during harvest days when maize is abundant, the cost for buying maize is never realised and therefore the profit is very high.

The following terminologies are used by Busaa brewers

- a). SHINOKHO:- It is a thick porridge obtained by mixing flour and water during the first stage of Busaa brewing. It is allowed to ferment for 3 - 4 days before the next stage commences.
- b). TSIMBALE:- Obtained from the 'Shinokho' by breaking it into small pieces and frying it. It is food mostly for children (students too) especially when sweetened with sugar and a little water to soften it.

- c). LIBUTIA:- A kind of Busaa that takes a longer process to make than ordinary Busaa. The 'shinokho' is prepared like ugali instead of leaving it to ferment. After which it is dried in the sun, broken and mixed with water and yeast and left to ferment for three days. It is sweeter than ordinary Busaa.
- d). SHINAWOLI:- The top foam-like substance on Busaa during fermentation. It is removed because it adds a bitter taste to the Busaa. If Busaa is drunk before this is removed, it is called 'young'.

FUNCTIONS

In traditional days, 'tsimbale' and 'young' Busaa were given to children as food during scarcity days, droughts or when food was not abundant.

- a). Also as refreshment after a day's work - by invitation and only those who had worked would drink. No children were allowed 'mature' Busaa.
- b). Payment - when a farmer wanted to plant or weed his farm, his guests (not 'workers') would drink Busaa apart from other foods - no money was necessary.
- c). Medicinal - for those who had stomach problems. Also for sacrifices at shrines. Priests used it the same way 'wine' is used now. At festivals, Busaa was served to judges (elders) - e.g. during circumcision, initiation, funerals, weddings and elders' court.
- d). Bride Price - to be presented to the bride's father as a token of gratitude.

REGULATIONS

In the traditional days, Busaa was drunk straight from the pot - unfiltered. The pot was placed near a fire to warm or hot water was prepared and added to the Busaa inside the pot at intervals to warm it and also to reduce its potency, because in those days. Busaa prepared was of very high quality. If the Busaa was for workers, it was

prepared 'wholesale' - a large pot - "INZIHU" and other smaller ones - "ILEMO" - since it was like "payment" to those who had worked. But if it was for a social gathering, it was less.

The Busaa was drunk using small pipes 'TSISESHE' specifically made for this purpose. At one end it was open but it was partially closed at the other using a special kind of plant (or recently cloth) fixed round it to act as a filter. Nowadays Busaa is drunk in tins varying in sizes from 500 gms to 2kg and costing from 50cts. to 2/= or 1.00 to shs. 4.00.

1. Busaa in its mature stage was drunk only by adults - no young men or women who were unmarried were allowed to drink it. Some societies even forbade those without children.
2. Married women drank Busaa only in the presence of their husbands and only when permitted. Only elderly wives or favourite ones were ever allowed to join the 'SHIREVE' - the group where the Busaa was drunk - at a Mugumo tree.
3. A brewer, when mixing the flour and yeast and water used a stick from only a kind of tree locally called 'MUSULULITSA'.
4. The brewer was forbidden sexual relationship with the partner during the preparation; nor was he allowed long journeys.
5. The brewer could not wash his hands after putting yeast in the flour mixture - until the Busaa was 'mature' (1 - 2 days).
- *6. Rivals, witches, medicine-men or any undesirable people could not share Busaa from one 'Shireve' with their other clansmates. Likewise, were people at loggerheads or murderers. To drink Busaa together at one 'shireve' was symbolic of a union.
7. All the 'Tsiseshe' inside the water were not to be shaken or removed when adding hot water - nor were the owners allowed to speak lest the person adding water is infected by a rash.
8. The elder person put his 'Luseshe' inside the pot first as a sign of respect.

9. For hygienic reasons, women allowed to drink and leaving the 'shireve' for a while could not come back to drink. All women present sat between the legs of their husbands (or brothers-in-laws) and drank using their husband's 'Tsiseshe' - a move to curb adulterous behaviour.
10. If the Busaa was for workers or for visitors, no other person was allowed to drink unless he was part of the group or was invited by a friend - in which case he could not sit down to drink but do it while kneeling or squatting.

3:3 Chang'aa:costs of preparation

Chang'aa requires more 'raw materials' than Busaa. The requirements include:-

1. Special sufurias designed for the purpose - at least 3.
2. A drum for fermenting.
3. Pots for distillation.
4. Firewood and a lot of water for 'cooling system'.
5. Measuring utensils - glasses, bottles cans etc.
6. Flour - (from half-rotten maize).
7. Yeast and sugar.

Most people who distil Chang'aa need a source of water (abundant) and firewood - otherwise the cost of having to look for them by buying or employing somebody to bring them would erode the profits. Many of the brewers will therefore encounter the following costs to prepare one drum of undistilled Chang'aa i.e. 'IGANGALA'.

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>QUANTITY</u>	<u>COST</u>
1. Maize (half-rotten)	2 debes @ 30/=	- 60.00
2. Grinding	@ 3/= a debe	- 6.00
3. Yeast	1 2kg tin	- 10.00
4. Sugar	-	- 200.00
5. Miscellaneous		276.00
		20.00
	Total cost	shs.296.00

1 drum	Grosses	1 20 litres can	shs. 400.00
		Cost	296.00
		Profit	shs. 104.00

N.B. These figures were given during June-August months when there is a scarcity of maize. But after harvests, there is an abundance of rotten maize and therefore many do not actually spend money on maize. The profits are higher then.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4:1 Profile of the Respondents; age, sex and occupation

Idakho location is one of the two locations that make up Ikolomani Division, Kakamega District. The people who stay in this place are Luhya though their language differs phonetically with other sub-ethnic groups of the Luhya. They are basically farmers - practising mostly peasant farming with pockets of arable and subsistence farming. Those who practice arable farming are mostly those of the ruling clan - Abashimuli - who by virtue of their status got many animals to rear during their clashes with the pastoral Nandi's in the early years of this century. They have tried to keep this trend though the head of cattle diminishes due to increasing population and lack of land to graze them. Whereas for example during those days, cattle-lords had in the range of 50-100 heads of cattle, nowadays one who has more than 10 is considered well-to-do - 'MUHINDA'

As for land, contrary to the neighbouring Maragoli who because of their high population, they have an acute shortage of land, the Idakho still enjoy a privilege of having fairly large pieces of land - ranging from 15-30 acres for the lords, 10-15 for the middle or medium 'haves' and quite a good number below 5 acres (traditionally considered 'poor'). Subsistence farmers (especially those with larger sizes of land) grow tea and coffee and are able to earn an income from this. - Otherwise the majority of the people are peasants planting maize, beans, millet and other food crops for their family consumption.

Those in the working class - even though they may have smaller plots of land - have an advantage over the farmers due to the fact that they have a regular income - but for most of the people (as we shall see soon in the data analysis section) life is a struggle as they try to beat the rising costs of essential goods for family use - even planting maize needs money for the seedlings and fertilizer. And at school, parents are asked to buy uniforms, desks and books for primary school kids, whereas those in secondary schools (especially Harambee) pay no less than Shs. 2000 yearly for fees alone and apart from this also contribute heavily (shs. 400-600) for Harambee funds at school or building funds. These are some of the problems that face some of these people - no wonder some of them find it worthwhile to practice business like chang'aa and busaa brewing to obtain ready cash to meet some of these requirements. Educationwise, the Idakho people are not very enthusiastic about schools (building) but would like their children to go to school - some have managed to reach high levels like the University, though some parents

find it taxing to pay fees for their children hence some drop out at early age.

This is then the type of people from whom I obtained my 120 respondents for this research. The above information may be given as a clue when it comes to next section - there was no need to go further into the real characteristics of these people - the above will do for this study.

Below are tables to show the profiles of the Respondents.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND AGE

AGE-GROUP	TYPE OF SAMPLE / NO. OF PEOPLE / SEX					
	KEY INFORMANTS		BREWERS		DRINKERS	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
10-20	-	-	-	1	-	-
21-30	-	-	6	4	20	3
31-40	-	-	13	7	20	7
41-50	2	1	7	8	3	3
Over 50	4	3	5	9	2	2
TOTALS	6	4	31	29	45	15

TABLE 2:1: DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION

TYPE OF RESPONDENTS	EDUCATION			(OCCUPATION)-
	NONE	LOW	HIGH	TOTALS
KEY INFORMANTS	7	3	-	10
BREWERS	27	28	5	60
DRINKERS	22	25	13	60

TABLE 2:2 OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	SAMPLE		
	KEY INFORMANTS	BREWERS	DRINKERS
Unemployed	-	5	15
Peasants	6	54	28
Teachers	1	-	12
Retired on Pension	2	1	1
Others	1	-	4
TOTAL	10	60	60

With this profile of the respondents and Key Informants, I can now proceed on to the next section. I must remind readers again that the information I recorded from the Key Informants was compiled and it appears in the Chapter preceeding this one. It was of a historical nature and therefore it was not included in this Chapter. Below then is the information about the answers given by brewers and drinkers - a prelude to testing of the hypotheses formulated in the literature review.

4:2 BUSAA AND CHANG'AA - DRINKING, BREWING AFTER CLOSURE OF CLUBS

The trend of brewing, distillation and drinking of Chang'aa and Busaa has undergone tremendous change since the closure of clubs in 1979 following the directive by the President to cut down on over-drinking. I have already talked about the nature of the directive and subsequent events that took place. One of the counter-actions predicted by George Githii (editor in Chief of 'Daily Nation' Newspapers at that time) was that "People would resort to finding ways and means of bending the rules; the state will have to spent a lot on law enforcement" Daily Nation, (editorial, Wednesday, February 14th 1979:4). Mr. Githii also predicted the "Inevitable increase in brewing and drinking of crude brands of alcohol" and also the "Mushrooming" of illegal brewers operating in unhygienic conditions. The low-paid worker, he continued, would not stop to drink; instead he would continue, but at a high cost, denying his family its necessities.

What Mr. Githii was trying to say was that pressure for cash would make it impossible for the brewer to stop brewing just because clubs had been closed. If there was any change, it would be to start brewing other brands of alcohol. The only likely brand of alcohol (though illegal) was Chang'aa which could be distilled locally. As for the drinkers, they would shift to even more expensive brands of alcohol.

Table One (1) gives us a clue as to what happened. I have already said that drinkers did not stop Busaa drinking but Busaa became very scarce, (due to the shift by brewers to Chang'aa distillation more than before) they started to drink more Chang'aa than Busaa, which came after longer intervals of time. Table 1 therefore shows no shift in percentage of Busaa drinkers - it remained constantly at 98.3% - though from the frequencies we can see that one more person joined the drinkers. (a person who had not been drinking Busaa before the closure). Chang'aa drinkers however, portray a major increase - the percentage

shows a steep increase from 44.1% to 63.3%.

The trend for Busaa brewing declined from 92.6% to 83.3% - this may be due to some of the brewers abandoning Busaa brewing altogether - or judging by the frequencies, more non-brewers joined the group of Chang'aa brewers. The first reason could hold more water though the second one is feasible because as I have said before, many brewers abandoned Busaa brewing because it was not very profitable. One of the reasons being that at the club, a brewer wasted very little Busaa by serving it free to customers (friends), but at home, people wanted to drink Busaa the traditional way - free of charge and adults only.

Chang'aa distillation increased: of the sample of 60 respondents, out of 32 who had been distilling Chang'aa before the ban - a percentage proportion of 59.3 of all brewers, 46 of them (representing 76.7% of total number of brewers) were distilling Chang'aa after the ban. Using the sample then, it was a 17.4% increase in distillation (compared to the 19.1% increase in drinking the same type of alcohol).

Table 2 also portrays a significant change in the trend of brewing and distillation of Busaa and Chang'aa respectively. This is from the perspective of the average amount of alcohol brewed. On average before the ban Busaa was distilled in large quantities; 1 drum of Busaa consists of 6 pots. So most of the brewers (i.e. 28%) brewed an average of 7 pots to 12½ (approximately 1 drum to 2 drums) 22% of them brewed slightly more than 1 drum (13 pots) to 3 drums (18.5 pots). Those who brewed over 3 drums were mostly club-owners or those who could get the chance to brew at the clubs - above this quantity, there is a combined percentage of thirty (30). The 20% who brewed less than 1 drum (6.5 or less pots) were mostly villagers who brewed for special occasions like ceremonies.

The trend after the ban changed drastically, now, more brewers than before brew less than 1 drum - (50%) compared to 20% before the ban. And less people brew Busaa 'wholesale' i.e above 4 drums. The percentage for 'after ban' for wholesale brewers is 4% compared to 12% 'before ban'. These figures are suggestive that Busaa brewing has reduced in quantity, though the number of brewers remains the same.

Chang'aa distillation before the ban was relaxed - only a few brewers (9.4%) could distill more than 1 drum of Chang'aa, as compared to 30%

after the ban. The majority of these who ventured into Chang'aa distillation before the ban hardly brewed over 1 drum - a percentage proportion of 90.6% of the brewers, yet, after the ban, only 32.6% still distilled this amount. And whereas initially no brewer could distill beyond 2 drums of Chang'aa (12 pots) after the ban, 17.4% distilled between 13-18.5 pots (2 drums - 3 drums approximately), 10.8% between 19 - 24.5 pots (3-4 drums), and 6.5% 'wholesale' - i.e over 4 drums (25 pots and above).

NOTE: A brewer distilling 1 drum of Chang'aa obtains an average of a one 20 litre jerry-can of distilled Chang'aa.

The next evidence in this section about the increased rates of Chang'aa distillation and drinking and a decrease in Busaa brewing; and drinking is contained in Table 3. Here we are looking at the average number of times of brewing in a period of one month. Looking at the column for Chang'aa, before the ban 50% of Chang'aa brewers distilled Chang'aa once or less times in a month - compared to the reduced proportion of 15.2% of brewers after the ban. The 1 or less here means that if one could not brew once every month, then he brewed whenever he or she was financially able to do so - maybe only once in a space of two to three months. The table shows a 43.7% for those who distilled 2-3 times (39.1% for after the ban), 6.3% (43.4% after the ban) for semi-wholesalers. Nobody could brew beyond five drums. In the 'after ban' column, there is a combined 45.6% of brewers who were 'wholesale' brewers. This evidence shows that Chang'aa distillation has increased.

In the Busaa column, most of the brewers (46%) brewed an average number of 2-3 times a month, whereas 32% of the Busaa brewers brewed an average number of 4-5 times. Among these and another 12% were wholesale brewers. In the after ban column, Busaa brewing is decreasing - now more brewers brew less times than before. There is a concentrated 54% for those who brew occasionally, (1 or less times a month), a 24% for 2-3 times and only 18% and 4% for 4-5 times and wholesale brewers. Those who used to brew Busaa 'Wholesale' were mostly club owners or those allowed to brew from there because they could be assured that their Busaa would be sold without loss but now that clubs are closed, it is not easy to repeat the same practice. One needs the equipment, the labour and also

'protection' - this time against being harassed by friends, other villagers who want to drink the Busaa free of charge. At the clubs this was never the case because the club owner supplied all the requirements except the actual brewing itself. And there were 'askaris' hand-picked among bully men to get rid of noisy drinkers or those who created disturbances.

The last evidence in this series to show the trend of brewing and drinking of Busaa and Chang'aa appears in table 4. This table attempts to show the change by looking at the amount of alcohol sold per day after brewing. In the section on Historical background I said that nowadays people struggle to get Chang'aa together with 'Wholesale' buyers and that they walk for long distances or wake up at 4.00 a.m in order to get a tin or so of Busaa. In table 4:1 looking at the column for 'before ban', most brewers tended to sell all their Busaa brewed. We have seen from table 2 that the majority brewed between 7-12.5 pots, and in this table, the majority of brewers (38%) sold between 3-8 pots. Without looking at all the categories we can see that even 'wholesale' brewers used to sell their brew - some in one day or others, depending on the demand, would need two days to clear it - as I gathered during the interviews.

The point, however, was to compare 'before' and 'after' ban date. In the after ban column, a proportion of 44% of brewers sell 2 or less pots of Busaa, and 20% sell 3-8 pots (compared to 38% before ban). Maybe one of the reasons for decreased selling of Busaa is that most brewers do not prepare quality Busaa. (their attention is more on the Chang'aa side). As a result, the drinkers as I have said, when they find that Busaa is of low quality (see Chapter 3), they normally leave the place in search of Chang'aa or more quality Busaa. A brewer who does not sell his Busaa risks losing more customers if he lets it turn 'sour' i.e. has passed the stage when it was to be drunk. On such an occasion, most of them now turn it into 'IGANGAIA' - undistilled Chang'aa - by putting sugar, which will later be distilled to obtain Chan'gaa.

No Busaa brewer, even the few who still brew 'wholesale' can sell it all. Table 4:1 shows no brewer sells above 21 pots of Busaa (approximately 3½ drums). One of the reasons to explain this finding is that the Busaa is normally of poor quality and the drinkers do not drink much

of it. And also since the Busaa is brewed at home, it cannot attract the attention of all possible customers since there is no mechanism through which they can be informed that it has been brewed. At the club, it was obvious that there was Busaa and customers came from many parts of the location and beyond.

With Chang'aa initially, before the ban, and even when prepared wholesale, the majority of brewers (about 43.8% of them) sold 3-7 bottles; and 40.6% of them sold 2 or less bottles per day. From the total number of brewers, only 3.1% sold beyond 18 bottles (approximately 2½ five litre cans) - 7 bottles make one five-litre can. But after the ban, the trend has changed. A change can be noticed in the 'after ban' section, a proportion of 43.5% of brewers sell between 8-12 bottles and 26.1% between 13-17 bottles - unlike 9.4% and 3.1% of brewers for period before ban for the same amount of alcohol sold. And a 15.2% represents those selling over 18 bottles (2½ five-litre cans). From the participant observation, this percentage of brewers has the majority selling all the 20-litre can of Chang'aa distilled to 'wholesale' buyers.

These tables therefore give us a clue as to the possible events after the closure of clubs and ban on traditional beers. As the brewers were shifting to brewing more and more Chang'aa but less Busaa, drinkers also changed their drinking habits to more consumption of Chang'aa and a less one for Busaa. On the basis of these findings, it can be concluded at this level that there seems to be a noticeable change in the trend of brewing and drinking of either Chang'aa or Busaa. However, in the section on hypothesis testing, we shall see whether the evidence supports this conclusion or not.

4:3 Distribution of brewers and drinkers according to their preferences in brewing and drinking of either Busaa or Chang'aa.

One of the key questions in the questionnaire was asking the brewers or drinkers why they preferred to drink or brew one type of alcohol to the other. The comparison was between Chang'aa and Busaa. The results for this question are recorded in tables five and six simultaneously. Four reasons were very instrumental for the drinkers in their choice for Busaa (see table). The major three are:

- a). Busaa was cheap - Busaa is sold in tins (Kimbo, Caltex or Blue band), varying in sizes and cost - from 500 grams (shs.1.00) one kilogram (shs.2.00) and two kilograms (shs.4.00). One needs an average of three-one kilogram tins daily for those who drink it as a refreshment. This brings the cost to about shs.6.00. As for Chang'aa, most of the drinkers prefer a minimum of two glasses - which will cost between shs.10.00 and shs.15.00 depending on where it is bought - it is cheaper at the 'factory' than from 'wholesale' buyers.
- b). Busaa is satisfying or it is food, whereas 23.5% of brewers gave the reason that Busaa was cheap compared to Chang'aa, 26.8% and 20.8% gave the reason that Busaa is satisfying food - in actual sense they were saying it was 'more satisfying' than Chang'aa. "It gives you the feeling that you have had something to quench thirst or hunger". Chang'aa on the other hand, leaves your stomach 'warm' and many of its drinkers tend to lose appetite on foods especially if they do not contain fats - they prefer meat than green vegetable.

Busaa is food, - it is likened to porridge. If one drinks Busaa, he gets satisfied - he gets energy to work unlike Chang'aa where one gets easily drunk. A pure Busaa drinker at home (IDAKHO) is easily distinguishable from a habitual Chang'aa drinker (who does not neutralise the effect of Chang'aa by a balanced diet and exercise); the latter is emaciated and has blood-shot eyes, compared to the former healthy, energetic hard-working Busaa drinker. The percentage proportions on the Chang'aa side may not have a lot of meaning, but the frequencies show that fewer drinkers prefer this type of alcohol. The 'majority' of them, (46.7%) prefer it because they say it is cheap. According to their argument, they can do with a glass or two of Chang'aa - costing

a total of about shs.10-15. On the other hand, they argue, when they want to drink Busaa, it must be over 15 tins (1 kg) so that they feel 'satisfied'. This will cost them about Shs.30/- . Whereas their argument carries water, but then this is a case of 'wholesale' drinking - drinking not as a way of refreshment, but on a spree. It is excessive drinking. One expert on drinking during the interview said that Chang'aa takes a shorter time to clear from the head than Busaa - hence if he wants to get drunk, he drinks Chang'aa.

The brewers, table 6 have even better points. Busaa is cheap to prepare - it costs less; a reason advanced by 67.6% of the brewers' responses. But is certainly does not apply to Chang'aa - only 3.9% of responses show this. But then Busaa is not profitable - it does not earn more than the other (Chang'aa) - a score of 60.8% on the side of Chang'aa compared to its 13.5%. Busaa does not even have a high demand as much as Chang'aa - 18.9% of Busaa brewers argue the contrary, as compared to 23.5% of Chang'aa distillers who say it has a heavy demand. This demand however, I must say, is not localised to the site where the brewing takes place. When Chang'aa brewers argue that it has a high demand, they are really referring to the demand from other areas - from wholesale buyers.

Some of the brewers also advanced the theory that Chang'aa is not perishable - and indeed if one distilled Chang'aa and could not sell it for any reason (for example if raids intensified or it was not of very high quality), he/she would bury it for even a period of one month. According to drinkers, this type of Chang'aa was the best. Busaa cannot be preserved under any conditions. Though the percentage for this group was very small, only one person representing 2% said so, but during the participant observation, a good number of brewers and drinkers who although they refused to be interviewed fully, but they consented to this argument when I mentioned it. A 9.8% proportion of brewers did not know how to prepare Chang'aa (though they brew Busaa).

This evidence generates or supports the observation I made earlier in Chapter 3 that drinkers are in a dilemma of choice. They drink what is therefore available even though they may want the other

alternative. Demand has been demarcated into two types; demand from the local drinkers who want to buy a glass or a bottle, and demand from 'wholesale' buyers. The problem with the former is that by drinking at the brewer's home or at the factory they increase the chances of the brewer being caught red-handed. Brewers also prefer wholesale buyers because they buy the whole distilled Chang'aa and pay cash, the profits are worth the risk. Busaa on the alternative, has less value - even policemen when they raid at times release a brewer who parts with the Chang'aa and some money than a Busaa brewer and his pots.

4:4 Distribution of drinkers and brewers on the basis of occupation, their size of land and head of cattle.

In the literature review, ⁴⁰ I mentioned that the majority of brewers are unemployed, peasants or those referred to as poor by traditional definition. Tables 7, 8, and 9 contain data that will help me discuss this issue. Looking at table 7, there is a descending order in percentage as one moves from those without land to those with large shambas. Almost half of the drinkers (41.7% have no land (among whom though not shown is a percentage of 13.3% of those who had not been allocated any land - as it is the tradition - by their parents. Another 33.3% have less than six acres though more than one acre e.t.c. Only one person, (1.7%) has over 11 acres and above - a landlord in the class of brewers - the same for drinkers.

The same trend is seen in the row for brewers - 25% have no land (among whom are 11.7% who have not been allocated any land). The process of allocation normally applies to those who are married and have children. Relatively, brewers seem to be well distributed between those with 1-5.5 acres (represented by 41.7%) and those between 6-10.5 acres (representing 38.7%). From the casual observation in the field and from information other than through the research, it is known that brewers use some of their money, when accumulated, to buy small pieces of land which they consolidate to acquire large ones. Drinkers on the other hand are known for their tendency to sell parts of their land to pay for maybe fees (which brewers easily obtain from brewing) or harambee funds and the rest is taken to bars for a drinking spree.

As for table 8, the relationship between the brewers and drinkers is not very varied in their ownership of cattle. Again, it is a descending order in percentage proportion as one moves from those without to those with herds of cattle. Drinkers without cattle represent 45% of all drinkers (among whom are still 13.3% who have not received their share from their parents as it is the tradition) compared to 41.7% of the brewers. (see table 8 for details) But in this category, two drinkers (3.3% of all drinkers) had over 11 head of cattle. Incidentally, one of them is the same one with over 11 acres of land. He is a former Assistant Chief in one of the sub-locations and even grows coffee. The other one is a son of the late Chief of the area - Shivachi. The brewer with over 11 head of cattle is the same one with land over 11 acres - he is a former club owner at one of the markets. The table is self-explanatory.

Table 9 shows the occupation of the drinker and brewers. During the interviews, as indicated beside the table, the unemployed applied to those without any jobs and also those without land on which they could practise any peasantry. They constitute 25% of drinkers and 8.3% of brewers. Not surprising is that nearly all the brewers are peasants - represented by 90%, as compared to 46.7% of the drinkers. Any of the reasons I have advanced before could explain this. A drinker has no time to attend to his farm - he either sells it or leases it to other people to cultivate it. Very few considered themselves as peasants. Teachers constitute about 20% of drinkers but no teacher is a brewer (though some aid them with money). Throughout the research, I never came across a teacher who brews himself - however, some had wives doing it. The proportion for teachers who drink Chang'aa and/or Busaa may be higher than this for a larger sample. The other categories, retired, constitute 1.7% of drinkers, and the same for brewers and a / etc 4.7% for other occupational activities.

The question to ask here is why most brewers are peasants - in fact, the statement could easily apply / other-way-round - that most peasants (for the Idakho context) are brewers. They experience problems in buying the necessary requirements for their farms, they need to pay fees and other household goods also need money. Their only source of income is the farm - but the proceeds only come after harvesting. To

supplement whatever earnings they get from maybe working family members and/or relatives, brewing is a good alternative.

Drinkers on the other hand, if they have not sold most of their land, lease it to other people for cultivation. Also it is possible that most or some of the drinkers I interviewed at drinking places had other members of their family brewing and did not want to say so - when asked about their occupation, it would be easier for them to say they are unemployed than say they are peasants.

4:5 Educational background of the drinkers and brewers

Table 10 shows the education levels of the drinkers and brewers, before and after ban. The category of those with low education should not be taken literally as thus; in this category are Standard 8 school leavers whose level of education and intelligence cannot equal the present standard 7. However, the essence here is not on intelligence, but is based on achievement - the level one attained at school. This group has the highest percentage of drinkers for both before ban (constituting 40.7%) and after ban (41.7%). Similarly this applies on the brewers' side; represented by 50% (before ban) and 46.7% (after ban).

Compared with those of 'high' education, they have a 22% representation before ban and 21.7% after ban. And for those with none, are 37.3% for before and 36.7% for after. The percentage on the brewers side leans more on those with no education - representing 42.6% (before ban) of the brewers and 45% after ban - than with high education representing 7.4% of total number of brewers before the ban and 8.3% after the ban.

4:6 Distribution of drinkers and brewers on the basis of the amount they drink and drank before the ban in relation to their sex and age.

Tables 11:1 and 11:2 show the above distribution for Busaa and Chang'aa drinkers respectively. Looking at table 11:1, we can see that the male population dominated the area of drinking both before and after the ban - the percentage proportion of the totals from the total sample are shown in tables 12:1 and 12:2. For example the proportion of male drinkers to the total number of Busaa drinkers before the ban

was 74.1% and 74.6% after the ban. Females were represented by 25.9% before the ban and a slightly less percentage of 25.4% after the ban.

Most of the males tended to drink between 14 and 20 tins of Busaa (represented by 27.9% of total drinkers) and a majority of 34.9% drank beyond 21 tins of Busaa on weekly basis. The percentage shows an ascending order - with fewer people drinking little amounts and more people drinking large quantities. At this time, the female minority group had its majority (53.3%) drinkers concentrating below six tins of Busaa. A percentage which increased after the ban to 60. The other categories were represented as follows:

7 - 13 tins (26.7% before the ban and 26.7% after ban - showing no change).

14 - 20 tins (representing 20% before ban and a slight drop to 13.3% after ban.

Whereas the females portrayed a slack in drinking, the male Busaa drinking population reshuffled their proportions. This time in a descending order - more drinkers for smaller quantities and less drinkers for larger quantities. For example, without giving all the categories, the proportion for those drinking less than 6 tins (or six tins) was 50% after ban compared to 16.3% before ban. And at the other extreme was a 9.1% for those drinking 21 tins and over after the ban and yet before the ban they were 34.9%.

The reasons for this drop in Busaa drinking have already been discussed at length and therefore I will not have to add anything. The Chang'aa drinking trend has also undergone a change. Table 11:2 shows that more people drink Chang'aa than before. Again with reference to table 12:2, the male population dominates the drinkers population; they represent 80.8% before ban and 84.2% after ban of the total number of drinkers; whereas the female represent 19.2% before ban and 15.8% after ban of the total number.

Before ban, the majority of males (47.6%) drank 2 - 3 glasses on average in a period of one week and only 14.3% drank 4 - 5 glasses. The after ban column shows a shift to a larger population of 31.2% drinking 4 - 5 glasses of Chang'aa and a majority of 46.9% drinking

six and over glasses - a class that had no representatives before the ban. The other categories; 2 - 3 glasses are represented by 18.8% and the one-glass or less (peanuts) is represented by only a 3.1%.

The female population have reversed proportions, those drinking one glass or less before the ban were 60% of total number of Chang'aa drinkers as compared to only 16.7% after ban and whereas they had a 20% representation for those drinking 4 - 5 glasses, before the ban, after the ban, the proportion is 50%.

On the basis of age, looking at table 12:1 for Busaa, the category for the 'Youth' aged between 0 - 49 years shows a preponderance over the category 'old' (50 and above years). Examining the figures in parenthesis first, before the ban, the male 'youth' population accounted for 67.3% whereas the female were 24.1% - a sum total of 91.4% for the 'youth' population. On the contrary, old people accounted for only 6.9% before the ban for males and 1.7% for the females (totalling 8.6%).

The after ban trend \angle changed much. The proportion for male 'youth' has not increased slightly to 67.8% and for the females it has decreased to 23.7%. No drop is visible however for the 'old' category after ban - it remains constant at 1.7%.

The figures in parenthesis show more or less the same thing but have been calculated from column totals. No changes exist in the female category for either before ban or after, old or youth. But the male population shows a 2% increase for the youth, (from 90.7% - 90.9%) and the same drop in magnitude for the old.

As for Chang'aa, the youth still dominate over the old. From participant observation, the age-group under the category of the youth that seemed to drink excessively was between 21 and 29 and 35 - 40 years. No women below the age of 25 was a Busaa or Chang'aa drinker.

Table 12:2 shows then that before the ban, there were 73.1% males as opposed to 19.2 females drinking Chang'aa in their youthful stages and only 7.7% for the 'old'. Most of these from personal experiences, were adults - beyond 30 years of age because at this time, most of the really young people - below 30 years (and/or unmarried) were not permitted to drink alcohol freely (unless in the instances outlined in Chapter 3).

After the ban there was a proportion of 78.9% for young males and 13.2% for females - signifying a slight increase in the male proportion but a drop in young females' proportion - however, the drop is actually due to the presence of an old female in Chang'aa drinking - which was not the case before the ban (no old female drank Chang'aa before the ban). As for males, there was a 5.3% representation for the 'old' category. The figures marked with an asterisk are self-explanatory since they have been calculated from the column totals. They too show the dominance of the youth in drinking of Chang'aa during both periods of before and after ban.

4:7 Respondents' distribution showing type of alcohol first drank and reasons for starting drink.

Table 13.2 is a table that shows what the respondents drank first. Both sexes show a high rate (percentage) among those who drank Busaa as their first alcohol (nobody ever started with Chang'aa) and also at an early age of less than 10 years. And simultaneously looking at table 13:2, we can see that the percentage of 31.7% of males who drank Busaa at this age and 20% for the females, all of them (51.7%) were influenced by their parents. Most likely they drank Busaa as part of the food - this means they drank 'young' Busaa. A practice which was very typical of most families during shortages of food.

As well, those who drank Busaa at an age between 10 - 20 years - 20% for the males and 3.3% females were either influenced by parents (8.3% of them together), by friends (10%) or other reasons (5%) - such as curiosity. The 15% males and 5% females who drank Busaa at a late age - above 21 years blame it on their friends (16.7%) or other reasons - some of which include a show of 'MANLINESS'. Some of them argued that they were old enough to do so - they were adults.

Only 3 males out of 60 (representing 5%) argued that they drank Chang'aa first - maybe due to friends' influence or curiosity.

4:8 Distribution of brewers by their age and type of alcohol brewed before and after the ban

Table 14 is a less detailed table than tables 12:1 and 12:2. There is no need to discuss it but I included it here as a comparison with table

15. The 'old' category for brewers shows a bit of more participation than in table 14 for drinkers. Though the 'youth' still dominate the practice, but they have fewer proportions. For example before the ban, Busaa was brewed by a proportion of 74% for those in the 'youthful' years (youthful stage) as compared to 91.4% for those who were drinking Busaa at that time. The old Wazee were represented by 26% brewers as compared to 8.6% drinkers. In table 15, no changes occur after the ban - though there is a slight change in table 14 for Busaa drinking - one 'youth' person has joined them and raised the percentage for the 'youth' class.

As for Chang'aa, table 15 shows that the 'old' category was not very enthusiastic about it before the ban - they had a 15.6% representation for brewers and 7.7% for the drinkers. After the ban, drinkers increased by 12% (1 more drinker) but as well brewers increased by 3 more to 17.4%. The category of the 'youth' decreased slightly for brewers from 84.4% to 82.6% though the frequencies show a large increase - the same for drinkers who increased from 24 - 35 but percentage-wise decreased only .2%.

4:9 Opinion of the respondents about the closure of clubs and ban on traditional beer brewing.

The venn diagrams table 16, figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of drinkers and brewers respectively and their opinions about the closure and ban. Figure 1, for drinkers shows that 36.7% of drinkers supported the ban, 6.7% supported the closure and another 6.7% supported both closure and ban - the figures are made not to over-lap. The rest of the drinkers, 49.9% do not support either. The brewers are represented by 18.3% for those who support the ban, and 8.3% for those who support either both or closure only. The rest 65.1% do not support either.

Table 17:1 gives the reasons for the support or non-support of either ban, closure or both. Table 17:1 shows that those who support either ban or closure or both had such key reasons as clubs offering discriminative services (for brewers) representing 55.8% of the responses. As for the brewers, 66.7% gave the reason that Chang'aa is dangerous to health. I have discussed at length the reasons in the tables in Chapter 3 and therefore the table can be only for reference. Table 17:2 shows those who do not support ban and/or closure. The reasons advanced have been explained before but the table gives the percentage proportions.

Table 18:1 gives us the type of solutions the respondents thought could be used to solve the problem of Busaa clubs and Chang'aa drinking. Most of these will be discussed at length in the last Chapter. However, for Busaa clubs, 68.3% of total number of brewers wanted them re-opened; 16.7% wanted special licences and only 13.3% wanted them to remain closed, 1.7% did not have a solution. As for drinkers, 76.7% wanted them re-opened, 13.3% to remain closed, 8.3% for special licences and 1.7% did not have any solution.

Table 18:2 for Chang'aa shows 65% brewers wanting it legalised - compared to 33.3% drinkers; 26.7% brewers want it banned but 43.3% drinkers say the same. The rest of the reasons are minor in representation (see table).

These tables therefore show us that there are people who still want clubs to be re-opened and Chang'aa legalised. Most brewers

would rather they went back to the clubs - so do the drinkers. Very few people want Chang'aa banned - this for brewers, but Busaa drinkers seem to think that with clubs re-opened and Busaa available, they do not have to drink Chang'aa. It can be banned.

4:10 Brewing and distillation of Busaa and Chang'aa as Income earning activities.

Many respondents argued that brewing was their only regular and immediate income earning activity. Even those who had farms and planted crops tended to have the same feeling - because they could only see the products at the farm after harvesting and even then, they were not enough to be sold to obtain any money. As informal sector activities, brewing and distillation are among the most lucrative businesses. They require less manpower and obtainment of raw-material may not be as expensive as for others (like shoe-blackening). Sugar (or molasses) is readily available, flour is bought or obtained from one's own harvest and yeast is obtained locally (millet).

Once Busaa is brewed, it is sold in tins or kettles depending on demand. Chang'aa is sold from the glass, bottle to jerry can. The price for Busaa ranges from Shs.1. (500 gm tin) to Shs.4. (2 kg tin) and Chang'aa from shs. 3.00 (or 5.00) for a glass (though it sells also per shs.1.00 for a bottle top), shs.10.00 or shs.15.00 (even shs.20.00) for a tree-top bottle, shs.85.00 - 100.00 for a five-litre can and shs.385.00-shs.450.00 for a 20-litre can.

For regular brewers, especially Chang'aa wholesale brewers, they can make between shs.1,600.00 and shs.2,000.00 per month of brewing. That is if a brewer makes one and above drum(s) of undistilled Chang'aa for a number of times not less than four. A drum of undistilled Chang'aa produces about 20 litres of distilled Chang'aa which costs shs.400.00 on average. Busaa on the other hand may gross a minimum of about shs.1,000.00 and a maximum of shs.1,200.00 if one brews at the same rate and quantity as for Chang'aa - above.

Where then does all this money go? Below is an expenditure guideline for most of the brewers interviewed during the study. Drinkers are not included here since the question does not concern them. Not all the brewers get the above-mentioned amount of money - it depends on how much money one brews, the number of times and the demand and even

of further importance, one's luck with the raids, most of the money obtained through brewing is lost through fines or bribery to Police Officers or administrative officers during raids.

ITEM	RESPONSES-FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1. School Funds	57	14.3
2. Food and Household goods	60	15.1
3. Harambee funds	58	14.6
4. Clothing	58	14.6
5. Travel	42	10.6
6. Entertainment	31	7.8
7. Livestock purchase	25	6.3
8. Building houses	26	6.5
9. Bride price	6	1.5
10. Bought land	3	0.8
11. Farm work	22	5.5
12. Miscellaneous	10	2.5
TOTAL	398	100%

4:11 Hypothesis Testing

In the preceding topics, I have been discussing in general about the trend of brewing and drinking of Busaa and Chang'aa. I have related these activities to variables like sex, age, occupation and I have also related the activities to the issue of income and unemployment. In the literature review, I formulated some hypotheses that I hoped to test for their validity. In this section therefore, I will examine these hypotheses and see whether they can be rejected or not, whether they are significant and in general, what the data shows about them. The first of these hypotheses is:

1. The closure of clubs resulted in a noticeable increased rate of distillation and drinking of Chang'aa, but a decrease in brewing and drinking Busaa.

Below is an χ^2 (chisquare) table to test whether the closure led to any change in brewing of either Busaa or Chang'aa.

- 11:1 H_0 - There has been no change in the drinking of Busaa and/or Chang'aa after the closure of clubs.
- H_A - There has been a change in drinking of Busaa and/or Chang'aa after the closure of clubs.

	BEFORE	AFTER	TOTAL
Busaa	58	59	117
Chang'aa	26	38	64
Total	84	97	181

0.05
 $df = (2-1) \times (2-1) = 1$

χ^2 (calc) = 1.56 \angle $\chi_{0.05}^2 = 3.841$

H_0 is not rejected at 5% level, nor any other.

The calculated χ^2 is not significant, this suggests that there has been no significant change in the rate of drinking of either Chang'aa or Busaa. In the discussion using percentage, the proportion of Busaa drinkers

before ban and that after the ban was constant at 98.3% . So even the percentage shows no change. For Chang'aa however, there was a change from 44.1% to 63.3% of total drinkers (a difference of 19.2%). It can be inferred that there may have been this 19.2% increase in Chang'aa drinking, but it was not a significant one.

11:2. H_0 - there has been no change in brewing of Busaa and/or Chang'aa after closure of clubs.

H_A - there has been a change in brewing of Busaa and/or Chang'aa after closure of clubs.

	Busaa	Chang'aa	Total
Before ban ...	50	32	82
After ban	50	46	96
Total	100	78	178

= 0.05

df = 1

$dc_{0.05^2} = 3.841$

X^2 (calc) = 1.39 / $x_{0.05^2} = 3.841$

Calculated X^2 is not significant - meaning that there is no significant change in brewing. Percentage-wise, the rate of Busaa brewing decreased for Busaa from 92.6% to 83.3%. For Chang'aa however, the percentage shows an increase of about 18.4% (from 59.3% of brewers before ban to 76.7%).

We can now examine the hypothesis from the point of view of amount brewed before and after ban.

CHANG'AA

	Low 0-18.5 pots	High 19-above	Total
Before	32	0	32
After	38	8	46
Total	70	8	78

0.05

df = 1

$dc = 0.05^2 = 3.841$

BUSAA

	Low 0-11.5 pots	High 19-over	Total
Before	35	15	50
After	44	6	50
Total	79	21	100

0.05

df = 1

$dc = 0.05^2 = 3.841$

Chang'aa χ^2 (calc) = 6.25

Busaa χ^2 (calc) = 4.86

χ^2 (calc) = 6.25 > $\chi_{0.05}^2 = 3.841$

χ^2 (calc) = 4.86 > $\chi_{0.05}^2 = 3.841$.

This means that χ^2 calculated is significant at 5% level; and also at 0.2 per cent level for Chang'aa only but at 0.1% level it is not.

Chang'aa χ^2 (calc) = 6.25 > $\chi_{0.02}^2 = 5.412$

Busaa χ^2 (calc) = 4.86 > $\chi_{0.02}^2 = 5.412$

From the above calculation of χ^2 , we can see that brewing of Chang'aa has increased on the criteria of the amount brewed - it is a significant increase at 5%. Busaa brewing as well at this level has increased. Using the amount drunk therefore, we reject the H_0 hypothesis that there has been no change in brewing of either Chang'aa and/or Busaa and accept the alternative hypothesis.

We can still try to see if there is any significant change in drinking of either or both of these types of alcohol. Using table 4 - the amount of alcohol sold per day before and after the ban.

BUSAA

	Low 0-14 pots	High 15 and over	Total
Before	42	8	50
After	41	9	50
Total	83	17	100

CHANG'AA

	Low 0-12 pots	High 13 & over	Total
Before	30	2	32
After	27	19	46
Total	57	21	78

0.05

df = 1

Busaa χ^2 (calc) = 0.07

$\chi_{0.05}^2 = 3.841$

Chang'aa χ^2 (calc) = 10.365

Busaa χ^2 (calc) = 0.07 < $\chi_{0.05}^2 = 3.841$

Chang'aa χ^2 (calc) = 10.365 > $\chi_{0.05}^2 = 3.841$

The above figures show that at 5% level, χ^2 calculated for amount of Chang'aa sold is significant, but not for amount of Busaa sold.

11:3 H_0 - There has been no change in sale of Chang'aa and/or Busaa after closure of clubs.

H_A - There has been a change in the sale of Chang'aa and/or Busaa after the closure of clubs.

At 5% level H_0 is rejected for Chang'aa - I accepted the H_A hypothesis. This leads me to infer that the sale of Chang'aa has increased after the closure of clubs - which in turn signifies an increase in its consumption. This harmonises with the percentage calculation for Chang'aa in table 4 that brewers who initially sold mostly less than 7 bottles a day have increased their sale to large quantities of over 7 bottles a day. (see discussion in preceding section). Busaa drinking, according to the χ^2 calculation above shows no major change - which tallies with findings in percentages.

We can further infer that the hypothesis that the closure of clubs led to an increase in Chang'aa distillation and drinking but to a decrease in Busaa brewing and drinking holds water at the level which I have shown above.

HYPOTHESIS 2 Peasants and other people usually referred to as poor from the largest portion of brewers and drinkers of either Busaa or Chang'aa

The independent variables in the above hypothesis are occupation and social status (poor here is measurable by size of land and head of cattle). We can formulate the following testable hypothesis from this broad one; a null hypothesis and an alternative one.

- 2:1 H_0 - Occupation does not determine who is a brewer or a drinker of Chang'aa and/or Busaa
- H_A - Occupation determines who is a brewer or a drinker of Chang'aa and/or Busaa.

	Drinkers	Brewers	Total
Unemployed	15	5	20
Peasants	28	54	82
Teachers	12	-	12
Retired	1	1	2
Others	4	-	4
Total	60	60	120

0.05
 $df = (5-1) \times (2-1) = 4$
 Decision criterion
 $\chi_{0.05}^2 = 9.488$

$\chi_{(calc)}^2 = 21.24 > \chi_{0.05}^2 = 9.488$

χ^2 calculated is significant at 5% level as well as 0.1 percent level. This shows that H_0 is rejected. Occupation therefore determines who

is a brewer or drinker of either Chang'aa or Busaa in this sample of 60 respondents for each group. This significance might however, have been influenced by the large number of peasants for each group. Drinkers account for 46.7% in this group and brewers 90%.

The second independent variable is the status of the respondents.

- 2:2. H_0 - The status of the individual in the society does not determine who becomes a brewer or a drinker.
- H_A - The status of the individual determines his decision to become a brewer or a drinker.

SIZE OF LAND (ACRES)

	Drinkers	Brewers	Total
None	25	15	40
1-5.5	20	25	45
6-10.5	14	19	33
11 & over	1	1	2
Total	60	60	120

HEAD OF CATTLE

	Drinkers	Brewers	Total
Nil	27	28	55
1-5	24	23	47
6-10	7	11	18
11 & over	2	1	3
Total	60	60	120

0.05 Table(i) $X_{(calc)}^2 = 3.82 < X_{0.05}^2 = 7.815$

df = 3

dc = 7.815 Table(ii) $(calc)^2 = 1.25 < X = 1.25 X_{0.05}^2 = 7.815$

X^2 calculated is not significant. The status of drinkers and brewers as seen in tables 7 and 8 is that there are more drinkers and brewers as one descends in magnitude of the head of cattle and size of land. But the X^2 value calculated shows no significant relationship. This means that there are other factors other than land and head of cattle that make one a brewer or a drinker. H_0 has failed to be rejected - for this independent variable - though the percentage in the table tries to show the variable as significant (see discussion).

Hypothesis 3: Brewing and drinking activities for both Busaa and Chang'aa are dominated by people with low or no education

In the discussion about the education of brewers and drinkers I made the observation (from table 10) that most brewers and drinkers

of Chang'aa and/or Busaa / more represented from people with no / are education or low education than from those with high education.

Now, we want to test education as a variable in two ways: EDUCATION

- 3:1
1. Versus drinking and brewers as activities of the informal sector.
 2. Versus amount drank after ban.

H_0 - education level determines whether one is a brewer and/or a drinker or not.

H_A - Education level does not determine who becomes a brewer and/or a drinker.

DRINKERS

	Before	After	Total
None	22	22	44
Low	24	25	49
High	13	13	26
Total	59	60	119

BREWERS

	Before	After	Total
None	23	27	50
Low	27	28	55
High	4	5	9
Total	54	60	114

0.05

$$df = (3-1) \times (2-1) = 2$$

$$\chi^2 = 5.991$$

All χ^2 values calculated were insignificant. For drinkers $X_{(calc)}^2 = 0.0096$ and brewers $X_{(calc)}^2 = 0.139$.

We shall therefore reject H_A and accept H_0 . Education level does not have any significant determination on who drinks or brews. However, again in this case, we remember that using percentage, we saw that most of the brewers and drinkers have no or very low education. χ^2 calculation does not invalidate this observation. It seems that education is not the only factor involved, its influence is not very significant.

I now proceed to the second way in which I want to measure the

to measure the influence of education - therefore education versus amount of alcohol drank.

CHANG'AA

BUSAA

	Low	High	Total		Low	High	Total
None	1	17	18	None	9	18	27
Low	-	13	13	Low	6	12	18
High	-	7	7	High	8	6	14
Total	1	37	38	Total	23	36	59

0.05

Chang'aa $X_{(calc)} = 1.145$

$df = (3-1) (2-1) = 2$

Busaa $X_{(calc)} = 2.077$

$df = 5.991$

X^2 calculated for both Busaa and Chang'aa is not significant. H_0 remains unrejected. Education has no influence (significant) on the amount of alcohol drank.

Hypothesis 4: A large portion of the drinkers are of youthful age (0 - 49 years) than old age (50 years and above) and male dominated

The data that will aid us in the calculation of X^2 for this hypothesis is contained in table 14, and 12:1, 12:2 from table 14 we saw that the youth dominate the drinking of both Busaa and Chang'aa, before and after the ban. (see discussion on sex and age of drinkers etc 4:6). For the X^2 calculation, we shall use the following hypothesis.

H_0 - Age does not determine entrance into brewing or drinking of Chang'aa and/or Busaa.

H_A - Age is a criterion on drinking and brewing of Chang'aa and/or Busaa.

BUSAA

AGE VS NO. OF DRINKERS

	Before	After	Total
Young	53	54	107
Old	5	5	10
Total	58	59	117

0.05.

$df = 1$

$dc = 3.841$

$X_{(calc)}^2 = 0.0006$

CHANG'AA AGE VS NO. OF DRINKERS

	Before	After	Total
Young	24	35	59
Old	2	3	5
Total	26	38	64

0.0.5
df = 1
dc = 3.841

In both cases, the value of χ^2 calculated was not significant. This shows that there was no change in distribution of age among Busaa and/or Chang'aa drinkers after closure of clubs.

The closure of clubs did not in any way alter this distribution. Also χ^2 computation for the above hypothesis shows also that the age variable is not a strong one - it is not significant. However, even though this may be the case, but according to the percentage proportion, age is a significant variable. The youth dominate the drinking of both Chang'aa and Busaa.

The next χ^2 will be for the sex of the respondents versus drinking of either Busaa and/or Chang'aa.

BUSAA SEX VERSUS NO. OF DRINKERS

	Before	After	Total
Male	43	44	87
Female	15	15	30
Total	58	59	117

0.05
df = 1
dc = 3.841

CHANG'AA SEX VERSUS NO. OF DRINKERS

	Before	After	Total
Male	21	32	53
Female	5	6	11
Total	26	38	64

1. χ^2 (calc) = 0.0016
2. χ^2 (calc) = 0.1

χ^2 calculated is not significant at this level of 5% signifying no change in sexual distribution of the respondents, after the closure of clubs. We want to test the variable sex versus the amount of alcohol consumed

- H₀ - Sex does not determine amount of alcohol drank.
 H_A - Sex determines the amount of alcohol drank.

BUSAA SEX VERSUS AMOUNT DRANK

	Low	High	Total
Male	32	12	44
Female	13	2	15
Total	45	14	59

Note: Figures used are for after ban.

Low - 0 - 3 tins
 High 14 and above tins

CHANG'AA SEX VERSUS AMOUNT DRANK

	Low	High	Total
Male	7	25	32
Female	3	3	6
Total	10	28	38

Low = 0 - 3 glasses
 High = 4 glasses and over

0.05 Busaa $\chi^2_{(calc)} = 1.236$
 df = 1
 dc = 3.841 Chang'aa $\chi^2_{(calc)} = 1.99$

Both values for χ^2 calculated are not significant. Sex therefore, is not a significant variable for amount drank. This does not harmonise with the findings using percentage where we saw that Busaa and/or Chang'aa drinking is dominated by males both before and after the ban (see discussion 4:6).

So far, we have dealt with three variables, sex, age and education and they have not been significant using χ^2 calculation. May be one of the explanations is that on their own, these variables are not significant, but they merge together and as a force, they influence the drinking of Busaa and/or Chang'aa. The percentages however, showed that these variables are influential on their own.

Hypothesis 5: Lack of job opportunities (unemployment) leads people into brewing Chang'aa and/or Busaa as alternative sources of Income

In section 4:10 I discussed brewing and distillation of Busaa and Chang'aa respectively as Income earning activities. I also discussed how the money (income) obtained from brewing and distillation is used among the very many requirements in an order of magnitude according to the responses from the brewers. In the above hypothesis, the act of brewing (and) or (distillation) is an alternative source of income - alternative to other means especially a salaried job. In order to test the significance of this hypothesis, we shall look at two aspects from it.

1. Who among the brewers has another source of income (excluding farm products) other than brewing.
2. Has unemployment been measured to be significant a variable in leading people into brewing.

In hypothesis two, we tested the significance of occupation as an independent variable in brewing activities. The result was that the value of χ^2 calculated (i.e 21.24) was greater than the expected value at 5% i.e 9.488. Occupation was therefore a determinant of who became a brewer or a drinker of either Chang'aa and/or Busaa. In the percentage proportion, unemployed people and peasants had the highest representation; 90% of total brewers and 8.3% respectively. These figures and the χ^2 calculated help us to infer that since peasantry in this hypothesis is not considered as a 'job opportunity', then the majority of brewers are those without jobs; hence they have been forced to brew either Busaa or Chang'aa. It is the lack of jobs that drove them into the activity.

As for the first statement, a look at table 9 shows us that although the drinkers are distributed among every category of occupation, brewers are not. There is no brewer who features in any paid category of paid workers e.g. teaching. Nor is there any brewer in the section of 'others' - consisting of watchmen, petty shopkeepers and farm labourers. Brewing is their only source of income.

In the light of the above argument we can make an inference that the hypothesis stands at this level of inadequate (improper) statistical analysis to invalidate it or strengthen it as it states. I will therefore accept it at this lower level of testing.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this last Chapter, I will review some of the preceding Chapters and pinpoint some of the areas of concern that bear a significant tone to this research. Lastly, I will examine some of the findings and deliberations of the study and come up with suggestions and recommendations about possible ways to solve or minimise the problem of brewing and distillation of Busaa and Chang'aa respectively.

In the literature review, I discussed at length the issue of the informal sector with reference to unemployment and also brewing, distillery and drinking of Busaa and Chang'aa. One of the key areas of concern was the increasing level at which unemployment is rising in our Kenyan context not to mention on international level. One of the paramount explanations given by several scholars (and quoted) about unemployment and its causes was inability of the formal sector to meet the rising demand of jobs in the country. This was further accentuated by the discovery that job-seekers have got diverse aspirations from some of those offered by the formal sector; aspirations which many a writer attributed to the education offered in our schools that fails to prepare the graduates from such schools for their future lives from the available resources open to them.

Amidst several suggestions as to what exactly our education system should aim to pass to the students and what skills and knowledge it should entail and try to instil into these students, arose also the issue of lack of resources for proper economic development. The question of resources was seen as arising out of the country's lack of natural "riches" i.e minerals and fuel, key to industrial economic development that is acceptable as the key answer to unemployment - however limited this assumption could be.

It was further realised in the literature review that our country's economy is heavily dependent on agriculture and therefore there was need for this sector to be developed. In the light of creation of job opportunities of the same magnitude as those in other sectors that acted as a force to lure job-seekers and make them aspire higher than

they could achieve. The limitation of agriculture, i.e lack of land was also examined and suggestions made in the summary of the literature review about possible ways to minimise it.

Lastly, but not least was the discussion on informal sector activity of brewing and drinking Chang'aa and/or Busaa - the central issue in this study. Several hypotheses were formulated to be tested during the research and in subsequent Chapter on Data analysis. I also discussed the methodology used in the research and the problems encountered in the field especially during the interviews.

The crucial Chapter, however, has been the one preceding this one - the Chapter in which I discussed brewing, distillery and drinking of Busaa and Chang'aa vis-avis independent variables like sex, age and education and found for example that not a single one of these variables has paramount control over the decision to brew or drink Chang'aa and/or Busaa by the individual. But it led me to the conclusion that as a group of variables, they influence(d) the behaviour of brewers and drinkers, though this was not proved through the calculation of X^2 , but together with the percentages, one could easily notice the relationship that existed between the variables.

Significantly, occupation was found to be a determinant of who drinks or who becomes a brewer. This has been one of my standpoints in the literature review that not everybody can become a brewer especially in the rural areas. Prestige and status play a major role in the behaviour of rural folks. It is therefore only 'peasants' and the 'poor' or the unemployed who actually engage in brewing and distillation of Busaa and Chang'aa respectively. As for the drinkers, there was no major criterion in distribution among the categories.

In this Chapter, I found also that a greater number of the drinkers and brewers were discontent with the government's action to close down the clubs. Many of them viewed this action as the beginning of the now indefatigable problem of excessive brewing and drinking of Chang'aa. Most of the brewers (see section 4:10) argued that brewing was their only

source of income and even if they were expected to develop their farms, they needed money to do this - hence they argued, they should be allowed to brew as to get this money.

Generally then, this is what I have been discussing in the preceding Chapters. I will now discuss the issue of Busaa clubs and Chang'aa distillation separately and advance some of the suggestions put forward by respondents, which I may or may not support.

5:2 BUSAA AND THE BEER-HALL (CLUBS) ISSUE

In Chapter 3, I discussed some of the problems encountered by brewers and drinkers in their use of the Busaa clubs. Some of these were later high-lighted in Chapter 4 (4:9). In this section, I will examine some of the suggestions advanced by the respondents and their feasibility in their present Kenyan context.

Some respondents during the research thought that we should go back to our traditions and drink Busaa at home and to allow only adults. Also, they argued, the sanctions that underlined brewing and drinking of Busaa were to be re-established. This suggestion (though not put to data) was received during participant observation on key-informant discussions. However, the majority of the respondents (see Chapter 4) argued that going back to the traditional style of drinking Busaa had its set-backs. For one thing, we could not deny the younger generation drinking Busaa (having already initiated them into the practice) if they can show responsibility in doing so, better than they do when drinking Chang'aa. Also, brewing at home can easily lead to other problems like lack of discipline among drinkers since they are not immediately within easy reach of the law as they were at the club where their behaviour was checked by the club proprietor and administration police controlled by the local councils.

This later camp of respondents agitated therefore for a re-establishment of Busaa clubs to serve the common man who cannot afford beer or whisky and at the same time who finds Chang'aa a bit too bitter and 'hard' to quench thirst and hunger. Busaa is a soft drink and sweet to the taste.

They argued for example that if the government has to crack down on excessive drinkers of alcohol, then it should start with beer and whisky. All night clubs, bars etc should operate under strict regulations. Busaa and Chang'aa cannot be singled from a multitude of alcoholic drinks and accused of causing under-development; in any case, if clubs have to blame for causing under-development, then it was due to poor organisation of the clubs - not those who drank or brewed from there. The following then are the suggestions that came up during the research:

- (a) No single person should be allowed to run a club - whether he built it or not. The club(s) should be run by a council or a society (or organisation) - preferably made of brewers and drinkers of the peripheral area of the clubs - and to consist of the area Assistant Chief or any other administration officer for its smooth-running. This body would 'rent' the club from its owner and run it by licence from the District Commissioner (liquor licensing Board chairman).
- (b) All brewers who want to use the club would do so by application to the body and by satisfying the conditions set up by this body. They would for example be required to subsidize a certain amount of money to the body as 'rent' for the use of the club for a specified period of time (preferably one day). This would solve the problem of the owner having antonomous say in who is allowed to use the club and also prevent discriminative services complained of by the respondents.
- (c) The council, (body running the club) would be responsible for its maintenance - meeting all health regulations and requirements and accommodation of its members.
- (d) The hours of operation have to be reviewed. Initially, clubs opened twice a day; from 10.a.m to 2 p.m. and 4.p.m. to 11.p.m. The new times should be from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m (weekdays) and 10 a.m to 6 p.m. on weekends.
- (e) The council would ensure, among other things, that the quality of Busaa brewed conforms to the requirement of the customers - an issue that contributes to drinkers shifting to Chang'aa.
- (f) Special licences to be offered (through the council) - and paid for-to those brewing at home who have special reasons for doing so.

- (g) Lastly, clubs should be distributed on sub-locational basis (to avoid congestions) and to be allocated at convenient places (not necessarily market places) so as not to interfere with the smooth-running of other activities e.g education or religious activities.

5:3 CHANG'AA DISTILLATION

In Chapter 4, I discussed the opinion of the respondents about the issue of Chang'aa distillation. For example, most of the brewers (66.7%) and a good fraction of drinkers (23.3%) thought that Chang'aa is dangerous to health. And whereas 33.3% of the drinkers wanted Chang'aa legalised, 65% of brewers thought so too.

But then, 43.3% of the drinkers wanted Chang'aa banned altogether - that is in the event that clubs were re-opened and Busaa made available.

Even though most of the brewers thought that Chang'aa was detrimental to health, but only 26.7% thought it could be banned. I have already discussed the reasons for this view in Chapter 4. With legalisation however, it involved generally the following:

- (a) Establishment of a co-operative or a company - under the auspices of the Ministry of regional planning - to buy Chang'aa from producers (brewers) the same way K.C.C. does with milk. This co-operative would have several factories where the Chang'aa would be processed to obtain a 'spirit' - a Kenyan whisky - which would be commercially sold like any other drink in the country.
- (b) Brewers would be required to obtain a licence (renewable) of operation from a body formed specifically for this purpose (or the same body licensing Busaa brewing). Only that the licence would be granted if the brewer(s) satisfied the following conditions and any other perceived or thought necessary.
 - (i) Construction of a shack or building where distillation would take place - certified by a health officer.
 - (ii) Construction of drainage or disposal facilities of Chang'aa residue (locally called 'imuna') - so as to avoid polluting rivers by this residue.

- (iii) The brewer would sell all his produce straight to the co-operative (or company) at a depot in established quantities e.g 20 -litre cans and payment would be made immediately or after a specified period of time.

Payment would depend on the amount and quality of the Chang'aa distilled.

- (c) All processes of commercial processing, bottling, distribution would be done by the co-operative.

The above suggestions which I tend to agree with would be more effective than the sporadic raids organised by the government from the regional police headquarters which is already an interference with the force that has other immediate duties. Also, brewers have strated finding ways of bypassing the raids by bribing the police or locating 'scouts' to be on the lookout for them - hence by the time these policemen arrive, they can only arrest innocent wananchi out of frustration at their failure to get the real culprits. Infact, very many people are framed with bottles of Chang'aa and taken to court and charged when they are not even drinkers of any alcoholic drink!

However, we should be aware that in the sixties, the Uganda government made an effort to discourage the illicit distillery of "enguli" (waragi) by establishing a modern distillery of "Waragi". The exercise had almost the opposite effect - illegal distillery went on - "waragi" bottles quickly acquired to contain the illicit liquor and the consumers stuck to this brand - arguing that it was more tasty than the "colourless" Uganda "waragi" distilled by the government. Therefore, if the government undertakes to build a distillery ("factory") for Chang'aa, the "manufactured" Chang'aa will definitely face a steep competition from the one distilled at home - unless its quality is preserved.

Brewing is now a criminal offence, and those arrested - unless they find ways to avoid being taken to court - end up being fined heavily. I remember during the period preceding Easter holidays (1984) two brewers had been fined Shs. 10,000 and Shs. 500 for being found with distilled Chang'aa and the impliments used, respectively. But even such fines do not deter other brewers from going to the "factory".

The safest period to go and distil Chang'aa is immediately after a raid - since it is unlikely that the 'raiders' will come again for another 2 - 3 weeks.

It is also ironical that the government has intensified raids as the only means of eradicating the distillery of Chang'aa. Why has it not for example, tried to put a stop to the sale of resources and impliments, etc, used for distilling Chang'aa - such as Molasses, white-sugar, drums, huge pots and sufurias, yeast etc. Fines should for example be imposed on those found buying drums and large pots without any specific function for them. However, the government has to justify its stand on distillation of Chang'aa and brewing of Busaa more clearly because if they are taken as criminal practices, there are other alcoholic drinks that are just as harmful to development or to the individual person other than these two.

APPENDIX I - TABLES

TABLE I Distribution of drinkers and brewers before and after the ban

TYPE OF ALCOHOL	PERSONS			
	BEFORE BAN		AFTER BAN	
	Drinkers	Brewers	Drinkers	Brewers
Busaa	58 69*	50 61*	59 60.8*	50 52.1*
	(98.3)	(92.6)	(98.3)	(83.3)
Chang'aa	26 31*	32 39*	38 39.2*	46 47.9*
	(44.1)	(59.3)	(63.3)	(76.7)
Total of Respondents	59	54	60	60
Total of responses	84 100*	82 100*	97 100*	96 100*

Note: 1 Above are frequencies for each cell:- the figures in parenthesis are percentages calculated from the total number of respondents indicated in column totals.

2 Figures with asterisk are percentages calculated from total of responses.

Table 2. Distribution of Average Monthly Amount of alcohol brewed in relation to the type of alcohol brewed before and after the ban

AMOUNT BREWED - POTS	Type of alcohol/period			
	Chang'aa		Busaa	
	Before	After	Before	After
0 - 6.5	29 (90.6)	15 (32.6)	10 (20)	25 (50)
7 - 12.5	3 (9.4)	15 (32.6)	14 (28)	15 (30)
13 - 18.5	-	8 (17.4)	11 (22)	4 (8)
19 - 24.5	-	5 (10.9)	9 (18)	4 (8)
25 and over	-	3 (6.5)	6 (12)	2 (4)
Total of Respondents	32 (53.3)	46 (76.7*)	50 (83.3*)	50 (83.3*)

Note: 1 The intervals have been arranged this way due to the nature of the answers. In subsequent tables, the decimal point was not necessary and therefore the intervals are arranged without them.

Note: 2 From now henceforth, the period after the closure of clubs and ban on traditional liquor will be referred to simply as 'Before' or 'After' in the tables.

TABLE 3 Average Monthly Times Of Brewing In Relation To The Type of Alcohol Brewed.

No. OF TIMES	No. OF BREWERS			
	CHANG'AA		BUSAA	
	BEFORE BAN	AFTER BAN	BEFORE	AFTER
1 or less -	16 (50)	7 (15.2)	5 (10)	27 (54)
2 - 3 times	14 (43.7)	18 (39.1)	23 (46)	12 (24)
4 - 5 "	2 (6.3)	20 (43.4)	16 (32)	9 (18)
Over 5 "	-	1 (2.2)	6 (12)	2 (4)
TOTAL	32 (100)	46 (100)	50 (100)	50 (100)

- Note: 1 Above are frequencies for each cell; the figures in parenthesis are percentages calculated from the total number of respondents indicated in column totals
- 2 Figures with asterisk are percentages calculated from total of responses.

TABLE 4 Average Amount Of Alcohol Sold Before and After the ban on daily basis

AMOUNT SOLD	4:1 BUSAA		4:2 CHANG'AA	
	No. OF BREWERS		No. OF BREWERS	
	BEFORE	AFTER	BEFORE	AFTER
2 or less	19 (26)	22 (44)	2 or less bott.	13 (40.6) 3(6.5)
3 - 8 bots	19 (38)	10 (20)	3 - 7 bots	14 (43.8) 4(8.7)
9 - 14 "	10 (20)	9 (18)	8 - 12 "	3(9.4) 20(43.5)
15 - 20 "	6 (12)	9 (18)	13 - 17 "	1(3.1) 12(26.1)
21 and above	2 (4)	-	18 and above	1(3.1) 7(15.2)
TOTAL	50 (100)	50 (100)	TOTAL	32 (100) 46 (100)

- Note: 1 Above are frequencies for each cell; the figures in parenthesis are percentages calculated from the total number of respondents indicated in column totals
- 2 Figures with asterisk are percentages calculated from total of responses.

TABLE 5 Distribution of drinkers by reasons given for Preferring to drink either Chang'aa or Busaa

	TYPE OF ALCOHOL (RESPONCES)	
	BUSAA	CHANG'AA
REASONS ADVANCED		
Cheap	35 (23.5)	7 (46.7)
Satisfying	40 (26.8)	3 (20)
healthy: drink	43 (28.9)	-
to get drunk	-	3(20)
food	31 (20.8)	1 (6.7)
Medical	-	1.(6.7)
TOTALS OF RESPONSES	149 (100)	15 (100)

Note: Figures in Parenthesis for table 5 and 6 are percentages of Frequency of responses calculated from column tota

TABLE 6 Distribution of brewers by reasons advanced for Preferring to brew Busaa or distill Chang'aa

	TYPE OF ALCOHOL (RESPONSES)	
	BUSAA	CHANG'AA
REASONS ADVANCED		
Cheap to Repare	25 (67.6)	2 (3.9)
Earns More than others	5 (13.5)	31 (60.8)
Has heavy demand than others	7 (18.9)	12 (23.5)
Not perishable	-	1 (2.0)
Does not know how to prepare	-	5 (9.8)
TOTAL OF RESPONSES	37 (100)	51 (100)

TABLE 7 Distribution of drinkers and brewers on the basis of size of land

SAMPLE	DRINKERS	SIZE OF LAND (ACRES)				TOTAL
		NONE	1 - 5.5	6 - 10.5	11 and above	
	2.5 (41.7)	20 (33.3)	14 (23.3)	1 (1.7)	60 (100)	
	15 (25)	25 (41.7)	19 (31.7)	1 (1.7)	60 (100)	

Note: Figures in Parenthesis are percentages (calculated from total number of respondents i.e. 60 for each sample) of the given frequencies.

TABLE 8

Distribution of Drinkers and brewers on the basis of the head
OF Cattle they own:

SAMPLE	HEAD OF CATTLE			
	NIL	1 - 5	6 - 10	11 and above
DRINKERS	27 (45)	24 (40)	7 (11.7)	2 (3.3)
BREWERS	25 (41.7)	23 (38.3)	11 (13.3)	1 (1.7)

Note: Figures in Parenthesis are percentages (calculated from total number of respondents i.e. 60 for each sample) of the given frequencies.

TABLE 9

Distribution of drinkers and brewers by their occupation

OCCUPATION-TYPE	NO. OF PERSONS	
	DRINKERS	BREWERS
Unemployed	15 (25)	5 (8.3)
Peasants	28 (46.7)	54 (90)
Teachers	12 (20)	-
Retired	1 (1.7)	1 (1.7)
Others	4 (6.7)	-
TOTAL	60	60

- same instructions as table

Unemployed

- (i) without any specific job (occupation)
- (ii) those without land, or with a small plot (less than 1 acre) where no cultivation takes place

Peasants

Have land above 1 acre and cultivate crops for family consumption

Others

E.g. Petty shopkeepers, watchmen etc.

TABLE 10

Distribution of drinkers and brewers according to Education level,
before and after ban.

EDUCATION LEVEL	NO. OF PERSONS			
	DRINKERS		BREWERS	
	BEFORE	AFTER	BEFORE	AFTER
NONE	22 (37.3)	22 (36.7)	23 (42.6)	27 (45)
LOW	24 (40.7)	25 (41.7)	27 (50)	28 (46.7)
HIGH	13 (22)	13 (21.7)	4 (7.4)	5 (8.3)
TOTAL	59 (100)	60 (100)	54 (100)	60 (100)

Use Instructions below

Figures in parenthesis are percentages of frequencies from column totals.

- NONE - not attended school
- LOW - school up to Std. 8
- HIGH - secondary level and or above

TABLE 11: Distribution of drinkers by the type of alcohol drank, amount and drank before and after ban in relation to sex

11:1 BUSAA

SEX/NO. OF PEOPLE

	MALE		FEMALE	
	Before	After	Before	After
6 tins or less	7 (16.3)	22 (56)	8 (53.3)	9 (60)
7 - 13 tins	9 (20.9)	10 (22.7)	4 (26.7)	4 (26.7)
14 - 20 tins	12 (27.9)	8 (18.2)	3 (20)	2 (13.3)
21 and over	15 (34.9)	4 (9.1)	-	-
TOTAL	43 (100)	44 (100)	15 (100)	15 (100)

Note: 1. Figures in parenthesis are percentages calculated from column totals of the frequencies given.
 2. Period of time is for one week.

11:2 CHANG'AA

SEX/NO OF PEOPLE

	MALE		FEMALE	
	Before	After	Before	After
1 glass or less	8 (38.1)	1 (3.1)	3 (60)	1 (16.7)
2 - 3 glasses	10 (47.6)	6 (18.8)	1 (20)	2 (33.3)
4 - 5 glasses	3 (14.3)	10 (31.2)	1 (20)	3 (50)
6 and over	-	15 (46.9)	-	-
TOTAL	21	32	5	6

Same instructions as for table 11:1

TABLE 12 Distribution of drinkers by sex and age and the type of alcohol drunk before and after ban.

12.1 BUSAA

		SEX/NO. OF PEOPLE			
		MALE		FEMALE	
		BEFORE	AFTER	BEFORE	AFTER
AGE GROUP	YOUNG	39 90.7* (67.3)	40 90.9* (67.8)	14 93.3* (24.1)	14 93.3* (23.7)
	OLD	4 8.3* (6.9)	4 8.1* (6.8)	1 (6.7* (1.7)	1 6.7* (1.7)
	TOTAL	43 (74.1)	44 (74.6)	15 (25.9)	15 (25.4)
	GRAND TOTAL	58	59	58	59

Note: For table 12.1 and 12.2

1. Figures in Parenthesis are Percentage from Grand totals.

2. Figures marked with asterisk are percentages from column totals.

12.2 CHANG 'AA

		SEX/NO. OF PEOPLE			
		MALE		FEMALE	
		BEFORE	AFTER	BEFORE	AFTER
AGE GROUP	YOUNG	19 90.5* (73.1)	30 93.8* (78.9)	5 100* (19.2)	5 83.3* (13.2)
	OLD	2 8.5* (7.7)	2.6.2* (5.3)	-	1 16.7* (2.6)
	TOTAL	21 (80.8)	32 (84.2)	5 (19.2)	6 (15.8)
	GRAND TOTAL	26	38	26	38

TABLE 13.1 Distribution of drinkers according to the type of alcohol they first drank in relation to age and sex.

		TYPE OF ALCOHOL/NO. OF PEOPLE			
		BUSAA		CHANG 'AA	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
AGE	BELOW 10YRS	19 (31.7)	12 (20)	-	-
	10 - 20 "	12 (20)	2 (3.3)	-	-
	21 AND OVER	9 (15)	3 (5)	3 (5)	-

Note:

Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages calculated from total sample of 60 respondents

TABLE 13.2. Distribution of drinkers according to reasons given for starting to drink in relation to age.

AGE	REASONS		
	PARENTAL INFLUENCE	FRIENDS' INFLUENCE	OTHER REASONS
BELOW 10Yrs	31 (51.7)	-	-
10 - 20 "	5 (8.3)	6 (10)	3 (5)
21 and above	-	10 (16.7)	5 (8.3)

Note: Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages calculated from total sample of 60 respondents

TABLE 14 Distribution of drinkers by age and type of alcohol drank before and after the ban.

AGE GROUP	TYPE OF ALCOHOL/PERSONS			
	BUSAA		CHANG'AA	
	BEFORE	AFTER	BEFORE	AFTER
YOUNG 0-49 Yrs	53 (91.4)	54 (91.5)	24 (92.3)	35 (92.1)
OLD 50 and over	5 (8.6)	5 (8.5)	2 (7.7)	3 (7.9)
TOTAL	58 (100)	59 (100)	26 (100)	38 (100)

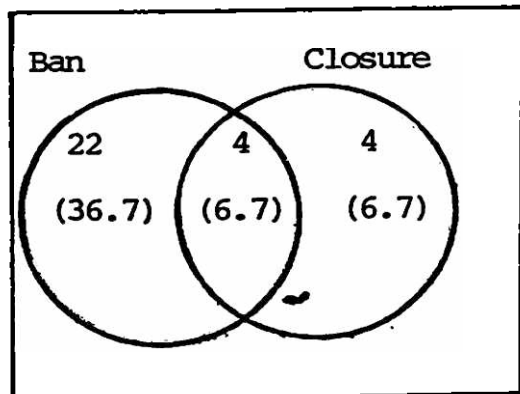
Note: Figures in Parenthesis are Percentages of frequencies calculated from column totals.

TABLE 15: Distribution of brewers by age and type of alcohol brewed before and after ban.

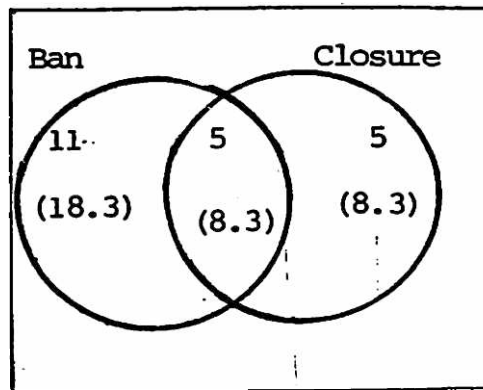
AGE	TYPE OF ALCOHOL/PERSONS			
	BUSAA		CHANG'AA	
	BEFORE	AFTER	BEFORE	AFTER
YOUNG 0 - 49 Yrs	37 (74)	37 (74)	27 (84.4)	38 (82.6)
OLD 50 and over	13 (26)	13 (26)	5 (15.6)	8 (17.4)
TOTALS	50 (100)	50 (100)	32 (100)	46 (100)

TABLE 16: Distribution of drinkers and brewers who support and/or do not support the closure of clubs and/or ban on traditional alcohol

16:1 DRINKERS



16:2 BREWERS



Figures in parenthesis are percentage of frequencies given calculated

TABLE 17:1 Distribution of respondents on their opinion about the closure of the clubs and ban on traditional beer

17:1 Support ban and/or closure

	BREWERS	DRINKERS
1. Encouraged crime	4 (9.3)	5 (15.2)
2. Encouraged laziness	5 (11.6)	-
3. Discriminative service at clubs	24 (55.8)	4 (12.1)
4. Made under unhealthy conditions	-	-
5. Chang'aa dangerous to health	10 (23.3)	22 (66.7)
TOTAL	43 (100)	33 (100)

Figures in parenthesis are calculated from column totals and represent percentage proportions.

17:2 Do not support either ban and/or closure

	BREWERS	DRINKERS
1. Brewing earns revenue	30 (36.6)	15 (23.1)
2. For refreshment	25 (30.5)	23 (35.4)
3. Traditional drink	27 (32.9)	27 (41.5)
Total	82 (100)	65 (100)

Same instructions as for table 17:1

TABLE 18: Distribution of respondents on their solutions about the closure of clubs and Chang'aa distillation

18:1 BUSAA CLUBS

	BREWERS	DRINKERS
Clubs to be re-opened	41 (68.3)	46 (76.7)
Want special licences	10 (16.7)	5 (8.3)
Clubs to remain closed	8 (13.3)	8 (13.3)
Do not know	1 (1.7)	1 (1.7)
TOTAL	60 (100)	60 (100)

Figures in parenthesis are percentage of frequencies given calculated from total sample

18:2 CHANG'AA DISTILLATION

	BREWERS	DRINKERS
Legalise distillation	39 (65)	20 (33.3)
Special licence	4 (6.7)	9 (15)
Want it banned	16 (26.7)	26 (43.3)
Do not know	1 (1.7)	5 (8.3)
TOTAL	60 (101)	60 (99.9)

Same instructions as above.

APPENDIX 2: REFERENCES

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b). Wednesday, December 20th 1978 ppl
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10. Lockhart, Lawrence (1977) ✓ - "The economies of Nine Years Education for All". In Killick, Tony (Ed) above quoted. pp 279 - 286.
11. Mukui, J.T. (1976) - Anatomy of the Urban Informal Sector - Nairobi
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16. - Personal experiences, discussion with other people other than respondents.

APPENDIX 3: STRUCTURED QUESTIONS FOR KEY INFORMANTS

1. What is Busaa prepared from?
2. What are the requirements for brewing a drum of Busaa?
3. What is the approximate profit from a drum of Busaa?
4. How and where was Busaa brewed, during traditional days?
5. How was drinking of Busaa organised in the traditional days?
i.e. Who was allowed to drink and on what occasions.
6. What functions did Busaa have in the traditional days?
7. What were the taboos and sanctions placed on brewing and drinking of Busaa in the traditional days? Are these taboos/sanctions still functioning to the present day?
8. Who initiated Busaa clubs and how were they run?
9. How were brewers and drinkers allowed to use the clubs?
10. What were some of the problems experienced at the club by drinkers and brewers?
11. Did you notice any undesirable thing about the Busaa clubs - for example the behaviour of its users or proprietor?
12. How was Chang'aa diffused into this (our) community? - do you remember when and where it was first distilled. Who started distilling it?
13. Do you know or could you have heard about the real place or people who started distilling Chang'aa?
14. How did people react to Chang'aa - espec'ally drinkers and brewers when they came to know about it?
15. Do you think that people welcomed the closure of clubs? - explain your answers. Do you think this closure had any effects on the brewers and/or drinkers of either Busaa or Chang'aa?
16. Any other business - e.g Classification of any issue that had arisen out of the interview and had not been very clear.

CHANG'AA BREWING AND DRINKING IN IKOLOMANI DIVISION

KAKAMEGA: IMPACT OF THE CLOSURE OF BUSAA CLUBS

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Please give short clear answers when you are required to explain or specify a given answer.
2. Write N.A. in the blank spaces when the question does not concern you.
3. Note that the word Tins as used in some questions does not refer to debs but to 'Kimbo' or 'Blue Band' containers.
4. Note that Busaa clubs were closed in 1979.

SECTION A PERSONAL

Sex(1 - MALE, 2- FEMALE)

Marital Status (1 - Single, 2 - Married)

Village Sub-location Location

Occupation Grade Salary/Wage Ksh.
per day/week/month/annum (DELETE WHICHEVER IS INNAPPLICABLE)

01. If you have no specific occupation that earns you a salary or wage, state whether you are: (TICK IN ONE APPLICABLE ONE)

(a) Retired on Pension () State how much you get,
Ksh. /month.

(b) Unemployed () (c) Casual labourer ()

(d) Peasant () (e) Fisherman ()

(f) Other(s) Specify

02. Do you have children in school for whom you pay school fees Yes/No

11. What other property do you have:-

Property	Size	Property	Size
1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

SECTION B - FOR DRINKERS ONLY

01. Do you drink both Ghang'aa and Busaa YES/NO

If the answer is 'No' specify the type you drink

.....

02. What other type(s) of alcohol do you drink.

(a) Spirits (e.g. Whisky) ()

(b) Any type of alcohol ()

(c) Beer () (TICK IN ONLY THOSE THAT ARE APPLICABLE)

03. What was the first type of alcohol that you drink

....., when was this 19

04. What made you start drinking (TICK IN APPROPRIATE BOX)

(a) to kill time ()

(b) to drown my sorrows ()

(c) to relax after work ()

(d) to be drunk ()

(e) Because my friends used to drink ()

(f) Other reasons

.....

05. What time do you usually drink

(specify the time of day, week, or month or occasion)

06. Do you drink now for the same reason that made you

start () 1 = YES, 2 = NO. If the answer is

'NO' specify clearly why you drink now

.....

03. How many of your children are working and contributing to your welfare(GIVE THE NUMBER)

04. How much do they earn month/per annum (DELETE THE INAPPLICABLE)

- (a) Below Ksh.500 ()
- (b) Between Ksh. 500 - 2,000 ()
- (c) Above Ksh. 2,000 ()

NB: Answer by giving the number of children in each category.

05. What type of house(s) do you stay in (TICK ONLY WHERE APPLICABLE)

- (a) Mabati - Semi Permanent ()
- (b) Mabati Permanent ()
- (c) Thatched ()

06. Have you been to schoolYes/No

07. What class did you achieve (TICK AS APPROPRIATE)

- (a) Standard 4 ()
- (b) Standard 7 (C.P.E.) ()
- (c) Standard 8 ()
- (d) Secondary School (), Form

08. Do you own a plot or plots of land Yes/No

If the answer is 'YES' state the approximate total size in acres

09. Do you make use of your land Yes/No

10. How do you make use of it

	Activity	Size of land		Activity	Size of land
1			6		
2			7		
3			8		
4			9		
5			10		

Why do you say so, (TICK IN APPROPRIATE BRACKET)

- (a) it is brewed by many people ()
- (b) it is the only one brewed where I stay ()
- (c) others (specify)

08. Between Chang'aa and Busaa, which one do you like best to drink Why do you like it so,

- (a) It is cheaper ()
- (b) It is more satisfying ()
- (c) It is less dangerous to health ()
- (d) I get drunk faster ()
- (e) Others (specify)

(TICK IN APPROPRIATE BRACKET(S))

09. What type(s) of alcohol were you drinking before the closure of Busaa clubs (1979)
(Busaa, Chang'aa, Beer, all types)

10. Is it (or are they) the same type(s) that you drink now YES/NO. If the answer is 'NO' . Specify what you drink now or simply proceed to Q 11
.....

11. How did the ban on Busaa affect you (TICK IN ONLY ONE APPLICABLE ALTERNATIVE)

- (a) Made me stop drinking altogether ()
- (b) Made me start drinking Chang'aa ()
- (c) Made me start drinking more Chang'aa ()
- (d) I started drinking other types of alcohol but not Chang'aa ()
- (e) Had no effect at all on my drinking ()

.....

12. If the answer to Q 11 is 'b' specify why you chose Chang'aa and not other types of alcohol

.....

13. How much do you drink and spend on drinking

Container/amount	Cost	Per week
(a) Glass	per week
(b) Tins (cans)	per week
(c) Bottles	per week

What is the capacity (weight) of the tins or cans you use for 'b' (1 kg. 2 kg. 500 gm.)

14. Have ^{you} ever been punished for drinking YES/NO

If your answer is 'YES' specify by ticking in the appropriate bracket(s).....

- (a) Arrest and fine (), how much did you pay Ksh.
- (b) Imprisonment () How long was it
(days, months, Years)
- (c) Arrest and detention () How long

If you have been punished more than once by the type of punishment(s) ; you have mentioned above state the punishment(s) in their order of occurrence in the table below, for each, state either the fine you paid or period you took.

Punishment	fine/Period of Punishment (years etc).
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

If the answer is 'NO' specify how frequently you brew now

06. Which type of alcohol do you brew more frequently
07. Why do you brew this type of alcohol more frequently than others:
- (a) It is less expensive ()
 - (b) It consumes less time ()
 - (c) It gives me more profits ()
 - (d) Other reasons
-

(TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE)

08. What about before the ban, which one was more frequent.....
09. What is the average amount of alcohol that you brew/distill monthly.
- (a) drums of Chang'aa
 - (b) drums of Busaa.
 - (c) Pots of Chang'aa
 - (d) Pots of Busaa

(FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE(S))

10. Did you use to brew/distill as much as this (Q9) before the closure of Busaa clubs (YES/NO. If the answer is 'NO' specify using the same measures how much you used to brew/distill.
- (a) Chang'aa Pots/drums
 - (b) Busaa Pots/drums in a period of one month.

11. How much alcohol do you obtain from the following items - answer by giving the amount in Jerry cans and the weight of the Jerry cans.

ITEM	TYPE OF ALCOHOL	ALCOHOL OBTAINED/JERRY CANS	WEIGHT
1. Drum			
2. Pots			

12. Where do you brew/distill your alcohol Is this the same place where you used to brew/distill before the ban Yes/No: If the answer is 'NO' specify where you used to brew then

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15. Did you drink the same amount of alcohol before the ban on Busaa as you have stated in Q. 13. - YES/NO. If the answer is 'NO' specify how much you used to drink then and how much you spent per week. (Give the container used, amount drank, cost)

.....
.....
.....

16. How many times were you punished for drinking before the ban on Busaa clubsspecify the punishment(s), the period or fine paid in total.

.....

17. Do you support the closure of Busaa clubs YES/NO. Explain your answer.

.....

18. Do you think Chang'aa should be banned YES/NO. Explain your answer

.....

SECTION C FOR BREWERS ONLY

01. When did you start Brewing alcohol19.....

02. Was it Busaa, Chang'aa or Both

03. What do you brew now

04. How many times did you use to brew the above type(s) of alcohol before the closure of Busaa clubs (a) times per week. (b) times/month

(c) Continuously () (TICK OR FILL IN ONLY ONE APPLICABLE ALTERNATIVE)

05. Is this the same number of times you brew now as before?

If the answer is 'NO' specify how frequently you brew now

06. Which type of alcohol do you brew more frequently

07. Why do you brew this type of alcohol more frequently than others?

- (a) It is less expensive ()
- (b) It consumes less time ()
- (c) It gives me more profits ()
- (d) Other reasons

(TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE)

08. What about before the ban, which one was more frequent.....

09. What is the average amount of alcohol that you brew/distill monthly.

- (a) drums of Chang'aa
- (b) drums of Busaa.
- (c) Pots of Chang'aa
- (d) Pots of Busaa

(FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE(S))

10.. Did you use to brew/distill as much as this (Q9) before the closure of Busaa clubs (YES/NO. If the answer is 'NO'

specify using the same measures how much you used to brew/distill.

- (a) Chang'aa Pots/drums
- (b) Busaa Pots/drums in a period of one month.

11. How much alcohol do you obtain from the following items -

answer by giving the amount in Jerry cans and the weight of the Jerry cans.

ITEM	TYPE OF ALCOHOL	AMOUNT OBTAINED/JERRY	
		CANS	WEIGHT
1. Drum			
2. Pots			

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12. Where do you brew/distill your alcohol Is this the same place where you used to brew/distill before the ban YES/NO. If the answer is 'NO' specify where you used to brew then

04 JUL 1984

13. How much do you sell the following items : full of alcohol (a) Tins (cans) (b) 500 gm,
 (c) 1 kg. Sh. (d) 2 kg. Sh.
 (e) Glass, Sh. (f) Bottle-top, Sh.
 (g) Vaseline Bottle, Sh. (h) Tree-top bottle Sh.
 (i) 5 - litre Jerry Can, Sh.
 (j) 20 litre Jerry Can, Sh.
14. Who are the majority of your drinkers.
 (a) Young people (below 30 years) ()
 (b) Middle aged (30 - 50 years) ()
 (c) Old people (above 50 years) () (TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE)
15. What sexual group has more drinkers (Male, Female, Bot)
16. What are their status or occupation (a) School children ()
 (b) Teachers () (c) Jobless able bodied ()
 (d) Jobless old people () (e) Others
 (GIVE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE, HIGHEST (1) TO THE LOWEST)
17. How much alcohol do you sell now on average per day when you have brewed (GIVE ANSWER IN EITHER BOTTLES OR 5 - LITRE JERRY CANS)
 How much did you use to sell per day before the ban

18. How do you use the money you earn from brewing (a) school fees () (b) Harambee funds () (c) Built houses ()
 (d) Food () (e) clothing () (f) Bought land ()
 (g) Travel () (h) livestock purchase ()
 (i) Entertainment () (j) Dowry () (k) others ...
 (TICK ALL THAT ARE APPROPRIATE)
19. Do you support the ban on Busaa clubs YES/NO Explain your answer
20. Do you want Chang'aa to be banned YES/NO explain your answer
